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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE REFORM PROPOSALS AND THEIR REASONS

By Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

The title of my lecture is "The Reform Proposals and their Reasons." I do not intend to say a great deal about the White Paper proposals, but I want to give some sort of idea of the way in which India has been brought to the present point of political development.

It is not altogether fanciful to look on the political history of India under the British as one act of the great drama of destiny, destiny being, as always in such cases, the necessary result of the national character in action. It is a curious picture, that of the character of a nation driving it along, happy and contented so long as it does not realize whither it is being driven, and protesting uneasily when it discerns the inevitable goal. But of course there are always the few who see and the many who applaud. Political advance in India is just a form of British self-expression. We sow the seed, be it wheat or tares or dragon's teeth, and the harvest follows, true to type, and we have to take it as it comes and make the best of it.

It all really began in that seed-time of modernism, the period of the Revolution in France, the Napoleonic Wars, the industrial revolution in Britain, the beginning of our missionary enterprise, Catholic emancipation, and the growth of democratic ideas and parliamentary reform.

It is difficult to date precisely the beginning of political development in India, but certainly one of the significant dates must be 1813, when Wilberforce persuaded Parliament to allow Christian missionaries to work in British India. Not long before, the East India Company, in discussing a scheme for sending missionaries to India, damned it with seven different epithets in a single sentence, and summed up the proposal by saying that "it struck

against all reason and sound policy, and would bring the peace and safety of the possessions into peril." The first British missionaries accordingly worked under the Danish flag at Serampore. The apprehensions of the Directors were not without substance, but they were out of keeping with the new age which was coming to birth, and would not in any case have been allowed to prevail much longer. The spread of ideas by missionaries, even apart from the direct educational work they have done, has certainly been one of the factors in India's political evolution, and the action of the Government in giving them permission to start work in British India was a remote cause of the situation as we see it today.

English Education

A more powerful influence was brought into action twenty years later, when the Government of India definitely adopted the view that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that the funds appropriated to education would be best employed in English education alone." From that time onwards, the minds of Indians in schools and colleges have been steeped in all our British ideas of freedom, Parliament, and responsible government. As a result, these ideas dominate the political thought of India today. It may be true that only about 20 per cent. of the male population over twenty years of age are literate, but practically all the new political ideas which reach the unlettered masses reach them through these 20 per cent.

I think people sometimes fail to realize what a bond of union we have given to India in the English language. The Abstract of the 1931 Census, recently published, shows that out of the whole male population of twenty and over, 1 in 40 know English, but the illuminating figures from this point of view will be those for the cities, which are the centres of political, commercial, professional, and educational activity. Unfortunately, none of the reports for the major provinces have been published, but let me give you some figures from the reports for Baroda, Mysore, and Ajmere, which are among the few that have appeared. I am well

aware that they are not altogether typical, but I confess it surprised me to learn that in Baroda city among men of twenty and over, more than 1 in 6 know English, while among youths of fifteen to twenty, the ratio is more than 1 in 4. The proportion is even higher in Mysore city, 1 in 4 for all males of ten and over. In Ajmere, it is rather over 1 in 7. In Bombay city it is almost as high as in Baroda.

Or to look at the question in another way—just think of the difference between the position of an educated Madrasi who tours the provincial capitals today and that of his great-grandfather who might have visited the same cities a hundred years ago. His great-grandfather would have been a stranger in a strange land, quite unable to make himself understood in most of the places he visited. Today the great-grandson, thanks to his knowledge of English, and the bond of the English language, is able to find out all he wants at the railway stations, book rooms and dispute his bills at the hotels, make purchases at all the big shops, converse with local politicians, officials, seditionists, professors, and pressmen, read local papers, explain himself if he gets into trouble with the police, listen to debates in the local council or to cases in the local courts, and lose his money on the local racecourses. There can, indeed, be no question that the English language is a very real bond of union between the different parts of India, and not only the English language, but the English ideas it is used to express.

No one can pretend that the results of English education have been all to the good. The fruit of the tree of knowledge has spoiled many a garden of Eden. Perhaps there would have been more happiness in India if we had kept English education out. It is useless to speculate. The hypothesis is an impossibility, and English education was bound to come. We must take the results as they are, both good and evil. Both are relevant to my subject as both have gone to create the political atmosphere we have to deal with, and both are the direct or indirect consequences of a policy which we have proudly and deliberately followed.

The Outlook of Youth

Let me hazard the following sketch of the surroundings in which the ordinary boy in a city school and a city college grows to adolescence and maturity. All around him is a feeling that India and the Indians are not treated fairly by the British Government, and that the natives of the country are kept out of their birthright. The English textbooks on history are looked on with distrust, and are suspected of distorting facts for the purpose of glorifying the achievements and justifying the actions of the British. British officials are men who are keeping Indians out of a job, and every youth who has had an English education has, in his own eyes, won a right to an appointment under the Government. The discrepancy between British democratic theory and the bureaucratic system of Government in India is proof of British duplicity. And these doubts and misgivings are not often combated by anyone with whom the boys come in contact, or by any newspaper which comes within their reach or which they care to read. The Indian Press, whether written in English or in the vernacular, works to spread dissatisfaction with the existing system of government; it works, too, to disseminate the belief that the principal aim of the British is to postpone as long as possible the surrender of power and privilege. Any good that we have done is belittled on the ground that we ought to have done a great deal more, and that what we have done is nothing but what any other power in our position would have done. What wonder that in an atmosphere like this the national heroes should be those they are?

I might without exaggeration paint that side of the picture in darker colours, but do not let us forget that there is another side. It may be that too much stress has been laid on liberty, and too little on the restraints and obligations of democracy. That is probably difficult to avoid in the absence of practical experience. But it can, I think, be claimed justly, not only (what is obvious) that our system of education has created a vigorous demand for British institutions, but also that it has familiarized educated Indians with certain concepts which must be of value in helping them to use those institutions as they get them.

Indianization

Another course of preparation that we have given India for a future in which she will govern herself is the gradual Indianization of the services. Half a century ago, except for a few judicial appointments, practically all the higher services were officered exclusively by Britons. Till 1895, there were no Indians in the Indian Civil Service in my own province, the Punjab. Ten years later there were, I think, three. In 1922, the I.C.S. all over India contained 15 per cent. of Indians. In 1932, 35 per cent. In 1922, the Indian Police contained 10 per cent. of Indians. In 1932, 22 per cent. And at the present moment three-fourths of the members of the Provincial and Central Governments—the Cabinets as we should say—are Indians. A 50 per cent. limit of Indians has been fixed for the present for the I.C.S. and the Indian Police, and it will be reached in the case of the I.C.S. in less than ten years. The White Paper, as you will remember, proposes that an enquiry should be held into the question of recruitment five years after the Act comes into force. Meantime it is to remain, as at present, in the hands of the Secretary of State. I make no forecast as to what will happen then if the scheme goes through. I am merely speaking of the Indianization of the services as one of the paths which lead to self-government, and it is clear that with more than one-fifth of the 700 superior police officers Indians, more than one-third of the 1,300 members of the Civil Service, and three-fourths of the Provincial and Central Cabinets, we have gone a fairly long way already. For the other services I have no figures, but I imagine that except in the commissioned ranks of the Army, where Indianization is much more recent, the percentages must be a good deal higher than in the I.C.S. and the police. An Indian bureaucracy would, of course, be a form of self-government, and we have gone a longish way to create one.

Here, again, we may say that our policy has been ill-judged. From some points of view that may be so, but it is many years now since the Rubicon was crossed. And with the prospect of

having, in a few years' time, half of the great administrative responsibilities of the I.C.S. resting on Indian shoulders, can we maintain the position much longer that the brothers and cousins of these Indian members of the I.C.S., lawyers and merchants and professional and business men, cannot be entrusted even with the duty of criticizing and supporting or ejecting a Ministry? I might find half a dozen reasons to show that we could. But could I find one that would convince the Indian brought up in the atmosphere I have described?

Education and Indianization have thus been two of the paths which lead towards self-government. A third path, a rocky and broken one, which has not been followed with quite the enthusiasm which once was hoped, is that of what we call local self-government, irreverently dubbed "local sluff" in its early days.

Local Self-Government

In every country some arrangement has to be evolved for enabling people to manage their petty local affairs, and in India we find from time immemorial the village headmen, the town-ward chaudhris, and the caste and trade panchayats or committees of five. The old saying is *panj men parmeshwar*, or "where five are gathered together, God is among them." But these bodies all deal with very small or what I may call private units. And in time, if you are seeking to develop democratic institutions, you have to look for larger units and try to give them some method of group-expression, and, what is more, you have to give them definite duties and powers. In this way the process of evolution creeps forward from the town-ward to the town, and from the villages to the group of villages, the subdivision of a district and the district itself, and you give a statutory basis to the powers and functions of the Boards.

The great development of what we call local self-government is associated with the name of Lord Ripon, who was Viceroy in the early eighties. Perhaps of all the nineteenth-century Viceroys he was the most popular with the Indian educated classes. The Calcutta Europeans, on the other hand, it is said, at one time formed a conspiracy to kidnap him on his way home from a

dinner party, put him on board a ship which was to be waiting in the Hooghly, and send him back to England.

But to return to the district boards and municipal committees. For many years, partly owing to the apathy of members and partly to the overshadowing influence of the district officer, they did not develop the hoped-for sense of public responsibility and public spirit. The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms aimed at relieving them from this dominating official influence, and put the whole of them under an Indian Minister at the headquarters of the province. Since then they have been left too much to themselves, and it has hardly yet been recognized that the discharge of public duties and the power to spend public money demand a system of central control such as we have in England.

The Simon Commission found that the transference of power from official hands had been followed by a fall in efficiency, but that the members had shown an enhanced interest in their work. That is typical probably of the whole of the reforms. The changes made do not imply an improvement in the machinery of administration. The reformers look for their reward on another plane, and, within limits, an increase in interest more than compensates them for a loss in efficiency. In many of the smaller town councils and outlying rural boards, I daresay even now the members would not be sorry to have the burden taken off their shoulders, but, after making all allowances, it can hardly be denied that we have at the present time a very large number of local bodies, each of which in its degree has become the focus of the idea that we mean India to manage its own affairs.

The Legislatures

Education, Indianization, local self-government—three of the paths that we have followed—and at last we come to the main highroad: the development of self-government on what I may call the grand scale—*i.e.*, in the sphere of the governments of the provinces and of India as a whole.

Let me remind you of the principal stages on that road. In the early days of our rule we had our executive governments in each presidency, consisting of the Governors with their Councils. The

making of laws was one of their functions. Seventy-two years ago, with the Act of 1861, came the first step in development. Two new elements were introduced. Non-official Britons and non-official Indians were associated with the official executive Councils, just for the purpose of making laws.

So it remained for thirty years, and then in 1892 came the next advance. The Councils were enlarged, though they were still very small, but the important change lay in the widening of the functions of the Councils. They were no longer to be confined to legislation. The members were given the right to ask questions and to discuss the Budget. The grant of these powers meant the opening up of an altogether new perspective. The members might range over the whole field of administration in their search for information by means of questions, or in the course of the Budget debate. But the Councils were still very small—there were only 10 non-officials even in the Central Council—and there was no system of direct popular election. It was no doubt for these reasons that seventeen years elapsed before the next step was taken.

This was under the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909. The Councils were again enlarged, and three notable changes made. Election was recognized. The provincial Councils were given non-official majorities, and in all the Councils henceforth members were to have the right to move and discuss resolutions.

It must appear to us fairly obvious which way things were tending, and it seems now almost incredible that John Morley, statesman and philosopher, should have said, in reference to these Reforms which were sponsored jointly by him and Lord Minto:—"If it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I, for one, would have nothing at all to do with it." Surely a very striking illustration of what I said at the beginning of my lecture.

The 1917 Announcement

Five years later came the War. The effect of it was to accelerate India's political progress. This was partly due to a good deal of undiscriminating talk by persons in authority about the services of India as a whole which came in extraordinarily useful as an argument in support of political claims. But what had far more effect than this comprehensive sense of obligation was the set of the world-mind in the direction of self-determination. As Lord Curzon said in a note written in June, 1917, when the drafting of the famous announcement which was to be made two months later was under consideration:

> We are really making concessions to India because of the free talk about liberty, democracy, nationality, and self-government which have become the common shibboleths of the Allies, and because we are expected to translate into practice in our domestic household the sentiments which we have so enthusiastically preached.

These, then, were the influences which shaped the decision of the Coalition Government to make an announcement of their policy in India. The declaration was that the policy of the British Government in India was the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.

Up to the last moment there had been no word of responsible government. The reference was inserted by Lord Curzon when the draft was circulated on the eve of publication, and it was apparently accepted without further discussion. The Cabinet had other pre-occupations. The Ministers were possibly rather sick of the subject and some of them apparently did not take any very deep interest in the discussions. So the thing went through, and Great Britain stood committed to the attempt to establish parliamentary institutions in India. And stranger still, when Mr. Montagu, in obedience to his instructions, returned from India with a scheme for the beginning of responsible government in the provinces, Lord Curzon disowned his own offspring. But the Bill which was later introduced into Parliament to give effect,

with certain modifications, to the proposals of Mr. Montagu and the late Lord Chelmsford, went through without a division on any cardinal point, and another illustration of my initial thesis was added to history.

I need not detail all the changes which this Act of 1919 made—the Second Chamber in the Central Legislature, the power to vote on money demands, and majorities of elected members everywhere. By far the most important change was the introduction of something entirely new in the political history of India, and that was responsibility, in the sense of the executive being responsible to the legislature as the representatives of the people. The principle was not introduced into the Central Government, but in the provinces effect was given to it under the system of dyarchy. I need not explain to the members of the East India Association the meaning of dyarchy, nor need I tell them of the provision the Act made for an enquiry into the working of the new system after a term of years. That enquiry was made by the Simon Commission. The object of the enquiry was to enable Parliament to decide whether the sphere of responsibility should be widened or restricted. The main tests were to be the amount of co-operation received and the sense of responsibility displayed.

The Statutory Commission and After

The Simon Commission was appointed in 1927, and visited India twice. The Commission's terms of reference applied only to British India, but they came to the conclusion that the picture would be incomplete if the Indian States were left out, so they got permission to include the question of the future relationship of the States and British India. But the questions involved had not been formally discussed while the Commission was in India, so the Round-Table Conference was arranged in order that the new issues might be discussed with the representatives of the States and of British India.

And it was at this juncture that Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, was authorized by the British Government to declare that Dominion Status was the goal of British policy in India.

The Report of the Simon Commission was presented some months before the Round-Table Conference met. Its recommendations were, briefly:

(1) In the Provinces, full responsibility;
(2) In the Central Government, no responsibility; and
(3) Certain measures which it was hoped would some day lead to Federation between the States and the provinces of British India.

The Round-Table Conference opened in November, 1930, and the warmth of the welcome given to the idea of Federation by the Princes who were present took everyone by surprise. They insisted, however, that the Federal Government which would take the place of the present Government of India should be responsible to the Federal Legislature. This, as it were, forced the hand of the Government and made Federation with a responsible Federal Government an immediate objective, instead of the distant possibility which the Commission's recommendations would have left it. The further discussions accordingly proceeded on the triple basis of full responsibility in the provinces, Federation and as much responsibility as was practicable in the Central Federal Government.

That is broadly the scheme that is now before Parliament in the White Paper, and it is proposed that the Bill which is to be drafted should provide for the early establishment of responsible autonomy in the provinces, and for the setting up of the Federation when the complicated preliminaries, which will take some years, are completed and a sufficient proportion of the States—roughly one half of the more important of them—have executed the necessary instruments of accession. If the necessary number of States do not come in, the Government is not committed as regards responsibility at the Centre. The Princes therefore hold the key of the situation in their hands, and responsibility at the Centre without Federation is not yet in issue.

The Indian States

Now let me go back for a moment. The fifth line of approach to the present position is one which lies outside British India. It

was Lord Hardinge who first summoned what was called a Chiefs' Conference. The very title seems to carry one back to a past age. The term "chief" as applied to the more important Rulers is as obsolete as the term "native." Both terms were discarded for similar reasons, and the discarding of them was symbolic of a changing attitude. But the summoning of the Chiefs' Conference and the establishment later by Royal Proclamation of the Chamber of Princes, marked a complete break with the old policy of isolating the States from each other. It made combination possible and the Princes have found in it a new strength. It is, I think, just to say that, without the Conferences and the Chamber of Princes, the States would never have come into the foreground of Indian politics as they have done, and that the present state of affairs in which the British Government and British India are both, as it appears, waiting for the Princes to say the word which is to decide the political destinies of one-fifth of mankind, could never have arisen.

Lastly, as Lord Reading pointed out in the House of Lords the other day, there is yet another path that India has trodden in her upward advance, the path of association with the United Kingdom and the Dominions in the great events of Imperial history. He referred to the contributions of India to the War, India sitting in the War Cabinet, India signing the Treaty of Peace and the Covenant of the League of Nations, India attending the Imperial Conferences, signing the Ottawa Treaty, and coming to arrangements with the rest of the Dominions. Unless we had meant these acts of association, I will not say as a symbol of a reality which had already passed into fact, but as an earnest of an assured future, it would have been better if we had never laid ourselves open to the implications they necessarily convey.

The British Contribution

We shall not all attach the same value to each of these courses of preparation for democracy and self-government that we have given to India. But surely there can be no doubt as to their cumulative effect, and that we must go ahead towards the goal that we

have fixed. It is we who deliberately, out of great division of opinion, decided to give to India English education and education in British ideas. It is we who, in spite of warnings, decided to Indianize the services. It is we who, braving much ridicule and opposition at the outset, have developed the machinery of local self-government. It is we who, in the face of much gainsaying, have gradually admitted Indians to the higher councils of the country and we who have started them on responsible government. It is we who, in disregard of misgivings, have given the Princes the power of combination and amalgamated the weak and isolated units into a powerful union, and we who have deliberately brought Indian Princes and Indian commoners on to the same platform with the representatives of the United Kingdom, the Great Powers and the Dominions. It is all so characteristic of ourselves, our persevering belief in the merits of British institutions, our conscientious desire to communicate their benefits to those who have been placed in our charge, our intermittent misgivings as to the reactions to what we have done, and our not infrequent blindness to the logical consequences of our actions. But one fact stands out from all this conflict of motives, that when we have had to make a decision, it has never yet been a decision to turn back, and even at the present time, though there are many who feel that the White Paper goes too far, there are practically none who are not in favour of some advance.

I have tried to summarize what I regard as the main historical reasons for the reforms, to give, as it were, a historical background to the present phase, but the main issue on which opinion is split at present is how far Parliament shall go. Is it to give (1) complete responsibility in the provinces except for Law and Order, or (2) complete responsibility in the provinces for everything including Law and Order, in either case reserving to a later date responsibility in the Central Government, or is it to give (3) complete responsibility in the provinces plus partial responsibility in the Federal Central Government? The issue whether responsibility should be given at the centre without Federation has not yet arisen.

The Simon Commission and the Governments in India agreed

in condemning the first and in recommending the second. I need not summarize the reasons. You are familiar with them. As regards the second and third courses, there seems to be an impression that there is some antagonism between the Simon Commission and the White Paper. Sir John Simon put the correct view the other day in the House of Commons. The position was entirely changed at the first session of the Round-Table Conference after the Simon Report had been published, by the welcome given by the Princes to Federation as an immediate possibility if accompanied by some degree of responsibility at the centre. Rightly or wrongly, prudently or precipitately, that attitude of the Princes was accepted at its face value at once. But the acceptance was there, and if any party in the country had wished to challenge the action of Government the usual methods were open.

Where We Stand

When at the end of the second session of the Round-Table Conference the Prime Minister asked the House of Commons to approve the Indian policy of the Government, and an amendment was moved, Mr. Baldwin, speaking at the end of the debate, just before the divison, made it clear that when a motion like that moved by the Prime Minister is made, any motion to add words or subtract them is, by the acknowledged practice of the House, taken as a vote of censure. In spite of this, the amendment was pressed to a division, and the enormous majority by which the motion of approval was passed seems to me to be an emphatic endorsement of the triple policy of Federation with partial responsibility at the centre and full responsibility in the provinces.

I am aware that Parliament has been assured that it is free to take what course it, in its wisdom, thinks proper in respect to the grant of responsibility, and there is obviously no commitment in regard to any particular safeguard. But the assurance given assumes that the scheme, which in its broad outlines obtained from Parliament so favourable a reception, will now be examined in its detail with a desire to find a solution on those lines, if it is in any way possible. In other words, unless Parliament is con-

vinced after the fullest consideration that no such scheme can be devised which the United Kingdom, British India, and the States will agree to work, the triple basis will not be rejected. To that extent, I believe, we are committed to India, and for that reason I consider that at present there is no other course open to us but to endeavour to arrive at a settlement on this basis. It may be that in the end the States will turn against Federation, and if so that part of the scheme falls to the ground. But if that should happen, it should be quite clear that there is no question of the Princes as a body having let anyone down. The representatives of the States at the first Round-Table Conference were not plenipotentiaries. Individual Princes may have allowed themselves to be influenced by the super-charged atmosphere of the occasion. But all that they could do, and all that they did, was to express the hope that the idea would be welcomed by their brother Princes as warmly as they welcomed it themselves. They did not and could not commit either themselves or the other members of their Order to the acceptance of any particular scheme.

The time has now come for the shaping of the details. Parliament is not, of course, in the same position as regards the States as it is in regard to British India. As regards British India, it is supreme, so far as mere statute can make it so. As regards the States, it is not. As regards British India, it can insist on any provision it deems essential. As regards the States, it cannot. But even in regard to British India, there is always a margin between what can be insisted on and what can be worked. All that I am concerned to urge today is that we in England should feel that our immediate object is Federation on the lines laid down, and that we are bound to weigh the scheme which has been put forward by the National Government with an earnest desire to find in it the solution of which Parliament has declared that it holds so fair a promise, a United India in an undisrupted Empire.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, May 9, 1933, when a paper was read by Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., on "The Reform Proposals and their Reasons."

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E. (in the unavoidable absence of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Reading, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O.), was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., the Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., the Maharajkumar of Burdwan, Violet Viscountess Melville, the Lady Pentland, Major-General Sir Arthur Money, K.C.B., K.B.E., C.B., C.S.I., and Lady Money, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Manubhai Mehta, K.C.S.I., Sir Robert Gillan, K.C.S.I., Sir Elliot G. Colvin, K.C.S.I., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Philip Hanson, C.B., and Lady Hanson, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Colonel Sir Richard Needham, C.I.E., D.S.O., Sir Annepu P. Patro, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Hubert Carr, Sir Lawless Hepper, Sir Wilberforce Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., Lady Abbas Ali Baig, Lady (Lionel) Jacob, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., Colonel S. B. A. Patterson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Ghazanfar Ali Khan, C.I.E., Mr. V. H. Boalth, C.B.E., Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Miss Cornelia Sorabji, K.-i-H., Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. M. S. A. Hydari, Canon Arthur Davies, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Mr. A. H. Joyce, Mrs. R. M. Milward, Mr. Kenneth C. Keymer, Mr. Alexander Inglis, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mrs. Weir, Mrs. F. Loraine Petre, Mrs. N. B. Dewar, Maulvi A. R. Dard, Professor H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., Mr. S. T. Sheppard, Mr. R. N. Mazumdar, Mr. Zafrullah Khan, Mr. S. A. Shere, Mr. A. R. N. Hussain, Mr. S. A. Rafique, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. K. M. Pardhy, Mr. W. H. Jones, Mr. C. Cockburn, Syed Amjad Ali, Mr. Glenn, Mr. D. W. Watkins, Mr. George Pilcher, Miss Caton, Mr. H. B. Holme, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. C. M. Mehta, Miss C. K. Cumming, Miss Margaret Brown, Mr. G. H. Ormerod, Mr. J. B. Hall, Mrs. C. H. Bell, Mr. R. C. Lai, Mr. E. M. Hartree, Miss Rodney, Miss L. Andrade, Mr. Gerald Thompson, Mr. Gray, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. R. K. Ranadive, Miss Thompson, the Nawabzada of Toru, Mrs. and Miss Bains, Swami B. H. Bon, Mr. Hartog, Miss Hanson, Mr. O. C. G. Hayter, Mrs. Barns, Mrs. E. W. Harral, Mr. Morris Horovitch, Mrs. Tyrrell, Miss L. M. Saunders, Rev. R. Burges, Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Harris, Mr. A. J. R. Hickes, Mr. B. K. Sinha, Mr. S. S. Mahomed Ali, Mr. E. F.

Rathbone, Mr. Madhav Rao, Mrs. Fowle, Mr. E. E. Hall, Mr. E. C. Wrench, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The following letter, dated May 8, was received from the Marquess of Reading:

"DEAR MR. BROWN,

"I very much regret that it will not be possible for me to take the chair at Sir John Thompson's lecture tomorrow afternoon. You will remember that when I provisionally accepted your invitation I explained that my acceptance must be subject to my finding it necessary to attend the House of Lords. It now happens that I must be in the House of Lords tomorrow afternoon.

"Please express my great regret to Sir John Thompson and to the Association.

"I am the more sorry as I much desired to hear the views of Sir John, who has had long and varied experience in India, and has filled important posts as a member of the I.C.S.

"Yours very truly,
"READING."

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you will share my regret that Lord Reading, who was to have presided this afternoon, has been detained in the House of Lords by a debate in relation to India. We deplore the fact that he is not here. He might have given us some very valuable guidance as to his views on the delicate position in connection with the White Paper proposals.

I am not going to say more at the outset of the meeting. It will be more profitable if we have from Sir John Thompson at once the benefit of his advice and experience. That experience is very great, as he gave up his office as Chief Commissioner of Delhi Province only last year. We are told that most people, when they have been three or four years away from India, know nothing of the situation, but this afternoon we shall hear someone with up-to-date experience.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.: I think if we were to be deprived of the presence of Lord Reading, who is one of the protagonists in this great controversy, there is something peculiarly satisfying to us as a society that we should meet this afternoon to discuss this important question under the chairmanship of our own President. (Applause.)

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have listened to a carefully thought out address, which traces very clearly the chief steps by which the present policy connected with India has been arrived at.

At the outset Sir John alluded to the importance of the education and training we have given to Indians for many years past. I agree with him to a large extent. I think it was a great pity that young Indians were tempted to take up higher education without any serious consideration being given to the formation of their character. Having passed with their very clever brains and quick intellects, they found they could not put to a useful pur-

pose the obtainment of these university distinctions. The result was that they not unnaturally became discontented and challenged what they considered to be our method of government as being inconsistent with those principles of freedom and Parliamentary rule on which we had laid such stress during their training.

To come more to the present time, we have arrived at a very complicated situation. Sir John in his purview of the different stages of this political development has assumed that we have almost drifted to the present position, as if almost unconsciously we had developed on the present lines and thereby arrived at a situation we had not foreseen. There was one stage where I think we should have taken up a strong position and tried to arrive at a clear understanding of what we should do towards Indian self-government, and that was after Sir John Simon's Commission had reported. A very clear issue was then before our country. But unluckily for some political reasons at home the Commission was given the go-by; and we had the Round-Table Conferences which have led to some very difficult situations at the present time. I think Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who has very strong views on the subject, will agree that, had we worked on the Simon Commission Report, the position would be much simpler today than it is.

That is an instance of how a Parliamentary Government in this country can adversely affect the conditions of Indian Government. It was strictly a party intrusion into the consideration of Indian affairs that led to the abandonment—or practical side-tracking—of the Simon Commission Report. It seems to me, whatever the future developments may be, that the less Parliamentary action in this country is concerned with Indian affairs, so much the better for India.

That is really also practically supported by that statement which Sir John has just read out of the late Lord Morley's opinion as to responsible self-government in India. He was a Liberal of very advanced thought, and if he could disclaim the idea of setting up Parliamentary Government in India, it shows that there is another side to the question. The mere fact of putting our institutions into working order in India will not necessarily lead to success. I think in one speech he made in the House of Commons he doubted whether a democracy like ours could retain control of a great Empire like that of India.

However, that must lie in the womb of the future. At the present time we have reached the stage where a Committee of the two Houses of Parliament is considering what form of government should be set up. And I suppose the critical feature of the present moment is that alluded to by Sir John in the latter part of his address as to the action of the Princes in regard to the new Constitution: that if they decide they will not come in and share in the new Constitution, what will our Government or what will the people of this country do? I am not going to attempt to say what will be the best course to pursue. I do not think anybody could speak advisedly at the present moment on this subject, but it is now the real crux of the whole question. We only hope that some satisfactory agreement will be arrived at by the Joint Committee now sitting. I strongly hold that we have gone so far now that we must try to give effect on a general basis to

what is contained in the White Paper. Things have got to the stage where the more discussion there is, the better realization the people of this country will have of the importance of the question, and they will be able to give a sounder judgment if all the pros and cons have been put before them.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: We have all listened with great interest and great profit to the admirably lucid, and, I think, on the whole impartial, survey of the situation that Sir John has given us. The White Paper is indeed fortunate in having found in him so able and eloquent an advocate. I can speak with some experience because fifteen years ago, after the Montagu announcement had been made, I was Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and Sir John was my Chief Secretary. I owed much to his power of criticizing that particular provision which aimed at giving responsible government in the provinces. Things have moved since then. Sir John, as we have heard, is now in favour of wholly responsible government in the provinces and partial responsibility at the Centre. I am afraid I still retain the opinion that conditions are not ripe for full responsibility in the provinces or for any responsible government at the Centre, and I will endeavour to give you the reason why.

Perhaps I have a pre-war mind, but may I say that the pre-war mind in Indian matters is one that regarded the interests of the masses of the Indian people as having priority over any constitutional experiments? The one test to be applied to any constitutional change was this: Will this promote the interests of the people, and especially of the illiterate masses who are not able to safeguard their own interests? That test should be applied even now. To me one of the greatest omissions in the White Paper and in the debates of the Round-Table Conferences is this, that not one word has been said to show that these far-reaching proposals are going to promote the welfare and the prosperity of the Indian peoples.

That is the more significant because, in the Statute of 1919 on which we are working, Parliament expressly declares that it is responsible for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples. The welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples is the supreme consideration. Let us apply that test, the Parliamentary test, to the proposals now put forward. What are the essentials of good government in any country, and especially in an Oriental country? (1) External and internal security. (2) Impartial administration and justice. (3) An efficient and progressive administration in all departments. (4) Last, but not least, light taxation. We in England take the first three for granted. In the East they are rare, outside India under our rule. I hold that the proposals put forward in the White Paper conflict, seriously conflict, with every single one of those considerations.

Let us take first external and internal security. We know that it is proposed that the Army should remain in control of the Viceroy. But Indian politicians have resented that and demand, many of them, even the so-called moderate ones, that a time limit should be set for the withdrawal of British troops. As you know, prior to British rule in India, no invasion of India ever failed. Since British rule has been established no invasion has succeeded.

Take the matter of internal security. We are supposed to transfer straight away the 180,000 Indian police which now so admirably maintains security even in the most trying conditions to the control of the Ministers in the provinces. It is logical from one point of view, but you have to remember that in every province of India you have a communal majority, a Muslim majority in the three smaller provinces, a Hindu majority in the rest, and you are proposing to transfer control of the police and the courts, which should be the impartial safeguards of every man, to the control of a Minister who represents a *permanent* communal majority in the province and must inevitably be guided in the discharge of his duty by the wishes of his supporters. I say that is a very risky experiment, and one which causes alarm to all the minorities.

Let us pass on to the question of the impartial administration of justice. It is the one thing, I suppose, which gives us the greatest reason for pride in India that we have made the administration of justice impartial and that our Indian judges and magistrates have come up to that standard. But that standard is due to the presence of a considerable British element in the judiciary. That British element is rapidly disappearing, with the inevitable result that the administration of justice is deteriorating. I will not ask you to take my word for that. Last year I met the Indian Chief Justice of of an Indian High Court. I had known him in India. I said, "Well, how are you getting on?" He replied, "I am labouring under enormous difficulties. At present, of 26 district judges, 17 are Indian, 5 British, and 2 Anglo-Indians. Owing to the great mass of cases in which communal questions arise, there is a general demand for a British judge. I have not been able to meet it, and people are beginning to lose confidence in the administration of justice."

That shows you what risks you run if you transfer the administration of justice as well as the police to the control of Indian Ministers representing communal majorities. You had an illustration of that in the final sitting of the Round-Table Conference, when the two members representing the great minorities in the Punjab both stood up and said, "If the future provincial administration means the rule of a communal majority, we prefer not to go forward at all."

Then we come to efficient administration in the Departments. It is now proposed to transfer the great Departments of Land Revenue, Irrigation, Finance, Forests, which have hitherto been reserved. That in itself is an enormous step forward. I would be prepared to take the risk, but only if you maintain the small British element. After all, all those great Departments were established by the British. Their efficiency is largely due to the British officials at the head. Train up as you are doing your Indian officials to take their place, but do not eliminate the British personnel, and while racial and religious cleavages are so acute do not transfer control of the police and the courts. Be content with the other Departments, and in them retain a substantial British element, not in the interests of British people, but in the interests of the masses. The last thing they desire is to get rid of the British officer, to whom they look for fair play, for they stand outside and above racial and religious divisions.

Finally, we come to the last test of all—taxation. We know this year it has been found most difficult to balance the all-India Budget. We also know that most of the provincial Budgets have had a serious deficit. Sir George Schuster, in introducing the Budget, said we only balanced it this year by severe cuts. People in India are groaning under heavy taxation. "But," he said, "let me remind you, if the proposed Federal Government comes into existence a great increase of taxation will be necessary." Let us hear from the point of view of practical men and taxpayers, whether in India or in this country, what the increased taxation will be.

You have to subsidize two new provinces. You lose Burma's contribution of £2½ millions. You have to meet the heavy cost of the enlarged provincial and federal legislatures, Ministers, etc., and of a general election for 35 million proposed voters. Next year the opium revenue will disappear—*i.e.*, another £2 or £2½ millions to make good. Finally, you have also to remember that, in order to try and induce the Princes to enter the Federation, one of the baits held out to them is that the tribute some of them at present pay will be remitted. So a country trying to pay its way is to be called on to find at least another £9 or £10 millions. How do you think that the average man in India will look at it? That was a point of view which was never examined all through the deliberations of the Round-Table Conferences. I agree with what Sir Robert Horne, a former Chancellor of the Exchequer, said in the House of Commons on that particular point. He said, "Of the 350 million people of India, at least 300 millions, if they were told they would have to pay extra for this new Constitution, would refuse the gift. All of this about people yearning to govern themselves even at a higher cost is entirely fallacious."

I have tried to bring down those lofty constitutional sentiments which Sir John so admirably expressed to the level of the common sense of the situation as it affects the average man at the present day. I think there is reason to believe—I hope my forecast is wrong—that the average man, above all the 90 per cent. who are not interested in politics and have no vote, will be a sufferer owing to the decrease in security, the decrease in the efficiency of the services and of the administration of justice, and the increased taxation. Surely the price is too high.

I admit you have to go forward with this experiment, but Parliament must be the final judge of whether the measures to be proposed will not only satisfy the aspirations of Indian politicians, but primarily will promote the welfare and prosperity of the Indian peoples, and I am content to have that test applied. If it were shown that the White Paper survives that latter test, I would give it my blessing; but I hold that it does not.

The MAHARAJAH OF BURDWAN: Lord Lamington, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—In spite of the damper of the last speaker, you have got to go ahead with regard to India.

(Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: I agree.)

Sir Michael is no doubt very sincere in what he says and what he believes, but let me assure him as an old friend that he is not only out of date today in the eyes of modern India, but I am much afraid that, with the exception

of a very few, the educated Indian does not regard him as a real friend of Indian aspirations of today.

I must congratulate Sir John Thompson on the tone of his paper and for such a lucid exposition of the development of self-government in India. In view of the fact that the Joint Parliamentary Committee is discussing the proposals of the White Paper, and that my unfortunate countrymen from India have come to help them in a very dubious position, I do not propose to say anything as to what is going to be the result. But I can assure you that, never having belonged to the exalted order of the Princes, I thank my stars today that I do not belong to that order. For I think that the Indian Princes have been put into a very difficult position in connection with these reforms and in connection with the position that they did take up at the first Round-Table Conference.

All I wish to say to those interested in the Indian problem is, Do not forget that one of the reasons that the Simon Commission's Report was not acceptable to India was because in it there was no proposal for any responsibility in the Centre. And those who want to hide behind the recommendations of that Report today, and those who say, " Why not take the Simon Commission's Report?" seem to forget that, so far as the provinces were concerned, the Simon Commission suggested and proposed full responsibility and not keeping back law and order. I heard very carefully what Sir John Simon had to say in the House of Commons the other day with regard to the transfer of law and order, and, in spite of the difficulties that I know we shall have in the Province of Bengal, I am inclined to agree with Sir John in giving full responsibility.

All I wish those interested in the reforms for India to consider is that, should Federation fail, you cannot go back; you cannot take away even the partial power that the Assembly has today, and therefore you must be prepared, with or without the Princes, to give partial responsibility in the Centre.

Sir MANUBHAI MEHTA, Prime Minister of Bikaner: I am much obliged for this opportunity of expressing some of my views, especially because I am one of those who represent the Indian States and the Princes.

I must first acknowledge my gratitude to Sir John Thompson, who has been connected with the Indian States for many years, and who has placed the standpoint of the Indian Princes in a very clear light. His paper has been admirably lucid, and the way in which he has expressed the attitude of the Princes leaves very little for me to say. Only I will add this, that it might appear from his remarks that the Princes at the time of the first Round-Table Conference leapt into the dark by accepting Federation. Let me at once correct this impression. The Princes had thought of Federation for many years. I have had the privilege and honour of working with the Princes for the last seventeen years, from the time the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were in contemplation and when the Princes' Chamber was being conceived. I had the fortune of being associated with the Princes in their deliberations at that time. I had the good fortune of being the Chief Minister of Baroda, and I remember in a Memorandum which the Maha-

rajar Gaekwar sent H.E. the Viceroy in 1917 he held that Federation was the only solution which would satisfy the Princes in the new Constitution. So since 1917 the idea of Federation has been working in the minds of the Princes. In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report there is an equally clear suggestion of the desire of the Princes to come into the Federation, and the same goal was foreshadowed by Sir John Simon in the Report of the Statutory Commission.

Federation, therefore, was not a new concept into which we leapt as with closed eyes. It was not by bungling or blundering that we accepted Federation, but we had clearly arrived at that idea fostered and cherished by many long hours of thinking. We wanted really—to be very frank—we wanted to conserve the interests of all the four important parties connected with this question: First, of the Princes; secondly, our subjects of the States; thirdly, the British-Indians, our countrymen; and, lastly, H.M. the King-Emperor. When the Congress passed the resolution about independence, it was the Princes who said they would fight for His Majesty, with whom they were bound by treaties of alliance. In order to mark their disapproval of this idea of independence, they encouraged and accepted this concept of Federation within the British Empire. They said India must always remain within the British Empire.

Secondly, they wanted some good for themselves. Up to now, in questions of joint concern, of joint interest, like Customs, railways, post and telegraph, currency and exchange, the Indian States were affected, but they were never consulted. Whatever was decided they had to accept. The Indian States wanted some voice in the future deliberations, and therefore they welcomed Federation. Thirdly, they sought the interests of their own subjects, who pay Customs to the extent of about Rs.9 crores. They do not get any advantage in return. The salt duties, railway fares, increases in the postal and telegraph charges are all levied from them without any consultation. The Indian Princes wanted that their subjects should share in the joint benefits.

Fourthly, the Princes looked to their own countrymen. The British-Indians wanted political progress, and some of the Indian Princes at the time of the Round-Table Conference gladly declared that they were Indians first and Princes later. In this way they wanted to conserve all the four interests, and I meant this when I said it was not by bungling or mistake that the Princes jumped into Federation, but they did it of set purpose.

When I read the other day Sir John Thompson's very lucid and admirable essay on the White Paper and the coming reforms, I noted that there is probably some misapprehension as regards the attitude of the Princes. It was remarked in the paper that as the present Chancellor is now the Maharajah of Patiala and the Vice-Chancellor is the Maharana of Dholpur, perhaps the old idea of Federation has been given up and the new idea of Confederation has been given prominence, and there is a split amongst the Princes of two different schools of thought.

I beg leave to correct this impression by saying that after 1932 there has been no such divergence of opinion amongst the Princes. By the Delhi Pact the Princes have all come to think in the same way, and it was in

order to mark this very unanimity that they elected the Maharajah of Patiala to be Chancellor and the Maharana of Dholpur to be the Vice-Chancellor. It is only an acknowledgment of this fact that some of the Princes might think that it would be more advantageous to them to confederate together before they came into the Federation. They were free to do so, and many of the smaller States would find it advantageous to first enter into a confederation amongst themselves before they enter into Federation with British India.

Now, therefore, there is very little doubt that the Princes will join the Federation. I have myself no doubt that the Princes will come in, as there are only three or four outstanding points which require examination in the coming discussions. They are very simple.

First, there is some difference of opinion as regards votes or seats in the Upper Chamber. According to well-understood principles of Federation, it is the States and their Governments that are represented in the Upper Chamber, and the States are all individually represented and equally represented; whether one is a big State and the other a small State, they have equal representation in the Upper Chamber. The Princes wanted this quota of equal representation. Naturally, the larger States wanted their predominance to be maintained even in the Upper Chamber. Though they have tried their best to solve this problem, I am afraid it has remained insoluble and will have ultimately to be decided by His Majesty's Government.

Secondly, there is the question of the quota of votes to be given to the States. Originally, from the first, we have been asking that the Indian States should be regarded as co-equal partners with British India. They have been asking for 50 per cent. of seats. British-Indians would not agree to this, but have finally agreed to give them 40 per cent. in the Council of State. Now, in the White Paper it is mentioned that if the Princes do not join in their full strength, but if only 50 per cent. join, the Federation will materialize. Then it will not be 40 per cent. votes which will be given, but only less—it may be 20 per cent. There the Princes find a stumbling-block. They will not agree to come into the Federation on that basis as weak or sleeping partners.

It is for you, gentlemen, to see that the Princes are brought in as efficient factors in the Federation, and not merely brought there under conditions which lead them to believe they will never be able to do any good. That was one view they have been urging, and they hope that that position will also be cleared up.

Thirdly, there was the question which has nothing to do with the White Paper, and that is one of paramountcy. We have Sir Harcourt Butler's proposition in the Report of his Committee that paramountcy must always remain. The Princes have always urged that it should be something that can be defined, that they can understand. They want a reference to an *ad hoc* judicial tribunal in all justiceable points of difference with the Government.

Lastly, there is the question of taxation. The Princes always agreed that the federal sources of revenue may be confined to any indirect sources of

taxation and not be extended to direct taxation. That also is mostly agreed. I do not therefore anticipate much difficulty.

The Princes have always asked for central responsibility. Without that there will be no Federation. Just as H.M. Government have said that there cannot be any responsibility at the Centre without Federation, I reverse this, and I say there will not be any Federation unless there is full central responsibility, because the Princes want to come into the Federation in order that they may also share in that central responsibility. I maintain that central responsibility should be looked to if Federation is to be made possible.

These are two interdependent questions, and I trust that the Select Committee of Parliament will find a way in which these ideas can be harmoniously combined.

I have a great respect for Sir Michael O'Dwyer, but I must say I was not convinced by his remarks. He referred to the desirability of retaining law and order and not transferring it to the responsible Government. I will only ask him this: In the Indian States there are 80 millions of subjects. Is not law and order properly preserved amongst Indian States? Indian States are not a hotbed of riots and disorder always. Therefore I fail to see how law and order will not be properly looked to if they are in the care of Indian Ministers who are equally responsible in the Indian States for looking to law and order.

Secondly, he said, quoting one Chief Justice, that at present he looked to English judges in order that impartial justice may be given. I quite agree, but that is because there has been such tension of communal feeling. What is the reason why there should be such communal feelings and bitterness in British India and not in Indian States? The reason is not far to seek. It is only of late that in Kashmir there has been trouble, but I am afraid that was also due to outside influence of the same communal type.

As regards taxation, if you can reduce the expenditure to some extent it is possible to avoid enhanced taxation. The military expenditure has been lately reduced from Rs.55 to Rs.48 crores. If you try to come down further to its pre-war level, I am hopeful it may yet be reduced to an appreciable extent. There are several ways in which expenditure could be reduced, and therefore taxation kept within restraint. I am accordingly not despondent as regards the success of the new reforms. Let us all initiate the new era in the spirit of hope, with faith in the justice of the cause.

Sir ANNEPU PARASURAM PATRO: After the very lucid review by Sir John Thompson it seems to me unnecessary to add to the very thoughtful observations made on the present position. We are greatly indebted to him for the exposition of the matter at this juncture, when opinions in this country seem to be divided. But I am sure what he has said today, when it reaches those that have entertained doubts regarding the capacity of India and Indians to work out the political scheme as described in the White Paper, those doubts will disappear.

I would ask the British Parliament to consider that today India stands unique in the Empire. You called on India to sign the great Treaty of

Peace at Versailles. You invited India to take part in the Imperial Conferences. You asked India to take part in the Ottawa Pact. You have asked India to bear every responsibility. You felt that India is capable of bearing all this responsibility. And now, according to the opposition to the White Paper, India is not competent to discharge any responsibility. There, it seems to me, all reason and logic has forsaken the opposition.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer was a very strong administrator. The Punjab was his great field of activity. I am glad to note the statement of the late Lord Birkenhead that the Punjab has worked the dyarchic system successfully. The system which Sir Michael O'Dwyer condemned, the principles which he said were all wrong, has now proved to be a success, and he was a false prophet.

(Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER interpolated that he had quoted the representatives of the minorities of the Punjab.)

I hope that the able administrator will just remember something of his past life as an administrator, so that he may realize that these disjointed remarks of certain individuals, taken away from their context, give a different meaning from what was intended. I was present when they spoke. I do not think that they would support Sir Michael O'Dwyer. I have the high authority of the late Lord Birkenhead in a speech in the House of Lords, when he said Madras and the Punjab had succeeded in working the dyarchic system. Lord Birkenhead was not a man given to sentiment or emotion, but a matter-of-fact man.

Then Sir Michael O'Dwyer asked whether the success of the proposals outlined in the White Paper would benefit the people. Sir, I come from the people. I do not come from the aristocracy or the bureaucracy. I come from the agricultural people. I move with them, live with them. The people want changes and reforms. The many forces which the British in their love of fair play and justice have introduced into India, the many influences, have gradually worked on the minds of the people, and today in the villages, Sir Michael, you would see a different spectacle from what you saw twenty years ago.

Today the newspaper is read at the centre of the village. Today the people deliberate questions relating to their village and to their circle. They discuss these things in a very interesting manner. Therefore the interest that has been aroused is due to the British influence, British education, and British justice. Do you now say all this is to be ignored, that India is not yet fit to govern herself? (Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER : I say, go by stages.) Yes, go by stages is a different matter. What is a stage in your sense is not a stage in the sense in which we recognize it.

Indian Nationalism is the self-expression of the British rule in India. Are you going to disown that which you have created among the people, among the ancient race, among the ancient civilization? Britain has created a force and a power which will strengthen the Empire. Do not lose this opportunity.

Sir Michael, may I appeal to your school of thought and say that you were short-sighted in the matter, that you are not able to see that a great national sentiment is growing in the minds of the people. Not among the

intelligentsia only, but among the real people you will see today a spectacle different from that which you were accustomed to observing some years ago.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer has said that there are four tests of the efficiency of administration. Surely they are standards which he followed as Governor of the Punjab. First, he said, internal and external security. All of us have accepted that for the time being defence shall be in the hands of the British. What we want is gradual training. As officers are trained and available, give opportunities for military service to Indians. That is what we want. Not at once to send away all the British element in the military forces. We do not want to eliminate all the British forces at once. We want you to train us, give us opportunities for training Indians, so that they may gradually take the place of the Britishers; ultimately British and Indians joining together may work for the defence of the country. That is the position we are aiming at, and it is not the position which has been described to you, ladies and gentlemen: "Oh, Indian politicians want the British soldiers to go out of India." It is not true.

Then there is the finance of India. Sir Michael said that India is groaning under taxation. The Indian's heart is breaking. Therefore pray save him from these reforms. I have heard cries when Sir Michael was the head of the Punjab administration and the land system was being reorganized. I wish I had heard such sentiments from the head of the Government, to save the poor ryot and cultivator from burdens of land tax at that time. Today it is very easy to say when there is no personal responsibility. It is very easy to cry aloud and plead for the taxpayer. Sir, we know our own burdens. But these are not due to reforms. Our heavy taxation is the work of the administrations in the past.

Take this one single item: Before the war the military expenditure of India was about Rs.24 crores. After the war it came to Rs.52, Rs.56, Rs.58 crores. The highest proportionate expenditure on military defence in the whole world! How came it to rise from Rs.24 to Rs.58 crores? Is it the result of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, or the result of the White Paper? The problem is there. The burden was laid by these administrators on the suffering ryot. I am grateful that Sir Michael feels sympathy for him.

Sir Michael has said peace and order are very good things, but he thinks they should be in the hands of Europeans only. (Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER demurred that he had not said that.)

Today you have peace and order administered by Indian councillors. In every province you find the subject of law and order is in the hands of an Indian administrator. It has been so for the last ten years. Law and order have been administered properly in the interests of the country by an Indian administrator. Why should there be any doubt now? The Minister will be the same as he is today. He realizes his responsibilities. Therefore it is not true to say that an Indian Minister will not be able to administer law and order. There should be no doubt whatever of the capacity or of the disinterestedness of Indians to administer these subjects.

As regards the proposals outlined in the White Paper, we say we are

going to work the reforms and ask the other parties to work the reforms. The tendency in India today is not to reject the White Paper. It would be wrong to say that India is opposed to the proposals of the White Paper. India wants those proposals modified in various directions. But all we say is that the proposals will be welcomed by all constitutionalist parties in India. All that we want is that some alterations should be made, so that the proposals may be more acceptable to the people.

Sir PATRICK FAGAN : I rise, my lord, at this late hour with much deference to offer a few critical remarks on the very interesting paper which has been read by my old friend and colleague, Sir John Thompson. We have often had heart-to-heart talks about these matters, but I am afraid that we have never yet been able to convince each other about our respective views.

If I understand him correctly, his view is that the present position, with which the White Paper is confronted, is wholly the inevitable result of British racial and national characteristics, or character, in their impact on Indian conditions during the one and a half centuries of connection between Britain and India. It is, as it were, the inescapable working of destiny.

It seems to me that there is a considerable degree of exaggeration, perhaps misconception, in that view. I suggest that the results of the impact or the contact between the two cultures has in many respects been collision rather than assimilation. Considerable portions of the educated classes in India appear disposed to reject many of our British and Western ideals. At one end you have Mr. Gandhi, who is apparently disposed to say : " Away with all the paraphernalia of Western culture!" His panacea for the economic evils of India would apparently be the cult of the spinning wheel and, I suppose, similar measures. At the other end you have the Brahmin, stanch in his desire for the maintenance of that majestic and venerable structure, the Hindu religio-social system.

I should therefore be disposed to deny very strenuously that British ideals and notions and conceptions of such things as Parliamentary government, responsible government, democracy, the fundamental conditions of democracy and democratic conditions, have, in fact, been really assimilated by the masses of the population of India.

The present position—that is the position here and now with which the White Paper is concerned—seems to me to be far more the result of political indecision and of the shifts of policy demanded by considerations of immediate political expediency which we have seen during the last sixteen years rather than the normal and natural result of the contact between Britain and India which has obtained for the last century and a half.

The very interesting paper to which we have listened supplies a considerable field for discussion on many subjects. It is impossible, of course, to deal with them all. One of the most interesting passages, I think, was that regarding the youth of India. I am sorry that it is quite impossible for me in the few minutes to touch on that in any adequate way. There came to my mind the saying of a great and wise man, who many years ago reminded us all that we were all fallible, all liable to make mistakes, even the youngest of us.

It is well that youth should have its ideals. I fully sympathize with that point of view. The burden of years has not, I hope, led me to scepticism regarding that matter. But the wiser part of youth, I think, very generally or frequently, as it matures, comes to see that its ideals must be viewed in the light of practical possibilities, and that the real work of the idealist is not to grasp hurriedly at the realization of his ideals for himself or in his own time, but to work, it may be obscurely and humbly, for their realization in due time to come. I think that we may hope that many Indian youths who are prone to entertain ideas and opinions of the kind which Sir John indicated in his paper will in time learn something of that higher wisdom.

One other point was local self-government. Of its results Sir John was not able to give us a very encouraging account. It appears that there has been an increase of interest and a decrease of efficiency. That does seem to me to be rather a curious combination of results, and one rather trembles to think what the results will be of increased interest and decreased efficiency in the wider spheres of federal and provincial government. Doubtless enthusiastic reformers will find their reward on that plane, but the question seems to me to be what the inarticulate masses of India will think about it, whether they will appreciate the fact that increase of interest on the part of those above them compensates for a decrease of efficiency.

In the concluding portion of the paper Sir John deals with the history of the last sixteen years. He begins with what I may call the incubation of the famous message of 1917. If his account is correct—and I have no doubt whatsoever that it is correct—I venture to think that it is scarcely reasonable to suggest that action of that nature, hastily decided and, so to speak, fortuitous, should be regarded as the normal and natural outcome of British contact with India.

I venture to predict that, when all the circumstances of that curious story shall become known in the future, posterity will stand amazed at the haste, the precipitancy, the rashness with which the interests of 300 millions of people were dealt with by the British Government in the stress of the Great War.

I was going to make a few more remarks, but I will only conclude by repeating my view that the immediate position present here and now with which the White Paper is confronted is not the logical natural outcome of the history of the past one and a half centuries. That period has doubtless generated conditions which require sane, orderly, tentative, and educative political progress. But there is neither necessity nor justification for the revolutionary scheme with which we are confronted.

Sir JAMES MACKENNA: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been asked to propose a vote of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chairman this afternoon. This is the second paper that Sir John Thompson has given the Association during this session, and I am sure you will all agree that the discussion on this one has induced far more liveliness than that on New Delhi. How much that is due to Sir John and how much to Sir Michael O'Dwyer I will leave you to decide.

With regard to the Chairman, our obligations to you, sir, are continual and continuing. To preside over a meeting in an emergency and at short notice is a very small item in what we owe to you as our President.

I will ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to accord a very hearty vote of thanks to Lord Lamington and Sir John Thompson.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON: Lord Lamington has asked me to thank you, both on his behalf and on my own, for the vote of thanks which has been passed. I do feel very grateful to everybody here for the way in which they have taken my remarks, and, above all, I may say, to my old friends Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir Patrick Fagan. There is that between us that makes it impossible for me to cross swords with either of them in public.

We often feel, as we read the history of British India and look at the stage which we have reached, that we should like to wring someone's neck. The moral of what I have told you today is that the necks that we want to wring have long since mouldered in the dust. (Applause.)

INDIAN REACTIONS TO THE WHITE PAPER

By A. Yusuf Ali, c.b.e.

When the East India Association asked me at very short notice to prepare a paper on the present situation in India, it occurred to me that it might be profitable to discuss the Indian reactions to the White Paper. I was in India when the White Paper was published. I have been during the last seven months in the closest touch with all political parties in India. As a member of the Executive Board of the All-India Muslim Conference and President of the last special session of the Conference in Calcutta I have borne my share in helping to define the Muslim attitude towards the coming Reforms. The Indian Delegates who are co-operating with the Joint Parliamentary Committee on India have a heavy task before them. They have, on the one hand, to keep in touch with their constituents' views in India, and on the other to convince British opinion of all shades that the Indian demands are not an abstract proposition, but have behind them the insistent pressure of movements which may be dangerous unless they are met in a frank spirit of understanding and statesmanship. They have, moreover, as practical men, to use their own judgment in reconciling divers views, Indian and British, on points as they arise.

The object which I propose to myself is not to attack or to defend the White Paper, but to show how different circles feel about it in India, and to offer a few suggestions, if I may, about the huge complex of the Indian situation, which (it must be remembered) is not merely a political matter, but has intertwined strands economic, social, educational, and religious.

The three sessions of the Round-Table Conference in London (if they did nothing else) helped to develop and show the trend of opinion on Indian Reform in different circles in India and England. It is not correct to say that clear-cut or definite conclusions were reached on any major points, nor even that the

greatest measure of agreement among all sections was ascertained. But the different schools of thought tried to probe each others' ideas, and the process was educative to themselves and to the public. His Majesty's Government put forward in the Communal Award a definite scheme of communal representation, which was accepted as a basis for proceeding further with the scheme of Reforms by Moderate opinion. By Moderate opinion I do not mean the opinion of any organized party which can be labelled Moderate, but the opinion of men of moderate attitude in all parties. At the same time the Communal Award awakened latent powers of resistance in those minds—and they are not a few in India—which think of politics in terms of abstract philosophy or mass imitation rather than in terms of concrete realities. They looked upon the Communal Award as unjust and impracticable, and some even as a mischievous attempt to set the two great communities in India by the ears. With this in the background of their minds, any scheme built on the Communal Award was bound to appear indefensible to them.

If we bear this background of events in our mind we shall readily understand the different reactions which were called forth in different sections of opinion when the White Paper was published.

The Congress View

Let us take the Congress first. It has been definitely hostile to co-operative effort with the Government or with the British authorities in England from the time that it passed the resolution in favour of Independence. Where it has professed to explore new avenues for Purna Swaraj it has all the time been sceptical in its own mind. It did not join the third session of the Round-Table Conference. Most of the leaders were in jail or went to jail soon afterwards. It is true that some of them have since seen the impracticability, or at least the barrenness, of Civil Disobedience. But the Congress as a body has never disowned that weapon. The Government of Lord Willingdon (whom I found hale and hearty and full of youthful cheerfulness and confidence) is fully entitled to take credit for its recent policy of greater firm-

ness in the preservation of law and order. But Governments invariably wear rose-coloured spectacles. Too much optimism in this matter is a mistake, as it would put us on a false scent.

There are whole sections of population in whose minds the boundary between Congress propaganda and terrorism is ill defined. Underground terrorism flourishes in India as it has never flourished before, and its most enthusiastic advocates and recruits are women and youth of both sexes. There is glamour in forbidden conduct. The glorious defiance of authority beckons young minds of generous ambitions. In this sort of atmosphere slow, plodding work in constitutional discussions seems futile and a waste of time. When further it is openly declared that the word of Britain is not to be trusted and that the whole of the present proceedings are a breach of faith, we can understand that no scheme short of complete abandonment of responsibility by Great Britain would have any chance of acceptance.

Even such a scheme might be viewed with suspicion as an insidious attempt to tighten Britain's grip in some mysterious way. To the extreme wing of the Congress the Crown means nothing; the Indian States and their rulers are an anachronism; minorities have only one right, that to suffer; religion is a discredited thing, except the religion of chauvinistic nationalism. If they want to conciliate minorities at all it is only in order to absorb them. There is a kind of snake which fascinates its victims with a glad eye. Fascination is not a false description of its attitude and motive. We know it not only in the Indian jungle but also in the Indian political field. Constitutional reform has no meaning to such a mentality. Fortunately that section is not numerically large. Those composing it did not read the White Paper, but condemned it in advance.

Hindu Nationalism

I do not wish to attack the large body of Congress men who hold sane views (if sanity can be separated from practicality). But because they have funds, organization, and a clamorous Press their influence may very well be exaggerated. Leaving them aside, there is undoubtedly a large body of Hindu opinion, includ-

ing some very distinguished public men, who sincerely but inconsistently look upon the suppression of illegal Congress activities as a mark of high-handed tyranny and the claims of the minorities—especially of the Muslim minority—as an intolerable spoke in the wheel of progress. They would weld Hinduism, under a wide definition, to include every shade of religious thought except the Muslim, and would make the Hindu Mahasabha the arbiter of Indian Nationalism. To doctrinaire politicians abroad their propaganda appears plausible. To us in India who do not agree with them their propaganda appears the very negation of nationalism or democracy.

However that may be, it is this section, whose boundary is ill defined, which, while disclaiming adherence to Congress, is really most bitter about the Communal Award and the consequential steps that may be necessary to implement it. They have been trying, with the help of the Congress, to upset the Communal Award by many methods, of which I shall mention three. In the first place they succeeded in modifying the Communal Award about the Untouchables. But by no means all the Untouchable leaders are satisfied with that modification. Nor is it certain that in the new orientation towards the Untouchables, which Mr. Gandhi's efforts have brought into prominence, some of the caste Hindus who agreed to the modification in the first flush of their enthusiasm have not repented of it since.

In the second place they have tried to get the Sikhs to identify themselves with the general Hindu position. In this they have half succeeded. I have the highest respect for the Sikhs, and I number some Sikhs among my best friends in India. But I feel that if the Sikhs wish to preserve their identity and really to work for the progress of the country as a whole on realistic lines, their best plan would be to accept the position assigned to them in the Communal Award and work definitely with their Hindu and Muslim fellow subjects in the direction of a gradual evolution of a true Indian nationality.

In the third place Congress inspiration was behind a great many unsuccessful conferences which were called Unity Conferences. To my mind, as I have said elsewhere, they really

became disunity conferences, as they caused new fissures and lines of disruption to appear among the existing political bodies. Their much advertised attempt must not be confused with the earnest attempts (of which one hears so little) that are being made by leaders in many parts of the country to find a *modus vivendi* and a rapprochement between the different communities, on the principles of the Communal Award, but leading up gradually to a greater and greater and more harmonious co-operation between the various communities in India.

The section of intransigent Nationalists found the White Paper too great a shock because it built on the Communal Award. They were unwilling to assume the implications of the Communal Award and they were impatient with all the safeguards and reserve powers which were set out in such meticulous detail by His Majesty's Government.

The Muslim Attitude

And now we come to the Muslims. Much disappointment has been caused in England because the organs of Muslim political opinion have not been enthusiastic in the reception of the White Paper. They have been severely critical of it on many points and instructed their delegates to bring these points as clearly as possible to the notice of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. It is not that the Muslim community as a whole is not going to make an honest attempt to co-operate with His Majesty's Government and the Government of India in building up the new Constitution, or that they do not realize that many of the reserve powers, discretionary powers, and extraordinary powers of the Governor-General and the Governors are designed to protect minority interests. But they feel that as set out in the White Paper the proposals err so much on the side of caution that they nullify the promise of provincial autonomy and of responsibility at the Centre.

A Cold Reception

It will be asked what section of opinion found the White Paper acceptable. I should say none in India, barring very small sec-

tions of numerical insignificance. This is the more remarkable as some of the very critical delegates who had come in a sceptical mood to the third session of the Round-Table Conference had been so charmed with the personality of Sir Samuel Hoare that they came back very much reassured and awaited the White Paper with an open mind. Perhaps it was because they expected too much that they were disappointed. Perhaps in the nebulous atmosphere of the Round-Table Conferences, especially in the earlier stages, language was used and hopes were raised which meant different things to different people. Perhaps also a certain amount of propaganda had been carried on in India to make the people believe that the Conservative element in the National Government were not sympathetic to even the most modest aspirations of the Indian people. Perhaps the language of Mr. Churchill and Lord Lloyd, which was perfectly intelligible in its setting in England, sounded falsely in the Indian atmosphere and was wholly misunderstood. The fact remains that there was a sort of dismay produced in non-official circles in India on the publication of the White Paper—even among the circles which were accustomed to support the Government. The White Paper was called the Black Paper and by all sorts of other opprobrious names which the resources of polite English language may not be equal to reproducing in full-blooded significance.

The time that has elapsed since has sobered public opinion a little, and I think it is correct to say that reasonable people are beginning to see the safeguards and the reserve powers in better perspective after the first mist of disappointed expectations has been dissipated. They are beginning to realize that the extreme emphasis laid on reservations and discretionary and extraordinary powers was after all meant for home consumption in England, where an organized effort is being made to defeat the Government's policy. A remarkable speech which Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of the United Provinces, addressed to his Legislative Council just before he left India to assist the Joint Parliamentary Committee had also a steadying effect. I was in the United Provinces when the speech was delivered, and it visibly affected the tone of a discussion at which I was present.

Objections to Moderates

So far for general impressions. Let us take specific grievances as they have emerged from a specific examination of the proposals at leisure. In the first place let me note the eight points which Mr. Srinivasa Sastri urged as the most important defects of the scheme in an article which he wrote for the *Indian Review*. He wants:

1. Indianization in Defence to be completed within a fixed period, and preparation to be made for Indian responsibility during the transition period.
2. No Governor-General's Acts and no Governors' Acts, as distinguished from Acts passed in due course by the Legislature.
3. No special responsibility and powers to the Governor-General or the Governors in the transferred sphere except on behalf of the minorities or of an Indian State.
4. Previous sanction (if kept) in matters of currency and exchange to be expressly only in the interests of India.
5. The Services to be in future under the control of the Federal Government (and presumably of the Provincial Governments in the case of the Provinces).
6. The Constitution Act to be alterable by the Indian Legislature except where Imperial interests are involved.
7. The Railway Board as well as the Reserve Bank to be constituted by Indian legislation.
8. The Secretary of State's Council (and presumably the "Advisers," the term used under the new scheme) to be abolished.

In a memorandum put forward by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and other Liberal leaders the following four conditions were laid down for an acceptable scheme:

1. Full and unfettered responsible government in the Provinces.
2. Central responsibility, including control of the purse; control of economic policy, including questions of exchange, currency, and industrial and commercial matters; and an increasing share of responsibility and control in matters of Defence.
3. Central responsibility to be introduced simultaneously with provincial autonomy.
4. Safeguards to be only for a fixed transitional period and to be demonstrably in the interests of India.

Some Questions

Viewing the matter from a different angle, I will exhibit certain heads of pertinent criticism in the form of questions rather than of dogmatic assertions:

1. Is the White Paper an advance on Dyarchy? Does it point the way to Dominion Status? Is it likely to lead to greater confidence as between Great Britain and India, or between the Government and the people in India, or between the different communities which are organizing politically? In some respects the greater definition of the special responsibilities and powers of the Governors in the transferred sphere will make the position of Ministers worse instead of better in the Provinces. The control of the purse will not be complete even in the Provinces, on account of the classification of a large number of subjects as Federal, which in many federations would go to the units of the Federation. The limited Dyarchy proposal in the Federal Government is even more restricted than in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme for the Provinces. There is no definite pointer to Dominion Status in the future. Some of the provisions are likely to cause more friction instead of leading to greater harmony and mutual confidence. I say nothing about the greater happiness of the masses of the people, because that is a nebulous term.

2. Are the financial provisions adequate and are the transferred powers backed up with sufficient financial resources? Is provincial finance sufficiently safeguarded *vis-à-vis* the Federation? Is it going to lead to an intolerable burden of taxation? Is it going to make the masses of India more contented?

3. Is the Federation proposed going to give India a strong Central Government, able to enforce its will and to work harmoniously with the Provinces and the States? Will British India tolerate the interference of the States' members in the Central Executive with British Indian matters when the Central Executive will be unable to interfere in State matters not expressly made over to the Federation?

4. Is it possible for Ministers in the Provinces to carry on an efficient and responsible administration without full control over all the Services actually working in the Provinces? What will be the position of Ministers when they cannot even post Indian Civil Service and police officers to particular districts or transfer them without the personal concurrence of the Governor? Is the Ecclesiastical Department for ever to remain outside the control of Indian authorities, although paid from the Indian revenues and ministering mainly to the religious interests of numerically negligible non-Indian Services? Are the superior Railway and Medical Services, about which the decision is reserved in the White Paper, to be outside the control of Indian authorities, and is such a provision consistent with autonomy in the real sense of the term? Is it justifiable on any but racial grounds? The Foreign and Ecclesiastical Departments Services are to be exempt from a statutory enquiry after five years; any decision after a statutory enquiry about the other Services will rest with His Majesty's Government, and not with the Indian authorities. How far is that justifiable with even the limited autonomy which is proposed?

5. What are the Rulers of the Indian States really thinking of the White Paper proposals? Is the protest of the late Jam Saheb to be treated as of no significance? Is the somewhat cool attitude of the latest sessions of the Chamber of Princes to be considered as lending support to the scheme?

Will the States be strengthened or weakened by their contact with all the communal, revolutionary, and terrorist movements, from which they have hitherto been free? Is it possible that ambitious Ministers in the States will not be subject to the same kinds of pressure as publicists in British India, and is it possible that the policy of the Indian States and many of their cherished traditions will be thrown into jeopardy? What are to be the reactions of the subjects of the States to their Rulers and to the new conditions which must necessarily be set up in the States? Is the rise of these new problems going to strengthen or weaken the support of the British connection by the States?

6. Is the form of protection given to the minorities in virtue of the special powers conferred on Governors and the Governor-General adequate? Is that form satisfactory to the minorities themselves? Does it lead to the real rapprochement between the different communities which is essential for the general advance of the country in political education? Can the minorities be expected to be content with mere protection, or will they demand full status and the power to manage their own affairs in their own way themselves?

7. Are the Administrative Services which are described as Imperial to retain a similar form and status to those which they enjoy at the present moment? Will they eventually disappear? Can they fit into the patchy framework of a make-shift Constitution? If not, is it not necessary to devise newer Services adapted to the new conditions and less expensive to the country? What are the views of the Indian and British members of the Services, and have they been sufficiently taken into account in the framing of policy?

Some Wider Considerations

I feel convinced that no efficient political scheme can be framed without taking full account of economic, social, educational, and religious considerations. Is it a heresy to say that our political discussions have not hitherto sufficiently taken account of these very important factors? In the economic sphere the Royal Commission on Labour showed somewhat startling maladjustments, even in the limited sphere of its enquiry. Our industrial system, though new, has many weak joints, some of them peculiar to India. The enfranchisement of Labour is both just and necessary, but considering the weak organization of Labour in India, how is Labour going to work as a factor in the stabilization of Indian political conditions?

The biggest economic interest in India is agricultural, and a large number of people among the illiterate rural masses will be

enfranchised. What will be their influence on Governments? There are already signs of cleavage between town and country interests. Will there be a political clash between them, or will they be able harmoniously to adjust their relations in working for the common economic betterment of India? The world-wide economic depression has touched India, but produced new problems peculiar to India. The present slump in the prices of manufactured articles is exceeded by the slump in the prices of raw produce. Will the Indian producer be satisfied with political conditions under which he will continue to feel the pinch of economic poverty without being able to help himself to such remedial measures as more advanced economic communities devise for themselves?

The question of rural indebtedness has loomed large for many generations in India. It has almost become dangerous in the present economic depression, in which there is no stability in prices or currency, and the pressure of debt has enormously increased, much to the advantage of creditors and disadvantage of debtors. Where debtors and creditors often belong to different races or religious or political communities, is a greater advance towards paper democracy likely to help in the solution of these difficult questions, or is it more likely to lead to confusion, perhaps even to upheavals, before which political systems will be dissipated like smoke before a driving wind?

In the social system of India the Untouchable question has recently assumed a new phase. But apart from the Untouchables there are many social inequalities and anomalies which will be thrown into relief by the new political forces. The remedial measures which are being taken in other countries have not yet been formulated in India. Indeed, the traditional spirit of India may impose obstacles to the working of remedial measures which are borrowed from other countries. It may also be that the social systems which have maintained a greater traditional hold in the villages than in the towns and in the Indian States than in British India may suffer violent shocks in the hotch-potch which we are now cooking. Such shocks are bound to have serious repercussions in our political system. No true son of India wishes

the present chaos to be deepened. If we are wise we shall not let our political system creak under a greater strain than it can bear.

The educational system of India has often been blamed for the various social, economic, and political maladjustments which we are dealing with. Without subscribing to any wholesale condemnation, I am bound to confess that the whole educational question needs to be reviewed in the light of the new conditions. The unemployment among the educated classes is on a scale of which no one could have any conception who has not lived in intimate contact with these classes. Educational discontent is very much at the bottom of a great deal of the anarchy and confusion that exist in India. Perhaps it may even be said that a desire for openings for the educated classes in the Public Services was the real starting-point of the various political movements which have taken such aggressive and fantastic shapes in our own time. That desire is in itself just. But it should not be exploited merely for political purposes. Otherwise there will be rude awakenings, whatever Government is in power. What perturbs me is that the new tendencies are not all in the right direction. The multiplication of universities, or making them unitary instead of affiliating, will not give us more bread. Making education more expensive will not necessarily make it better. "Compulsory universal education" is a fashionable slogan. The good it will do will depend on its quality.

In the religious sphere it is distressing to see that economic, social and political ambitions are only too ready to exploit the religious feelings of the people. The result is a weakening of the moral fibre which should be associated with religion, and the creation, in the minds of the young, of a sort of malaise with the name of Religion itself. This has produced curious complications in Indian life. Whatever course political movements in India may take, I hope religious leaders and all those to whom the message of religion makes an abiding and permanent appeal in life will set their faces against the conflicts which political ambition often creates by exploiting the religious feelings of the masses. The Indian question is as much a moral question as it is political,

economic, social, or educational. But none of these factors can be isolated from the others.

One thing is certain. There are currents of thoughts, feelings, passions, and prejudices in every department of life, in India as everywhere else; perhaps more in India than anywhere else, because the gradual evolution, through many generations, of an ordered conformity between politics, religion, education, the social order, business, agriculture, industry, and all the complexities of modern civilization has not yet had time to operate. The revolutionary feeling is in the air. The word "revolution" (*inqilab*) is in everyone's subconscious thoughts, if not on everyone's lips. To draw from this the conclusion that you can stand still is a dangerous fallacy. Will the man of the hour come? His task will be not to bottle up the trouble, but to ride the whirlwind and direct the storm.

My advice to impatient reformers is: March slow; make sure of every step; and look all round. My advice to hesitating or obstinate reactionaries is: Go forward; too much caution may spell disaster; take risks, but do not pretend that you are doing more than you are.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Thursday, June 1, 1933, when a paper, entitled "Indian Reactions to the White Paper," was read by Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., I.C.S. (retd.). Dewan Bahadur Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, C.I.E. (Dewan of Baroda), was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., The Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Henry S. Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir K. Venkata Reddi, Sir Alan Pim, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Alfred Watson, Colonel Sir Henry Gidney, Lady (James) Walker, Lady (Lionel) Jacob, Professor H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., Mr. J. R. Martin, C.I.E., Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Begum Shah Nawaz, Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, Pandit Ramchandra Kak, Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Weir, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Rev. E. S. Carr, Swami B. H. Bon, Mr. H. M. Willmot, Mrs. Roberts, Miss E. L. Curteis, Miss C. K. Cumming, Miss Thomas, Mr. E. B. G. Head, Mr. F. Grubb, Colonel A. G. Hamilton, Mr. R. K. Ranadive, Mrs. Dewar, Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Mr. and Mrs. Richardson, Miss Hopley, Mr. G. W. F. Gray, Mr. H. Jehangiani, Miss Speechley, Mr. J. P. Fletcher, Miss Clarkson, Miss Hanson, Mr. S. A. Rafique, Mr. P. M. Sharpe, Mr. J. Spence, Mrs. Drysdale, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. C. F. Cooper, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mrs. Yate, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not think Mr. Yusuf Ali requires any introduction to this audience. He has just returned from India after spending seven months in that country, during a part of which he was engaged on a Committee for the reorganization of the Punjab University.

I feel sure we shall be delighted to hear his address on the reception which the White Paper received in India.

(The Paper was then read.)

Sir VENKATA REDDI: I think anyone who has heard Mr. Yusuf Ali and who has been in India must admit that he has given us this afternoon a very clear conception of the situation in India. He has told you that he has seen almost the whole of India, and that he did not find anywhere any signs of any persons or institutions who have given their whole-hearted support to the White Paper.

I come from the southernmost province, Madras—I think there is a body of opinion in that province of a party which claims to represent nearly 80 per cent. of the population there. We are about forty-five millions in that province. The party of which I have been speaking, to which I have the honour to belong, the great Justice party, as it is called, at least can

claim to have given more support to the White Paper than any other party in the country.

That is not to say that it has accepted it wholly. No doubt we join others in saying that the White Paper is not quite satisfactory in all respects. I suppose any amount of talk in this country and any amount of conciliation and goodwill cannot make people in India think that everything is satisfactory. Something will always be unsatisfactory, and people who are responsible need not mind that much of dissatisfaction. But on the whole it must be confessed that at least my party believes that a great advance is made by this White Paper over existing constitutions. (Applause.)

In the very first question put by Mr. Yusuf Ali he asked, "Is it an improvement on dyarchy?" Well, sir, as one who has worked the dyarchic system for three years in the province of Madras, I, speaking for myself and for all those whom I represent, can say with certainty that a really great advance is made.

Then the wide franchise that has been given to us, some millions having been added to the existing number of voters, is another great thing which I at any rate, coming as I do from a community of agriculturists—my caste is called Kapu (agriculturist)—must be very grateful for. I am very thankful to all those who are responsible for that wide franchise that has been granted to us—though again we would like to have it widened still more and still more.

To answer the numerous questions that are put here would take a very long time indeed, and since the President has been pleased to tell us that we shall not be given more than five minutes, I cannot attempt it. I would tell you this, however, that though no doubt there are elements in India which cannot accept this wholly on the one hand, there are elements on the other side—as in the case of my party—there are people who are prepared to be grateful for the White Paper, subject to alterations that may be made by the Joint Parliamentary Committee in consultation with the representatives of India. There are men in India who have advised that these reforms should be accepted as they finally emerge from the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

In India, as in this country, there will always be dissatisfied elements. I do not know whether to call them really alarmists or only people who are anxious to see that the right thing is done in the right manner. The trouble is that those who are responsible for these things have already been in great difficulties about this matter. Here are twenty-eight gentlemen from India as delegates to the Joint Select Committee and many witnesses: our best brains are gathered here. May I ask those that are agitating in this country and in India to conceive how difficult is the task that is set before these great men, and how unfair it is on the part of these dissentients to create more difficulties for these people. (Applause.) For three years they have laboured. The best men of India have been sent here. Your own Cabinet Ministers, responsible to the people, to Parliament, are sitting there. They are your watchdogs. They will see that the interests of England and Great Britain are in no way sacrificed. On the

other hand, here are these Indian representatives sitting with them, who will see that they get the best they can from Great Britain.

Why, then, create difficulties in this way? Reading the newspapers in this country, I discover a great agitation being stirred up in this land for which there is no justification at all. (Applause.) You have given us education. We have learnt to love liberty and freedom, such as you love in this country. We have evolved representative institutions and responsible governments. For 150 years you have trained us to this end, and it is not right that you should think we should fall short of British citizenship. We only claim to be British citizens, your equals, your partners.

There is no good in telling India that this Paper should be scrapped. Nothing of the kind. You have trained us well and nicely, and we are in a position to take your place and take such place as you are prepared to give us in consultation with our countrymen here.

I hope that the people of this country will realize that it is very unwise indeed to create feelings in India in the manner that has been done here now. It will be good for you and for us to be friends, to extend your helping hand in friendship, and then England and India can work together in close co-operation for the benefit of both countries.

Lord LAMINGTON: Perhaps I may be allowed to say, as President of the Association, a few words on this very momentous question. Mr. Yusuf Ali, who has been so good as to prepare this paper at short notice, has touched on many points in it which arouse our extreme interest and require careful thought. At the beginning he said he was not going to attack the White Paper. I note the absence of any even faint praise of the White Paper and I thought very successful condemnation of it.

Towards the end of the paper he says, "If we are wise we shall not let our political system creak under a greater strain than it can bear." I gather he meant it had not gone far enough in his view. As opposed to this statement, he gives very wise advice at the end. He says, "March slow; make sure of every step; and look all round." He is quite right, but the point is, at the present time so vast is the subject that outside interference is to be deprecated. The matter is too important for any sort of party feeling.

We have in this country two parties: one which says that the adoption of anything like the White Paper will lead to absolute disaster in India, to our connection with India; and you have on the other hand moderate reformers like Mr. Sastri and others, who ask for reforms so-called to an extent that to my mind would be impossible if it is wished to maintain the British connection at all.

I myself believe that failure to adopt the White Paper, even in its more general form, will lead to very serious difficulties. It would mean that you are to close down the idea of the Indian people having responsible self-government. That seems to me a most dangerous proposition.

It may be a very dangerous policy introduced by the White Paper, but to withdraw a vision held by three hundred millions of people and say, "No, you are not to have what you expect," would be disastrous. (Applause.)

Of course, those in this country who advocate that the White Paper should not be adopted say that it is, after all, only a very small section in India, the Congress party, which really wants this extreme measure passed. My answer to that is that it is quite true it is only a small party, but a very highly educated party, and whilst hundreds of millions of uneducated Indians do not understand the political position one scrap, all the more liable are they to be seduced from reasonable ideas by members of the Congress party influencing them to these wonderful ideas of benefits that are going to accrue to them by the adoption of self-government. To say to these, "You are not going to have self-government," seems to me a most dangerous proposition.

People who have held high expectations will be all the more liable to be carried away by those who are opponents of the connection with this country. You cannot overthrow people's hopes and expectations, however vain they may have been, that have been aroused even by those who want a very strong policy. Therefore it seems to me that anxious and dangerous as the proposal may be, to bring forward this measure in whatever form may be decided on by the Joint Committee may lead to very painful results; yet on the whole it is safer to try that than to disappoint people whose expectations have been aroused.

We must remember that there are two different standards in this country and in India. [The speaker read a letter written by an Englishwoman respecting a club; the writer described the disrepair into which the premises had got, everything in holes, dirty, all the glory had departed. This was a description of what had occurred in a very short time after the removal of the British. It went on, "The people seem happy and contented enough. All they want is to be left alone, and so far they do not seem to be worrying."]

This is an instance of the difference between our ideas in this country of comfort and orderly administration. The masses of the people would be quite content to go back to their pristine habits. Are we to allow them to do that, or are we to safeguard what we in this country consider their most material interests? I say myself, I think you must try the experiment to see whether it is not possible to carry out some form of co-operative government between the Indians and the British. If you could get the best representatives of both countries working together you would get a peaceful and prosperous India.

I believe it is possible. I believe it would be more possible if you got rid of party political influence from this country. For that reason I am all for trying this great experiment and giving the Indians a greater interest, a greater control in the administration of their own affairs.

Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: I find myself in rather a delicate position this afternoon because, as a member of the British India Delegation attending the Joint Parliamentary Committee proceedings, my lips are sealed on certain matters relating to the White Paper, which is the subject of this afternoon's discussion. Therefore what I am about to say now will be with reference to the White Paper in general, dealing with a few of the questions asked by the speaker.

I must first of all congratulate him on his very interesting address. It was, of course, to be expected that the White Paper would not please everybody and, therefore, one is not surprised to know that various communities and sects of political thought have received it in different ways. But there is one point that is agitating my mind very much and to which the speaker did not refer in his very able paper. I have been in active political life in India for the past fifteen years and so I feel that I can talk with some authority and experience.

The point is this: However much we may safeguard the future Constitution in India by insisting on the many safeguards that are to be found in the White Paper and however anxious we may all be to grant complete provincial autonomy and even partial responsibility in the Centre, there is one fact which I am afraid many people do not realize, and that is the possibility, indeed the probability, that the next two elections will return into power the only organized political party in India today. I refer to the Swaraj or Congress party. To my mind the policy of that party will be to wreck the Constitution, to disregard the safeguards, their object being to secure complete responsibility in the Centre. I know that there are many Indians, as also Englishmen, who believe that the Congress is more or less dead.

That is not my view. If I read the times aright I think that the moment the new Act begins to operate the Congress party will be very much alive, and this is the one fear that dominates my thought in my readiness to join with most Indians to secure provincial autonomy and partial responsibility in the Centre. In support of my fear I would instance the Corporation of Calcutta, which I look upon as a sort of amplifier, or loud speaker, of the Congress gramophone in Bengal or, might I say, as the mirror reflecting the political views of Bengal. For instance, look at the recent election of the Mayor and Aldermen in Calcutta. This election took place about two months ago, and despite the knowledge that the White Paper was according a great increase in franchise and the communal award had given Muslims a majority representation in the Council, we find that the Congress had an overwhelming victory in that they returned the Mayor and most of the aldermen of the Corporation of Calcutta.

It is therefore my belief that for the next two elections to the Councils, if not more, the Swarajists will be returned in an overwhelming majority in certain provinces in India and that they will form the Cabinet. One must always keep this picture before one's mind when thinking of what is best for India and what should be the nature of the safeguards, as also the giving of responsibility in the Centre. One of the questions asked by the speaker today was, "Will the White Paper give India a strong responsible government?" To my mind and as I read the White Paper it seems as if it is based on what I might call an imaginary federation. I say this because the Princes have decided not to federate until the provinces are functioning autonomously. The White Paper also states that responsibility in the Centre will only be given when federation is a *fait accompli*. On the other hand, the Princes will not federate with British India until the provinces are properly functioning and until they are assured that they are

federating with a solid and not a fluid British India, and I might add that I do not believe Parliament will consent to giving any responsibility in the Centre until federation has actually taken place. This is the quagmire of thought and doubt in which I find myself, and one is entitled to say that since federation will not come about for some time responsibility in the Centre will not be given for some time.

In other words, although the White Paper implies federation with certain responsibility in the Centre, in practice it will mean provincial autonomy for some time to come and then, depending on many other factors, such as the Reserve Bank, exports, imports, and an improvement in the general economic conditions of the country, we may see federation with central responsibility. It is for this reason I have said that, to my mind, the White Paper is based on imaginary federation or a federation to come at an unknown time, and this leads me to the second question which was asked by the speaker: "What do the Princes think of the White Paper?" It seems to me that the Princes are divided among themselves and have not made up their minds as to whether federation will be to their interests or not. True, some of them have signified their assent and consent to the White Paper; while others are hostile to it and are adopting a more or less rigidly conservative view. This is another reason why I think that federation is in the distance.

The question that agitates not only my mind but the minds of Indian politicians is, what will be given to India during the interim period—that is the period when the New Constitution Act begins to operate and that uncertain period when federation will be a *fait accompli*? Will the White Paper, when it emerges from the Houses of Parliament, contain any element of responsibility in the Centre or will there be an absence of this responsibility? This is the crucial point and this will be the acid test to which the whole of India will respond—that is, co-operate or non-co-operate with the White Paper when it is in operation. There is no doubt that the White Paper, as it stands today, demands as prerequisites to federation certain very important fulfilments, but many of these are beyond human control, and this again adds an additional doubt in my mind for the future of federation and/or its date of accomplishment. As the White Paper stands at present I think it is a very liberal contribution of reform to India, for it has carried India very far ahead of the present reforms, and the authors of the White Paper are to be congratulated on its production. But what concerns me most of all is what will be the reaction of the White Paper in India when it finally emerges from the House of Commons.

The next question put by the speaker was, "What do the communities think of the White Paper?" In answering this question I shall confine my remarks to the community which I have had the honour to lead and to represent for the last 15 years, that is, the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European community. Let me in a word say that, outside of Paragraph 101, which deals with Anglo-Indian education and for which I am extremely grateful, there is no other evidence whatever of any protection being given to my people, indeed, it looks as if England is leaving its offspring, the Anglo-Indian community, as its bankrupt legacy to India.

I shall not weary you by detailing the past history of the community and the great services it has rendered to India in the past and is performing even today, but let me here state that the Anglo-Indians can truly be called "Empire builders" in that they have helped their forefathers, the Englishmen, by whom they have loyally stood ever since the country came into existence many hundreds of years ago, in developing the main commercial arteries of India such as the railways, telegraphs, and Customs to their present state of perfection and benefit to the finances of India. These services date from the early John Company period to the present day. Our military services during the Great War and during the recent Civil Disobedience disturbances alone entitle the Anglo-Indian community to economic protection and which means very life or death. India owes a great debt of gratitude to this community.

It was the British nation that created the community, and I feel sure that no White Paper can be passed by Parliament which does not adequately protect the future of this community, for a certain number of years at any rate. I look in vain for such evidence in the White Paper as it is today. The community has served England and India loyally and honestly and its flag of loyalty is untarnished today. The speaker asked, "What do the minorities think of the White Paper?" The Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European community is dissatisfied with the absence of any specific economic provision made for it, with the result that today one-third of the able-bodied men of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European community are unemployed and are roaming the streets of India seeking employment in those very services which we helped to build and from which today we are being ostracized. Is this the reward that the community is to get for its services to the Empire? The White Paper as passed by Parliament will answer this question. Personally, I am hopeful that adequate statutory economic protection will be given to them.

Sir ALFRED WATSON: I do not know whether I am to be classed amongst the "impatient reformers" or the "obstinate reactionaries" in India, and in that divided state of mind I find the advice of Mr. Yusuf Ali a little difficult to follow, for at the same time I am asked to "march slow" and to "go forward," to "make sure of every step" and to "take risks."

Mr. Yusuf Ali has shown himself an adept in asking questions. We are all of us asking ourselves these questions today, and I wish Mr. Yusuf Ali had attempted to answer some of his own questions, because the answers are vital to the future in India.

Unless there is some large party in India which is prepared to support the reforms in the White Paper, which is prepared to make sacrifices for them and to fight for them in the country, then it is useless—I say it advisedly—for us to go forward. We cannot force reforms on to an unwilling country, and what we who have the battle to fight in this country look for is that support from India which is absolutely necessary to convince English opinion.

Mr. Yusuf Ali has put a good deal of emphasis in his paper upon the restrictions which India, we gather, resents in some measure. I would

say to India that it would do well in the beginning to accept those restrictions which will not be operative unless they are necessary, and it is for India to prove by its conduct of the new Government that the restrictions are unnecessary and that they can be safely abrogated.

I can quite understand that impatience in India of which Mr. Yusuf Ali speaks. I have had experience of it in that country. But there is an almost equal impatience amongst those of us who are supporting the reforms that India should show such willingness to go forward by easy stages. I can assure those who are looking forward to power in the future in India that they have a task before them in bringing the administration of India into line with that of the rest of the world which will occupy the whole of their powers and which will be very much better done if it can be taken step by step.

Lastly, I would like to say this. Mr Yusuf Ali has held out very little hope to us this afternoon of unanimity amongst parties in India. If India is to advance she must have union, and union first of all amongst the Muslim community, and, secondly, a real union and combination and co-operation between Hindus and Muslims.

It would be intolerable to all of us who have worked for Indian reforms for years if the only outcome of those reforms in the beginning was to be an accentuated strife between the various communities in India.

The MAHARAJAH OF BURDWAN: Mr. Yusuf Ali's reflections on the Indian reactions to the White Paper certainly do not give us any great assurance at the present moment. He has mentioned many of the difficulties which he foresaw during his sojourn in India. I think one of the greatest difficulties he mentions is that in the religious sphere it is distressing to see that economic, social, and political ambitions are only too ready to exploit the religious feelings of the people.

Those of us who are anxious to see that the two great communities in India, the Muslims and the Hindus, should combine to help in the new Constitution that may be evolved after the Joint Select Committee has reported to Parliament are most anxious that in the future constitution of India the strife for power should not be tinged with that communal hatred and hostility which has given so much handle to the unfriendly people in this country to belittle our own powers to build up a new nationhood for India.

That is why I hope that those that have come from India to help the Joint Committee will not only help to keep down emotions and to see that the communal spirit does not prevail amongst them, but that men like Mr. Yusuf Ali and others with their culture and with their great depth of learning and feeling for others will be able to bring into India a new spirit, a new spirit of co-operation between the Hindu and Muslim, an idea that the Muhammadan in India is an Indian first and a brother to the Hindu, and that whatever may be the martial races outside belonging to that community, the Muhammadans and the Hindus must shoulder the future responsibilities in the new Constitution for India.

With regard to minorities, I can assure my friend Colonel Gidney that,

belonging to a minority community myself, he has my fullest sympathies. But what we have to consider in the minority problems before the Joint Select Committee is that all minorities must expect the inevitable position in the future constitution of India—namely, that they must make themselves felt as important minorities, but as relatively small minorities they must also realize that they will have to make room in larger questions for the two great communities.

Lastly, may I say that when the White Paper has not been accepted by certain politicians, or most politicians, in India as a good thing, or has been described as a "black paper," and when a certain bulldog element in Great Britain says "Ride over it," I think there is something really good in the White Paper and that is why I support the main principles embodied in it.

The CHAIRMAN: We have had a most useful and instructive paper and discussion today. I do not think you will expect me to answer the many points to which Mr. Yusuf Ali has referred. I shall answer one of his questions—namely, "What are the rulers of the Indian States really thinking of the White Paper proposals?" My answer is, The majority of the rulers, the large majority of them, are wholeheartedly in favour of an All-India Federation. Only the other day on a very formal occasion—*i.e.*, the visit of His Excellency the Viceroy to Baroda—the Maharajah of Baroda spoke the following words, referring to the discussions proceeding at the Round-Table Conference: "I am glad that today we are proposing to build on the wider basis and surer foundations of an All-India Federation. I believe in the idea of a Federation. For many years I have thought that a definite step should be taken towards the evolution of a united India, in which British India and the States as equal partners will work for the common good. I am fully convinced that in any such scheme the States can play a notable part."

Later on His Highness said: "In many fields of activity—mass education, reorientation of indigenous culture, social legislation, devising of methods for associating the people with the administration, reconciliation of conflicting communal and other interests—States with their distinctive traditions can embark on fruitful experiments which will add to the wealth of political and administrative experience in India." This answer, I think, represents the prevailing opinion among the Princes.

Having said this, I would only add another remark. The new Constitution of India should be founded on justice to the numerous communities and interests in India. All of them should feel that in the Constitution that is going to be set up they have adequate safeguards for protecting them. I have no doubt whatever, judging from past experience, that such safeguards will be resigned willingly by the communities once they feel confidence in the new order of things.

There is an example of that in the province from which Sir Venkata Reddi and myself come. When the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution was about to be set up the great party to which Sir Venkata Reddi belongs asked for reservation of seats as a measure of protection. This was given.

When the Simon Commission went along to Madras that party, through its leaders, told the Simon Commission that they did not want that protection any longer.

If the new Constitution is to be successful at all it must be such as to inspire confidence in the numerous communities and the powerful interests that we have got in India, and the White Paper recognizes this principle and gives effect to it.

Mr. YUSUF ALI: I do not wish to detain the meeting a moment longer than is necessary, but it is only due out of common courtesy to the various speakers who have kindly taken part in the discussion that I should say a few words on the points they have raised. It is not a question of answering those points, because I was gratified to find that all the speakers approached my paper in a very sympathetic spirit, and if discussions like this were to be the pattern for the future Legislative Assemblies I should not have the slightest misgivings about the future Government of India.

I am exceedingly glad to see my old friend Sir Venkata Reddi back again. He and I worked together in Geneva some years ago, and I have followed his work as the Indian Government's Agent in South Africa. His sound common sense is an asset anywhere. Now he is taking part in the welter of politics in the Southern Presidency. He, I was glad to see, struck a very cheerful note. I do not want you to go away with the impression that I came here merely to croak. I think you have got that impression from the fact that I faithfully tried to depict the feeling of gloom that overspread India at the time the White Paper was published. But you will remember that I myself indicated that, as the mists were being dissipated, people were beginning to see things in better perspective. I do not say that anybody is really enthusiastic. Not even Sir Venkata Reddi is enthusiastic about every point in the White Paper. But taking facts as they are we must make the best of the situation. This is the formative stage, and it is only right that every one of us should emphasize points on which he considers further alterations are necessary.

That is not to say that any party would be justified, least of all the party with whom I act, in rejecting the White Paper or in pretending that they can do without the gradual steps which the White Paper indicates. That, I think, answers to a certain extent Lord Lamington's complaint. He thought that I had damned the White Paper with faint praise. I neither damned the White Paper nor gave it faint praise. My object was quite different. I have really tried in an objective spirit to place before you how people in India saw it at the time it was published and also how people are beginning to see it now. I should have been wanting in my duty if I had merely praised it, instead of placing before you the different points which are being raised in the various discussions. Some of us wish to extend the proposals; others to qualify them. If we can link our hands together in goodwill we can march together without tearing each other to pieces. The same goal may be reached by different ways. As to time, we must never forget the homely adage, "More haste, less speed."

Personally, I feel rather sorry that the evidence before the Joint Select

Committee is being given behind closed doors. I think it might have been well for public opinion both in India and England if the public had been taken into the confidence of our legislators. People would have been better able to gauge the situation if the discrepancies and the criticisms had appeared in broad daylight. The one thing we lack at present is mutual confidence. In India suspicion and mistrust prevent understanding. In England want of knowledge goes with over-confidence or no confidence that these things will work well. So far as that confidence or mistrust is honest we must respect it. But we must try to conquer it by a transparent adherence to facts. The best way of dispelling want of confidence is to make our strong and weak points as public as possible and to let the people feel that, while we all have our various points of view, we are prepared to pool in the common stock such wisdom and experience as each of us possesses, so that the plan may emerge with the greatest possible chance of success in the future.

To Sir Henry Gidney I am obliged for the remarks he made, especially on behalf of his own community. It is a community for which I have the greatest respect, and Sir Henry and I have been very close friends. He and I have had many talks in the past and no doubt shall have many talks in the future. While his impression was on the whole very favourable, you must not forget that he was equally critical, for he called the Federation imaginary or illusive, and he is already dissatisfied with some of the proposals.

The capture of the Constitution by those who have no belief in it is a contingency not lightly to be contemplated. Personally, I think it will not be only in the first two elections. My own idea is that the first election may possibly go by default against the Congress. But that is doubtful. The band will begin to play when India is permeated with Congress ideas and a responsible Indian Government has to resort to the sort of measures that Lord Willingdon's Government has had to resort to in the past. That is not a prospect which any of us view with any complacency. But it is a part of the situation. If we claim to have any share in the government of the country we must take all responsibility and we must be prepared for every contingency. Our political capacity will be judged by our firmness or weakness in face of danger. Are we to be afraid if a large number of our countrymen accuse us of having betrayed our country and of acting in the interests of a foreign Power, when we know that we are working for a strong and an effective India?

Sir Alfred Watson said I did not answer the numerous questions that I put. If I had attempted to answer them I do not think Sir Alfred Watson would have got away to his dinner. In any case, the questions are legitimate questions, and can only be answered by His Majesty's Ministers or those whom they call in to advise them. Sir Alfred Watson himself has done a great deal in India to produce understanding and a feeling of solidarity as between British and Indians and to bind the two peoples together. Such solidarity is essential to our own progress. I am not one of those who are free and liberal with verbal eulogies of England. But I have lived in England as a British citizen for many years, and I can

understand and appreciate and to a certain extent share in the feelings of the British people. On the other hand, I am an Indian born and bred. I have never cut off my connection with India. I hope always to work for India and to work for her in the best possible spirit of service. Therefore you will see I have also a double interest, and nothing would distress me more than to feel that in the consideration of these Reforms, or as a consequence of these Reforms, the people of the two countries should fly apart. British and Indian interests are not really opposed. In saying this I am not talking sentimental nonsense. I am speaking as a realist. I am here as an Indian. I have breathed British civilization, and I know all the good and all the harm that England has done in the past to India. I can only see one possible line of advance for India—viz., by promoting a gradual and complete understanding not only amongst all sections of the Indian people, but also with the British people.

To my friend the Maharajah of Burdwan I am indebted for again emphasizing the need of Hindu-Muslim unity. That is the cardinal question in India—nothing will go well without it. I do not see how they (our people) can work any sort of popular government if they are divided in compartments. Even if you have separate electorates your representatives must come to your legislative councils with the determination to work as a body and as a team or teams, and any differences that they have must be on principles of political measures and political administration and on no other principles. But it would be an evil day if, as is suggested in some quarters, we make a sort of sinister combination between the Hindus and Muslims to work against our friends the Anglo-Indians or the representatives of England who will still have considerable powers in the new Constitution. It is not that sort of combination I want, but one that will sink all minor differences for the great task which I believe both England and India can accomplish together.

To you, sir, as Chairman, I am very much obliged for presiding on this occasion and for placing before us the views of the ruling Princes. You quoted from a banquet speech of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar, for whom I have the profoundest feeling of respect and admiration. You, as one of the notable Ministers of one of the biggest and most progressive States in India, do carry a great deal of responsibility; but at the same time, if you will permit me, sir, I should like to say that the States as a body have not yet definitely made up their minds. Their official attitude, as shown in the Chamber of Princes, is that they must wait and see the whole picture before they can definitely accept or reject the scheme. It is because there is a great deal of doubt in my own mind whether the big States and the small States can sink their own differences and come together as federating units on equal terms with British India without insisting upon impossible terms, terms that British India may find it almost impossible to concede—it is because of that that I feel that there are serious difficulties still in the way.

Sir JOHN KERR: Before you go I would ask you to pass a very hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and lecturer this afternoon. (Applause.)

INDIAN WOMEN AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

By Begum Shah Nawaz

A despotic ruler, as a mother and a mother-in-law, a ruler whom each and all in that little kingdom, the home, must obey; and then the patient and submissive slave, the daughter and the daughter-in-law of that autocrat, waiting for her turn to come, as come it must in the end: such was the picture which the women of India presented to the eye of an observer in the nineteenth century. To-day the members of the younger generations have homes of their own, or, if live in a joint family they must, the mother and mother-in-law must retire to the prayer-room. Such is the change in the picture which the twentieth century presents.

Many of those who think that the awakening amongst the women of India is only of very recent origin, may be interested in the few facts which I am placing before them this afternoon. The work of the women in the more advanced parts of India, such as Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, is well known, but unfortunately very few people know anything of the work that has been accomplished by the women of other provinces.

The women of the North owe a deep debt of gratitude to a lady named Muhammadi Begum, who is more or less unknown in this country. She wrote many books drawing the attention of the public to the urgent necessity of education for women, and also to the need of social reform in different spheres of society. It was she who first started, in 1886, a weekly paper known as *Tehzibi Niswan* (Women and Civilization), which has had a weekly publication ever since and is still widely read all over the country. During the first few years of issue the articles in this paper were contributed mostly by men, but gradually its columns began to fill with stories and articles written by women. This helped to make the women realize how much could be done through the agency of the Press, and at the beginning of the

twentieth century quite a number of good women's magazines began to appear in many parts of Northern India. Magazines like *Khatun*, *Ismat*, and another weekly paper known as the *Sharif Bibi*, were amongst the best known.

Most of these magazines and papers provided a field for young and budding writers and poetesses to have a chance of enriching their language with new and exquisite flowers of thought. Poetesses like Z. Kh. Shin, and writers like Mrs. Sajjad, Brijkumari, and Razia, with their vivid descriptions of the evils present in the social system and the decay in general of Indian womanhood all round; and how they were as voices crying in the wilderness for reform, helped to make the women of my country awake from their long sleep and open their eyes in broad daylight. They at once realized that with the sun almost at noon in the world's race for progress they must run in order to make up for lost time. Faced with almost insurmountable difficulties, the women of India addressed themselves to the task.

Practical Work

Hindu women who were not living in seclusion began to take part in large numbers in their Maha Sabha gatherings. In many towns and cities women's sections were organized along with the men's associations, and most of the meetings of these organizations used to begin with songs by the women. In 1902, when the Sikh Conference was held in Lahore, over 2,000 women were present, and one Sikh lady had managed to collect a lakh of rupees. The Mahavadyala School in Jallundhur, which has been so ably run by Shirimati Lajiavati, is the result of the efforts of the prominent women workers of that time. Muslim women, hampered as they were by the purdah system, started their activities behind the four walls of their homes, in the form of associations, the meetings of which were usually held in the houses of the different members after the Friday prayers. At these meetings social problems were keenly discussed and debated. Within a few years any number of women's associations sprang up in almost all the big cities and towns in the different provinces.

In 1914 the late Begum of Bhopal, realizing the necessity of co-

ordinating all such efforts, first conceived the idea of an All-India women's organization. On her initiative an All-India Muslim Women's Conference was organized, and the first meeting was held at Aligarh. It was attended by Muslim women from all over the country. This Conference worked very successfully for many years, and did most valuable work in making the Muslim parents realize the duty of sending their daughters to good schools. In 1917, when the Conference was held in Lahore, a resolution against polygamy which I proposed was not only carried unanimously, but over a thousand Muslim women present at the meeting signed a paper pledging themselves not to give their girls to any man who had a wife already. In the subsequent years a similar resolution was passed at every session of the Conference and the women present were asked to sign the pledge. The well-compiled annual reports of that Conference are a good record of its valuable work.

All-India Organizations

So far, until 1926, there were only two All-India women's organizations: the Women's Indian Association, which was started in Madras in 1915, and the All-India Muslim Women's Conference. Many of us were feeling the need of an All-India organization which would help to combine all efforts and would safeguard women's interests all round. Mrs. Cozens' circular letter containing a proposal for such an organization was welcomed by women in every province. In 1927 a meeting of most of the prominent women was held in Bombay, at which Her Highness the Maharanee of Baroda presided, and an All-India Women's Conference was organized. In the following year, when the annual session of the Conference was held in Delhi under the presidency of the late Begum of Bhopal, over thirty-two constituent conferences from different provinces and Indian States sent elected delegates. This shows that the women of India were ready for such an organization of an All-India character. Sir John Simon, who was present at one of the meetings, was very much impressed by it.

It is no exaggeration to say that the All-India Women's Con-

ference is the most representative and the best organized women's organization in India. It has branches in almost every province and in many of the Indian States, where, throughout the year, committees known as the Provincial Organizing Committees are working. Many of the larger provinces are divided into two or three sections and local committees are working in each section. It is the work of each provincial or sub-provincial organizing committee to see that each district, town, and city in the province or the section has a small committee of its own. These local committees are again subdivided into various small committees that take charge of different subjects, such as education, social reform and political questions.

Three or four months before the annual session local conferences are held in almost all the district towns where the conference work has been organized, and delegates are elected at these meetings to take part in the provincial or sub-provincial conferences, and resolutions are sent up for consideration by the local committees. These, along with the others that are framed by the provincial committees, are discussed at the provincial conferences, which, in turn, elect delegates to take part in the annual session of the Conference, which is usually held in one capital or another of any one of the provinces. It is not only bills like the Sarda Act that stand to the credit of this Conference, but there are innumerable and much appreciated local activities of these committees. It is due to some of these committees that there have been useful changes in the curriculum of the universities for the education of girls, important subjects being added to them, and suitable provision being made for the books required for imparting instruction in such subjects. It is through the efforts of these committees that we have managed to get more health centres, more maternity hospitals, adult classes, industrial schools, and recreation grounds. Of course in some provinces the work is far more advanced than in others. I know that I am speaking to an audience many of whom know almost as much about my country as I do, and many of you are already aware of some of the work that has been accomplished by these Conference Committees. I would request you to bear in mind that, India being a continent,

there are certain parts of the country that are still in a very backward state, and that, having started our work rather late in the day, we women could not have done more than has been accomplished within so short a time.

At an early stage in the work of the Conference the pioneers realized that the greatest hindrance to their progress was the illiteracy of their countrywomen, and one of the obstacles to the spread of education was the lack of a sufficient number of teachers. Therefore, at the second annual session of the Conference, held in Delhi, an appeal was made for funds to establish a central training college. It was liberally responded to, and within the next few years the Fund Association of the All-India Women's Conference managed to collect nearly Rs.4 lakhs. Mrs. Rustamji Faridoonji, the honorary secretary of the Fund, has devoted herself with untiring energy and wonderful zeal to the task of bringing this college into existence. The work was started in October last, and the college was formally opened by His Excellency the Viceroy at the end of March.

The aim of the college is neither to de-Westernize nor to masculinize the girls, but to provide teachers for schools that will give the girls instruction in domestic science. As you are aware, in most of the schools in India the girls study for the university examinations only. What the Indian women are now trying to do is to provide schools where the girls should learn to be good housewives, capable mothers, and practical social workers, so that, instead of becoming learned students and professors with a lot of letters after their names, at least 80 per cent. of the women who have to become housewives should learn to fulfil their duties in that sphere. Their object is to combine the new Western civilization and culture with the old Eastern tradition and knowledge in such a manner that out of the fusion of the two cultures a higher and better system of education should evolve. The curriculum for the girls of this college includes science, chemistry, physics, literature, laundry, cookery, physical culture, hygiene, nursing, painting, and music (Indian as well as European). How far they will succeed in this great idea remains yet to be seen.

Political Status

Economic independence is one of those great powers which make a human being self-reliant and self-respecting. Women deprived of this lose both self-reverence and self-esteem. Indian mothers must achieve their economic independence in order to become mothers worthy of great sons. And what are the obstacles to the realization of their birthright? They are the social customs and old traditions which are keeping them in bonds of slavery. Then how can we demolish these walls of iron which customs of centuries have erected? These questions were present in the minds of prominent women workers, and they came to the conclusion that the answer lay in women having an effective voice in the political life of the country. No doubt they were enjoying the vote, but the proportion of their voting strength was less than one per cent. of the population, therefore their voice was not one that must be heard. The Simon Commission went out to India, and the members very wisely realized the important part that the women of India were going to play in the future life of their Motherland. They pointed out that the key of the "future progress of India was in the hands of its women," and in order to give them a power in the political life of the country they recommended that women should become voters in large numbers and that their proportion in the voting strength should be one woman to two men. They tried to lessen the disparity that would otherwise exist between men and women voters by proposing special qualifications for women, a principle which was accepted by the Franchise Sub-Committee of the First Round-Table Conference.

The women of India rejoiced that at last the Government had realized the importance of women's voting strength. Their representatives who came to the Conference asked for their full voting strength on a basis of equality, either through adult suffrage or, if that was not possible for the present, through the indirect method known as the Group System. The women of India feel —and feel very strongly, too—that no differential qualifications of any kind can satisfy the aspirations of all the different races

and both the sexes in India. It is unfortunate indeed that such a system of franchise should have been turned down by the Third Round-Table Conference. The Prime Minister, in his letter to the Indian Franchise Committee, stated clearly that:

> "His Majesty's Government attach special importance to the question of securing a more adequate enfranchisement of women than the existing system, which applies to women the same qualifications as to men, and has produced a women's electorate numbering less than one-twentieth of the total male electorate."

Franchise Proposals

The Indian Franchise Committee's proposals provided for a women's electorate of 6,600,000, their proportion to the men being that of 1 to 4·4 for the provinces as well as for the Central Legislature. They recommended a property qualification for both men and women, and, an educational qualification, which for men was to be the upper primary standard and for women mere literacy. They also proposed a special qualification for women that the wives of voters under the present property qualification to the Provincial Legislatures should also have the vote.

When the Report of the Lothian Committee was published the women's organizations were indignant, and strong protests were cabled to the Premier and the Secretary of State. That their proportion in numbers, instead of being 1 to 2, as recommended by the Simon Commission, should be reduced to 1 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ by the Indian Franchise Committee made them feel very depressed. Those women, who from the very beginning had been for non-co-operation with the new Constitution, felt triumphant, pointing out to the co-operators that their policy had not gained them anything. The women belonging to the moderate section tried to make as many women as possible accept the figure recommended by the Lothian Committee.

At the Third Round-Table Conference almost all the delegates accepted the qualifications proposed by the Indian Franchise Committee, that there shall be a property and an educational qualification for both men and women voters. The principle of special qualifications for women, to lessen the disparity between men and

women voters, was also accepted, but the question of what those added qualifications were to be was referred back to the Government of India and the Provincial Governments.

Present Position

The three All-India women's organizations, the All-India Women's Conference, the Women's Indian Association, and the National Council of Women, elected ten representatives each to reconsider the position and formulate new constructive proposals. Before their meeting could be held the White Paper was published, and the proportion of women voters was further reduced from 1 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 to 7 in the provinces and 1 to 20 for the centre. No wonder that the women of India felt very disappointed, and the elected representatives of the women's organizations who were present at the meeting which was held in Bombay at the end of March sat down to work with a heavy heart and an unwilling spirit.

By not accepting literacy as an educational qualification for women voters, and by laying down a condition that the registration of women voters under the special qualification shall be through application by the potential voter, the White Paper has not only reduced the proportion of women voters to 1 woman to 7 men, but in reality to a much lower figure. In all those remote villages where people have great difficulty in having an everyday letter written, and sometimes have to walk two or three miles in order to find someone who can write, how are the women going to apply for registration as voters? It will indeed be very difficult for women in rural areas to be enrolled as voters if this barrier is not removed.

All the Indian women are ready to accept the property qualification for women on the same basis as men. They are also prepared to accept literacy as the educational qualification for women voters. The women's organizations propose that in place of the wife's vote, women above a certain age should be given the vote in urban areas. This would lessen the administrative difficulties which stand in the way of women becoming voters in large numbers. Instead of three lists under the different qualifications one list of women voters in towns and cities would suffice. The

population in these areas is nearly 29,000,000. That means nearly 14,500,000 adults, and the number of women being less than that of men, approximately the number of women voters under this qualification would be almost the same as that recommended by the Lothian Report. There is the strong objection to such a qualification that it means chiefly enfranchising women in large towns and cities, and most of the women in the rural areas will be left out of the voting registers. The women's organizations say that, education having been first introduced in urban areas, it is in these places that an intelligent electorate is to be found. If education could be introduced in urban areas only at first, why should not the same principle be followed in regard to the vote?

The majority of Indian women do not like the idea of getting the vote through their husbands because they feel that their civic rights should be given to them as individual members of the State. It is still something alien to the mind of Eastern women to be known by the names of their husbands or fathers. This Western custom has only recently been introduced into Eastern countries.

A small number of women, mostly in Bengal, are strongly in favour of a wife getting the vote in respect of her husband's qualifications. Whatever may be the special qualifications ultimately accepted by Parliament for women, all the Indian women are agreed that nothing less than the numbers recommended by the Indian Franchise Committee (*i.e.*, 6,600,000) for the Provincial Legislatures will be acceptable to them. They hope that His Majesty's Government will reconsider the proportion which should be given to women as voters for the Federal Assembly.

Representation in the Legislatures

One happy feature of the women's movement in India is that there are no communal differences among the women. Realizing that the reservation of seats for women would mean dividing them on communal lines, the members of the women's organizations decided not to ask for reserved seats in the Legislatures. The principle of reservation of seats for women having been accepted under the Communal Award by His Majesty's Government, it is essential that at least two seats in the Provincial Legis-

lature and one in the Federal Assembly should be reserved for the women of the North-West Frontier Province. Their backward condition demands that their own representatives should safeguard their interests in the Legislatures. One seat ought to be reserved for the women of Assam in the Federal Assembly. It is essential that provision should also be made by His Majesty's Government for the women in the two new provinces, Sind and Orissa, to have their franchise and representation.

The Indian women are very anxious that they should have a voice in the election of their own representative to the Federal Assembly, and that it should not be left in the hands of the members of the Provincial Legislatures to elect women members for the Central Legislature, as proposed in the White Paper. They are apprehensive that, if it is left in the hands of the members of the Provincial Councils, the women belonging to the majority parties alone will get a chance of entering the Federal Assembly, who in many cases may not be the women's real representatives.

There is no mention in the White Paper of the representation of women in the Upper Chamber and the Indian women feel that some seats should be reserved for them there. They hope that the high property qualification for membership of the Upper House will be supplemented by an educational qualification in order to make more women eligible for membership of the Upper Chamber.

Women and Status

Equality of status between the two sexes in their rights of citizenship is one of those fundamental principles which ought to be accepted in every Constitution and the women of India hope that their right of equality will be recognized under the new Constitution.

Some may say, "There is so much to be done in the field of social reform and educational progress, why should not the Indian women at present confine themselves to that all-important work?" My reply is that in order to achieve success in that sphere we must become a part and parcel of the administration of our

country. What is our position to-day? We go to our men, they hide behind the screen of having neither the power nor the money for our requirements. We go to the officials, and their reply is that it is not possible for the Government to interfere in old social customs. Let the women of India become voters in large numbers, and it will be their business to see that the members who hold the power in their hands would be those who would safeguard the interests of the women and will be prepared to do all they can to break the chains that bind them. It is the proportion in the voting strength that matters far more to us than anything else. The Indian women are asking the British Parliament to hand them the key that will unlock the door of their progress and emancipation. Once they have this key the path before them will be straight and clear.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, June 13, 1933, when a paper entitled "Indian Women and the New Constitution" was read by the Begum Shah Nawaz. Lady Procter was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Dane, Sir Walter R. Lawrence, Bart., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., C.B., the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Prabhashankar D. Pattani, K.C.I.E., Sir Manubhai Mehta, K.C.S.I., Sir George Forbes, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Ernest Hotson, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Wilberforce Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., Sir Hubert Carr, Sir Duncan Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Muhammad Yakub, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Lady Hartog, Lady (Lionel) Jacob, Lady Abbas Ali Baig, Lady Chatterton, Lady (Herbert) Pearson, Lady Mant, the Hon. Mary Pickford, M.P., Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., Mrs. G. H. Bell, Mrs. Rama Rao, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Mr. H. N. Hutchinson, O.B.E., Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Mrs. Nicholson, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. Dewar, Mr. Sabonadière, Mr. Kenneth C. Keymer, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. R. A. Wilson, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Dr. Colin C. Davies, Miss E. L. Curteis, Miss C. K. Cumming, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Mr. H. R. Wilkinson, Rev. E. S. Carr, Colonel A. G. Hamilton, Miss C. T. Stack, Miss Caton, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Lindsay, Mrs. H. Ward, Mr. J. W. Beggs, Mr. S. Wasiuddin, Mrs. Roberts, Mrs. Drysdale, Rev. Herbert Anderson, Mr. B. K. Sinha, Mr. H. Williams, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Colonel and Mrs. Johnston, Mrs. Polak, Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Gupta, Mr. J. G. Laithwaite, Mrs. Flors Macdonald, Mr. A. Carlyle, Mr. A. V. Subbaran, Mr. and Mrs. E. Hopkins, Mrs. Bonarjee, Mrs. Foden, Mr. L. Perkins, Miss Margaret Brown, Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. C. L. Katial, Miss Hopley, Miss Ella Sykes, Mrs. J. J. Nolan, Mrs. Tydeman, Mr. R. M. Gray, Miss Speechley, Miss Cox, Mrs. B. Bacon, Mrs. R. Churchill, Mr. H. Jehangiani, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. Charles C. Boyd, Mr. John F. Boyd, Mr. R. R. Chaudhuri, Mrs. Paul Stewart, Hon. Mrs. A. Gordon, Mr. J. E. Bagram, Mr. and Mrs. A. Inglis, Mrs. Foulkes, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I know I am expressing the feeling of all here, and I know that I am expressing my own real deep sentiments, when I say how extremely sorry we are that Lady Astor is not able to be here this afternoon. May I just read a letter from her to Mr. Brown, written this morning:

> "I am very sorry that I cannot be with you today to take the chair at the meeting on Indian women's franchise. I feel that this is one of the most important questions connected with the new Indian Con-

stitution, and I am perfectly convinced that it is necessary to include a good proportion of women voters in the electorate if the New Constitution is to be satisfactory."

We recognize that if we had Lady Astor here in the chair, we should have had someone with a very real knowledge of the importance of the subject, and whose power of quick perception would have been a tremendous help in what I am sure will be a very interesting discussion, quite apart from the fact that wherever she comes Lady Astor brings a certain lightness and an element of fun and amusingness, if I am permitted to use that expression.

So I feel I am extremely inadequate to take the chair this afternoon. Though in one way I take the chair with such regret because of Lady Astor's absence, in another way I feel it is a tremendous honour to be here, because I agree with her that this subject is one of the most important developments in what is before India at this time.

I do want in your name to assure the Begum Shah Nawaz of our very warm welcome to her this afternoon. (Cheers.) It has been a very great pleasure to many of us to have had her in England several times within the last few months. We have got to know her and to love her, and to appreciate that which she is doing in this very important time. We want to assure her this afternoon that we are here to understand as far as we possibly can all that she has to tell us and to get her point of view, so that whatever our own point of view—we may have varied ones in many ways—we shall be only too glad of every bit of fresh light and fresh knowledge, so that we can do our utmost to help and co-operate at this time of tremendous opportunity and difficulty for the women of India. They have been showing such wonderful courage these past years, when so many changes have been taking place and things have moved forward with such rapidity, and we are glad of any opportunity that we can have to make our knowledge better, wider, and deeper, so that we can do the very utmost that lies in us to help them at this really wonderful time in the history of their great country.

BEGUM SHAH NAWAZ: Madam Chairman,—I am very grateful to you for your kind words of welcome and for all the sweet things that you have said about me this afternoon. Let me assure you that I have begun to look upon England as my second home, and I consider myself very lucky indeed in having friends like yourself in this country.

As a member of the Indian Delegation to the Joint Parliamentary Committee, I am not supposed to enter into any controversy or talk of any proproposals that are being discussed in the Committee itself, but realizing that it is my duty to place before the people in this country the point of view of the different sections whom I represent in regard to franchise qualifications and the representation of Indian women in the new legislatures, I am taking the opportunity of reading this paper to you all to-day.

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: We do indeed thank the Begum Shah Nawaz for a beautiful paper, lucid and clear and definite. I hope that as many will take part in the discussion as possible, because we really want to go away from

this meeting with a much clearer idea in our minds, so that we can spread the understanding of this great problem and this great opportunity among those we meet day by day, for there is often so little knowledge and understanding of all that is involved.

Lady HARTOG: The Begum Shah Nawaz has put so clearly and with a charm that is all her own the claims of Indian women that I have not so very much to add. She has told us how fast the women of India have been moving during the last few years. If I may say so, the East India Association has been moving fast too. I think it is only three years ago that for the first time a woman was asked to take the chair at one of these meetings—Lady Simon. I do not know if that was regarded by some members as a dangerous innovation, but at any rate I have not heard anything of the formation of an East India Association Defence League! To-day the Council has done the Begum Shah Nawaz the great honour of asking her to be the speaker at their annual meeting. I do feel that we women owe a very real debt of gratitude to the Association for giving us a platform—I think this is the third time during the last twelve months—for the discussion of women's questions.

I should like to support all that the Begum has said about the very special importance of the *numbers* of women voters, especially in regard to education and medical aid for women. Girls' education at the present time gets just about one-seventh of what is voted for the boys. Now we know that India under the New Constitution is going to be poor, at least for a good many years. What chance is there that the girls are going to get an adequate share of educational funds—a share which the Education Committee said was vital for the progress of India as a whole—unless women are present as voters in sufficient numbers? If the women voters form an important section in a great number of constituencies, then the women's associations will be able to organize them, and the women will be able to demand from candidates that they should support the grant of funds for girls' education, and also the grant of funds for providing more adequate medical aid for women and children. If women do not get that voting strength, then they will continue to be as negligible a factor at elections as they have been in the past.

I should also like to put in a special plea for the acceptance of simple literacy as a qualification for women voters. As everybody here must know, that has been dropped in the White Paper except in the Province of Madras. To all women, both here and in India, it seems quite the best of the special qualifications for women voters. It has so many advantages. It will increase automatically the number of women voters as time goes on without any further legislation. It is independent of property. It applies to widows and to unmarried women as well as to married, and—this is very important—it will give the vote to those who have been educated at home and not at school, and who cannot therefore possibly have school certificates. For another thing, it cannot fail to give a great stimulus to education, both of girls and of women.

The only objections that have been put forward against it are administrative difficulties, but are there not administrative difficulties to be faced in

connection with every single subject in the New Constitution? I cannot believe that they are insuperable. I would urge that everybody here who has influence with members of the Joint Select Committee should impress upon them how earnestly women are hoping that this qualification of simple literacy will be accepted, as recommended by the Franchise Committee.

The Hon. Miss MARY PICKFORD, M.P.: Perhaps as a member of the Lothian Committee on the Franchise, which went out last year, I might say a word or two in amplification of what has been said. One of the criticisms that has often been made against a large extension of the women's vote in India is that at present, under the existing qualification, the proportion of women who have exercised their vote in India is very small. But to set against that, we found in the evidence that was put before us on the Committee that where the number of women voters was very small, the percentage even of that small number who voted was very small also, because it might happen that in a single constituency there might not be more than five or six women qualified to go to the poll, which made them extremely conspicuous. It was a difficult matter for them to brave the public opinion which is still against them, and also what was the good of doing it when their tiny handful of votes could make no difference one way or the other?

But, on the other hand, where women were enfranchised in fairly large numbers, as, for instance, in Madras for local elections, the proportion of women who polled was no less than the proportion of men. They went freely to the poll because there were large numbers; and the percentage of women voters who exercised their vote was no lower than the percentage of men—indeed, it was a high percentage: in some elections about 60 per cent., in others even more. Those who have engaged in local elections in this country will know that is a very large percentage. Usually here we do not get more than 30 or 40 per cent. That is a strong argument for putting a sufficiently large number of women on the electoral roll, so that they shall support each other in going to the poll, and also so that their votes shall be something the candidates have to take into consideration; because clearly if the women's vote is so small that it is not going to make the least bit of difference one way or the other, no candidate is going to take very great trouble about the women voters. But if they are in an appreciable number, the candidate has to pay attention to the demands of the women voters just as he has the demands of the men. That will probably be the experience of people in this country too.

Taking that into consideration we on the Franchise Committee had to weigh the claims of both men and women, because owing to the difficulties which exist in India in polling large numbers owing to the very large amount of illiteracy in the country, it is not possible administratively to poll more than a certain number. Therefore in each province to which we went we had to find out what was the number which could be polled with safety. After all, I think this meeting would agree that nothing would give a worse effect under the New Constitution than for the electoral machinery to break down.

The proportions which we proposed were in the ratio of one woman to

every four or five men voters. We thought that under our recommendations we were placing upon the register a number of women voters sufficient to make their influence felt, both by voting power and also, we hoped, by reservation of seats in the Provincial Councils and in the Federal Assemblies.

As the Begum has explained, these numbers have been diminished from what was recommended on the Committee's Report by the proposals which are put forward under the White Paper.

As a member not only of the Lothian Committee but also of the Joint Select Committee, I am treading on rather delicate ground in criticizing the proposals put forward in the White Paper.

But there are two points to be brought out. One is the question of literacy. That would add about 1½ million women throughout India to the electoral roll for the Provincial Assemblies and for the Federal Assembly as well. The other point is the necessity for women to apply before being placed on the electoral roll. We fully realize that with regard to the educational qualification for both men and women that would be necessary. It would be almost impossible for the officials to ask each individual whether he or she had qualified either by examination or by sufficient knowledge of reading and writing for literacy. So it was necessary for both men and women to make their own application to have their names placed upon the roll. A further disadvantage from which the woman voter will suffer under the White Paper proposals is this: It is proposed that the wives of men holding a property qualification, which will qualify their wives to vote, will have to make their application in order to be placed upon the electoral roll.

You can imagine, as the Begum has said, that that is going to be a matter of very considerable difficulty to women who live in a rather remote part of the country, because that application will have to be made several months before an election takes place. I wonder how many of us would remember to make our application in time to be placed upon the register if the initiative lay with us?

Mrs. Rama Rao: I meant to tell you merely one little thing about the questions that have been raised to-day, and that is the question of the franchise. I in this country have been authorized to represent one of the All-India women's associations in India. On that account I could only in talking of the franchise question lay before you the point of view of the three main All-India women's organizations that have met and conferred with regard to this particular question. Their objection lies mainly with the wives' qualification, as it is known now amongst us, the qualification that says that the wives of those who come in under the property qualification will be enfranchised. As an alternative they are just as anxious as our friends in this country to keep the numbers of enfranchised women as high as possible. Under that qualification about 6,000,000 women would be enfranchised. To make up for that, they desire a qualification which to them seems much more fair, the qualification of enfranchising all women of twenty-one and over in urban areas.

To some of you here it will seem rather a drastic recommendation to make, but the more you think about that particular recommendation, the

more you will realize that there are very many advantages in the plan. First of all, there is no getting away from the fact that the vast majority of people in India are hoping for adult franchise at some stage or the other. By enfranchising women who live in urban areas, you are forming the nucleus of that ultimate aim that we have in our minds—adult franchise—because in these areas you would have all that corresponds to adult franchise in your country. Therefore it sounds perfectly fair that we should experiment that way. Then it is fair in another sense, because in enfranchising women in this fashion you are enfranchising all ranks of women: the property holders, those who are educated and those who are uneducated. So that you get a fairer electorate in that section—the whole urban section.

Some people object very strongly to it on the ground that it is not being fair to women in rural areas. Granted. But this particular recommendation of enfranchising the wives of those who come under the property qualification—is that fair? To double the vote of those who hold property and leave all the other sections out completely—is that fair? In any case, when a limited franchise is offered to any country, you have to be unfair to one section or the other. The suggestion that women living in urban areas should be treated differently from those living in rural areas has also this behind it. There is no doubt that the former have advantages the latter have not. All the main educational institutions in India are in urban areas. Then you have the contact with newspapers, current topics, the radio where it does exist, women's associations, health and welfare work, and other social service schemes—all these amenities of life can be found in our urban areas. Therefore these women are better qualified, and the injustice is not quite as great as it seems to be. Under the scheme that the women's organizations have chalked out, there is no doubt that the women drawn into the electorate are as great in number as those coming under the qualification that the Lothian Committee has recommended.

With regard to one other point in the Begum's paper, as far as I am able to gather, there is a very, very decided stand made by the women of the country against reservations of any kind in local Provincial Legislatures as well as in the Central Legislature. Women do not want reservation of seats at all. They made a stand some time ago of equality. They want equality. Since they cannot have equality, these special qualifications are accepted for the time being. They have always stood out against reservation of seats in legislatures. If you have enough women enfranchised in the electorate, they are quite content to use the influence that that enfranchised section is going to bring to bear on the members in the Councils. They are not anxious that one, two or three women should occupy specially reserved seats. They are confident that they can do the job.

Another thing the women are dead set against is the Communal Award. Never, in all the work women have done during recent years in India, never have we had any communal bias, the poison of communalism entering our ranks, and we are most anxious to keep that poison out of our section in the new Constitution and to be an example to some of our men. We therefore do not want to divide ourselves into Hindu, Muslim, and Christian representatives in the legislatures.

Miss ELEANOR RATHBONE, M.P.: I agree with the Begum and with most of the speakers that what we have really to concentrate on is the question of numbers to secure a really adequate vote for women. There are differences of opinion, as the speech we have just listened to shows, and as the Begum admitted, among Indian women and among men and women in this country as to the relative merits of two proposed qualifications. But I think that all who have interested themselves in this subject are agreed that we shall not get a satisfactory franchise for women unless it is adequate both in numbers and in ratio. That has been admitted by the Government itself and by everyone of the investigating committees appointed by the Government, but that principle is not given effect to in the White Paper.

The difficulties have been described to a certain extent by the Begum herself in her most charming and lucid speech. They were alluded to by Miss Pickford, but those of us who are interested in this question remain unconvinced that those difficulties need be found insuperable. Difficulties are meant to be got over. It is the business of an administrative department to point out difficulties to the Ministers who are relatively temporary people; but it is the business of the Ministers to tell those departments that those difficulties have to be got over.

The Begum and Miss Pickford have both alluded to the two principal changes in the White Paper proposal: the substitution of a much higher educational test than that of simple literacy and the requirement that the wife voters must apply for enrolment. If the Joint Select Committee really find the difficulties against the previous proposals insuperable, it is up to them to find some alternative. Take the question of the votes for the Federal Assembly: there, by the Government's own admission, the proposal in the White Paper secures no better ratio of women voters than the present one, which the Indian Franchise Committee was expressly asked to find a means of improving.

The White Paper does away with the literacy test, and therefore cuts down the proportion of women to the Federal Assembly to the old miserable less than one-twentieth. Clearly there is room for a larger vote. The proposals for the Provincial Councils involve the enfranchisement of 14 per cent. of the adult population; those for the Federal Assembly an electorate of only 3 per cent. If for the Provincial Assembly you can poll 14 per cent. of the population, it is inconceivable that the addition of two or three millions at Federal elections can present any great administrative difficulties. I suggest there is an easy way of pushing up the numbers, and that is by adding to the Federal electorate the women who are enfranchised on the wives' qualification for the provinces. But if it cannot be done in one way, it can in another. If public opinion manifests itself in this country and in India with sufficient strength, the Government will find the means.

I should like to say one word as to the question of reservation of seats. Many of us agree that ideally there should not be a necessity for reserved seats for any class of the community if you have a perfect system of franchise. But the repudiation of reserved seats by Indian women's organizations was coupled with a demand for adult franchise. If the most we can hope for under the present proposals is the ratio of one woman to

four and a half men voters recommended by the Indian Franchise Committee, then the reservation of seats for women is merely a very inadequate compensation for the smallness of that ratio.

I was talking only yesterday to an experienced public servant. I said to him, "Why is it that many of the Provincial Governments in India have put up so many objections on the question of the women's vote?" His answer was perfectly explicit. He said it was because many of the Provincial Governments in India think that the women will be keen after social reform, and they do not want social reform because it is going to be very troublesome. For that reason I submit that every man or woman who realizes the vast need for social reform in India should put all his or her strength into the movement for trying to secure a really adequate enfranchisement for the women of India.

There are those who think the proposals for the reform of the Constitution in India go much too far. Very well, then, we say to those who take that point of view, "If you have so little confidence in the men of India, why put the women of India under the feet of the men of India?" To those who say these proposals do not go nearly far enough and who want a much more democratic Constitution for India, we say, "Then see at any rate that democratic principles are fulfilled to some extent so far as the women are concerned." Here we have a case where we have a right to appeal to both wings and to all sections of opinion to secure a more adequate franchise for women.

Sir JOHN KERR: As a member of the Franchise Committee, I only want to say one word in regard to that question of reservation of seats. We felt, as Miss Pickford has said, that we could not go beyond the proportion of 1 to 4½, and we felt that there was at any rate a chance that with that proportion there would be very few women, or perhaps no women, on the Legislative Councils in India. We felt it would be a public calamity if ladies like the Begum Shah Nawaz and Mrs. Rama Rao had their entry into the legislative bodies indefinitely postponed, and it was for that reason that we put forward this proposal for the reservation of seats for women. I would ask the women of India to think well over the matter before they reject that very well-meant remedy.

Mrs. RAMA RAO: In regard to the reservation of seats, it is partly because it brings communalism into the ranks of women that we resent it as strongly as we do.

Mrs. BELL: I listened with the very greatest interest to the beautiful speech of the Begum Shah Nawaz. It brought back to me the women in India that I have known—the voice, the manner, the idealism, that which sweetens the life of India and will eventually in public life lift it high among the nations of the world!

I would like to say that I entirely agree with those who want to see Indian women enfranchised in sufficient numbers. It is very delightful to know the world is so anxious to keep us in the position of being "precious,"

but there is not the smallest doubt that when there are political contests people will fight it out on numbers, because they must; and women will require the weight of numbers just as much as men. To try to diminish to us the value of numbers is almost to throw us back to that old game, "You do not need a vote because you have such *influence*." That bamboozled me in my youth, but never again!

I feel it is a mistake to prevent the proposal for the "literacy" qualification from realizing itself; and to make it so difficult for women to exercise the vote by saying that they must come forward with an application to be placed on the electoral roll. In mountain villages women will hear late that there is going to be an election. The difficulties of coming forward to obtain a vote and to poll it will be insuperable to some village women, but you must not make the fact that a woman is bad at the complicated affair of opening the political door a reason for saying she should not have a vote at all. It is her judgment you want on certain matters. You want her judgment in matters of social reform, because it is the judgment of thousands of years of women's experience. But you also, I submit, want her judgment on matters of political moment. She should speak not only for women, but for a population. I would have a woman speak for the population, and not specially for her sex. To speak only for her sex is to lay an emphasis on it in public affairs which is unnecessary. Let her speak for the *home*; and the ideal home is man, woman and child, and their interests are united.

I certainly think that the wife of a man with property should be enfranchised. The proposal requires a higher property qualification in the family than that which will entitle a man to vote, for her husband must possess some twenty-four acres of irrigated land or forty-eight unirrigated; whereas a man who has something like five or six acres will be entitled to vote for the new provincial legislatures.

I would also ask for the enfranchisement of a category of women who have been omitted in the recommendations of the White Paper: the pensioned widow and the pensioned mother of Indian soldiers. (Applause.) Those women represent at present the only pension system in India, and as such surely they should carry their weight in political councils.

If you draw a pension, you know the meaning of a pension system. You know the meaning of efficiency in public places such as post offices. You know where the world can be helped by such things, and eventually pensioned women will be capable of being pioneers in measures of social assistance which India will increasingly need.

Then I would plead for the pensioned widow, because, had her husband lived, he would, as an ex-Regular in H.M. Army, have had a vote. He nominated her for the pension as his representative. She bears the sacrifice of his death in battle, and you should give her a vote in the legislature of her province. If you give it to a fallen soldier's pensioned mother, you give her something for what she gave to you, and the position of the mother of a son is so revered in India that her presence in polling booths will enable the younger and modest and shy women to come forward without embarrassment and bear their responsibility.

I would ask for the wife of a soldier that she should share his privilege of the vote. A soldier's wife is often separated from her husband in a way no other woman in India is called upon to be. She bears the anguish of his danger. And among the poorest of the poor, I cannot tell you what it is to be the wife of a wounded pensioner, for the ordinary services of the home are carried on by the man: he draws water, carries wood, and without a leg or arm he is constantly obliged to ask for help. These women will look back on history and remember how from 1914 to 1918 by every emotion that moved us we urged them to make great sacrifices. Now, in 1933, when we are organizing and distributing political power among 6,000,000 Indian women, it will make a bad story if they are ignored.

A MEMBER: I should like to ask the Begum one question. Instead of all these complicated qualifications, what is the objection to adult suffrage now for men and women, and to save the expense of polling to introduce the representative system of voting in force and working well in Turkey, Syria, Egypt, and Iraq?

BEGUM SHAH NAWAZ: In reply to this, may I point to one sentence in my paper which makes it quite clear that we are still very anxious that an indirect method of franchise, which is in force in all these Eastern countries mentioned by the gentleman, should be accepted for the New Constitution. If the British Parliament were even now to accept the group system of franchise, no one would be more pleased than the women of India. We strongly feel that such an indirect system alone can really work well in India.

A MEMBER: Did they support it?

BEGUM SHAH NAWAZ: The full support of all the three women's organizations was given to this system, and their witnesses who appeared before the Indian Franchise Committee gave unanimous evidence in support of the indirect system of franchise.

A MEMBER: I mention this chiefly because many of us think that only by adult suffrage can the peasantry be given a voice in the Government of the country.

BEGUM SHAH NAWAZ: The memorandum which was presented to the Second Round-Table Conference by the women's organizations made it clear that nothing but adult suffrage will be acceptable to the women of India. But later on, when they gave their full consideration to the question, the women realized that when at present only 2·8 per cent. of the population were enfranchised, it would be very difficult to introduce adult suffrage immediately. They decided to give their full support to the next best method which had been a success in other Eastern countries—that is, the indirect system of franchise.

Miss COX: I would like to ask the Begum about the enfranchisement of women who have property. This seems to be enfranchising a class at the expense of other classes. Is it not a fact that in her own province of the Punjab, for instance, the ownership of land is concentrated in the hands of one or two communities? Would it not give a very strong communal bias to the electorate at the expense of the other communities?

BEGUM SHAH NAWAZ: Being a member of the women's organizations, and one of their elected representatives who took part in the meeting which was recently held in Bombay, I am one of those people who do not believe in differential qualifications of any kind, whether property or otherwise; but I am also one of those who feel that if our voting strength can only be secured through such qualifications, we should be prepared to accept them. If giving up certain qualifications would mean our having barely 2,000,000 women voters, I would think twice before refusing any qualification which would give us 6,600,000 women voters.

Ladies and gentlemen, first of all I must thank you for the kind help which most of the speakers have given me this afternoon, and also for providing such a large audience. I am delighted to see how much interest the people here are taking in the future status of the women of my country.

Lady Procter, while giving her full support to our claims, said something about our not being able to get sufficient money for the women's education in India. About six months ago one of the district inspectors sent me a copy of his remarks. After giving an amazing picture of some of the girls' schools that he had inspected, he said that everywhere he found that the girls' education was considered more as a waste-paper basket, so that whatever money was left over from the boys' education was thrown into it. If women had their own representatives on most of these committees, such a state of affairs could not have existed.

Many of the prominent women workers of today will not get the vote under an educational qualification if that is to depend upon university certificates of any type. Most of the women belonging to my generation, and more so those of the older generations, do not hold certificates of any kind. In our time the parents would not allow their daughters to go in for university examinations at all. The English principal of my college was strongly against girls appearing for university examinations. Her idea was that the girls should concentrate more on acquiring knowledge of an all-round character rather than devote their time to learning higher mathematics and such other subjects that would not be of much use to them in after-life.

I am very grateful to Miss Pickford for all the kind support she has given me this afternoon. She, having studied this question thoroughly, and having had the opportunity to do so in connection with the work of the Indian Franchise Committee, now understands the question very well indeed. She has told you how women have begun to exercise their vote in large numbers. At the last election my telephone was ringing from morning until evening. In my family we have many women voters under the present property qualification, and both the candidates who were standing for one of the seats in the present Assembly tried to make me bring old ladies of eighty-six and ninety to the polling booths. Once women are registered as voters, it will be in the interests of the candidates to see that they record their votes for them, and for this they will leave no stone unturned.

Mrs. Rama Rao said something about the views of the women's organizations. I think she is aware that I belong to the women's organizations, and I am one of the signatories of the memorandum that is to be presented to

the Committee on behalf of the three All-India women's organizations. Therefore I need hardly say that I agree with her in everything she said this afternoon. It is my first duty to see that the three All-India women's organizations' views are placed before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. I do not believe in reservation of seats myself, but the principle of reservation of seats has been accepted under the Communal Award by the Government, and as far as that is concerned it is more or less a closed door. We have to make it clear that, if reservation is to remain, such seats should be provided for women in all the legislatures of the future. I find that people in India are taking it for granted that wherever seats for women are not reserved, it is the intention of His Majesty's Government that women should not enter those legislatures.

Coming to Miss Rathbone, first of all I would like to take this opportunity of thanking all my friends here, especially Miss Rathbone and Miss Pickford, for the wonderful help which they have given me at almost every step in this country. I need not say that if our efforts are crowned with success, I shall not only feel but I shall consider it my duty to tell my people that it has been mostly due to the very great help which has been given to me by almost all the women's organizations and many of the women M.P.'s in England.

She said that Provincial Governments, as well as the Government of India, say that there are any number of administrative difficulties in the way of women becoming voters in large numbers. One would like to ask all the members of the Provincial Governments to let us know what those administrative difficulties are, so that we may have a chance of meeting them. Why are we being kept altogether in the dark? Are there no administrative difficulties in all that the Government is going to do in order to safeguard the rights and interests of the different communities? Even the creation of new provinces is not difficult, but the enfranchisement of 6,600,000 women is not possible, because of insurmountable and insuperable difficulties.

I am grateful to Sir John Kerr for his kind support in the Franchise Committee, and I hope he will continue that support in the future. I have every hope that, with the kind help and support of all our friends in England, we will succeed in getting at least the very moderate figure of women voters recommended by the Lothian Committee, accepted by both Houses of Parliament.

I am very glad Mrs. Bell spoke of the widows and mothers of the soldiers. Let me assure her that I have not forgotten them. Nothing would give me greater pleasure than that all the women of India should get their vote, but unfortunately it is not possible for the present.

There is one other thing that I would like to say to you all. We have not had to put up a very great fight in order to gain our right to vote. I suppose our men gave it to us because at that time our number as voters was very insignificant. At the same time I know that the real battle has been fought by the English women over here, and I am grateful to them for the success which has meant the success of all of us.

What greater example can there be for us Indian women than to see in

this chair you, Lady Procter, who have not only devoted your life to the service of your countrymen, but to that of the women of the whole world, as Vice-President of the Y.W.C.A. May it be our good fortune to follow in the footsteps of selfless women like yourself of this country.

Being a member of the East India Association, and knowing how much my father loved this Association—he, as you are all aware, was one of the oldest members—I would like to say that we are very fortunate indeed in having Mr. Brown as our Honorary Secretary—a Secretary who is always trying to bring the East and West together, especially to link India and England into one great bond of love and friendship.

Talking of a stabilizing force, many a time I have said to myself, "If only the people in this country were to realize what a wonderful stabilizing force women can be." I beg you to bear in mind that the Indian woman, if given all her rights, is going to be one of the greatest stabilizing forces under the New Constitution. India's expectations today from this country are similar to those of a child which is growing up and claims a home with peace and prosperity. Satisfy those aspirations like a loving parent. Guard against emergencies by all means, but give ungrudgingly, remembering always that a happy and contented child will be a greater jewel than a discontented and unhappy one.

Sir Louis Dane proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and lecturer, and the meeting closed.

THE SIXTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

For the Year ending April 30, 1933

The problem of the future government of India continued to attract close attention during the year. The civil disobedience campaign was maintained, but in the later months lost all vigour. Government steadfastly pursued the dual policy of fighting the challenge and promoting proposals for a new Indian constitution transferring responsibility to autonomous provinces and an All-India Federation, subject to safeguards. A third and smaller Round-Table Conference met in London early in November, and was brought to a close on December 24 with a survey of conclusions and a declaration of Government policy on many important points by Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India. The White Paper setting forth the Government proposals was published in March and discussed with eagerness in both Houses of Parliament. Thereafter a Joint Select Committee was set up to consider the whole question of constitutional reform, and some twenty-eight delegates from India were called to London to consult with the Committee.

No small share of this constructive work fell to members of the East India Association and participants in our proceedings. To give but one instance, the Chairman of the Joint Select Committee is our Vice-President, the Marquess of Linlithgow. The programme of the Association throughout the year had in view chiefly the elucidation of questions connected with the reform proposals. It has been widely recognized that by providing a platform, free of party connection, for the giving of authoritative information and the exchange of views on the great Indian issues now before the public the Association has been fulfilling an important service for "the welfare of the inhabitants of India" which it exists to promote. This service was enhanced by the degree of attention the public meetings of the Association received in the Press, and by the many requests for copies of the record of those proceedings in

the *Asiatic Review* and the *Journal* of the Association. Most gratifying testimonies to their value were received from members in India and this country.

Membership

The severe economic depression, which led to a slight net reduction of our numbers in 1931-32, still had its effect in checking the growth of membership; but the Council is happy to report that, while there were 35 resignations and 9 names were withdrawn from the roll by revision, there was substantial gain by the election of no less than 75 new members. Unhappily, however, the actual net gain was reduced to 11 by the removal of 20 members by death. Our losses therefrom included a Vice-President and former Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, and three members of the Council—Mr. J. B. Pennington, Sirdar Bahadur Shivdev Singh Uberoi, and Sir James Walker. Mr. Pennington, who was ninety-three, and had become "the Father of the Indian Civil Service," was long associated with the late Dr. John Pollen in the administrative work of the Association, and prepared some twenty years ago a series of pamphlets for the Association, collected in book form under the title of "Truths about India." The Sirdar had been in this country only for a few months, but had established a reputation as a fair-minded and worthy representative of the Sikh community in the Council of the Secretary of State. Sir James Walker, a distinguished administrator, was most constant in attendance at meetings of the Council.

The names of deceased members given in Appendix C also include men of such eminence as H.H. the late Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, so widely and affectionately known throughout the English-speaking world as "Prince Ranji"; Arthur Lawley, sixth Lord Wenlock; Sir Dorabji Tata, joint founder with his brother of the great iron and steel industry at Jamshedpur; and Sir Daniel Keymer and Sir Logie Watson, who had been actively associated throughout their lives with Indo-British trade. While we have these and other losses to deplore, our ranks have been reinforced, as reference to Appendix A will show, by many distinguished men and women who have taken and are taking a

notable part in Indian affairs. A gratifying feature has been the growth in membership of women, including several of the widows of late members.

Discussion Meetings

The meetings and discussions of the twelve months were more numerous than for many years past. This extension of opportunities for exchange of views was due to the new departure, begun near the end of the previous year, of holding private discussion meetings limited to members or special guests invited by the Council, and on the understanding that the proceedings are not reportable in the Press. The first four gatherings of the series during the year were held in the rooms of the Association, and on each occasion a member recently returned from visiting India gave valuable information—Mr. Yusuf Ali on the effect of the Ordinances and the steps which might be appropriate in the interests of law and order and appeasement; Mr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams on the attitude of the Princes towards Federation, based upon his presence at the 1932 annual session of the Chamber of Princes; the Maharaja of Burdwan on the situation arising from terrorist activities in Bengal; and Sir John Kerr, who was Deputy-Chairman of Lord Lothian's Franchise Committee, on the report of that body and the reasons for some of the conclusions reached.

The meetings grew rapidly in numbers and interest, and it was found necessary to seek more ample accommodation than the offices could provide. Early in the autumn Lady Procter led the way in a new departure by inviting members to be her guests at 36, Prince's Gardens for tea, as the prelude to a discussion opened by Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, the Trade Commissioner for India, on the British and Indian Trade Agreement at Ottawa. As both he and the chairman of the meeting, Sir Gilbert Vyle, were participants in the proceedings at Ottawa, their observations were most informative. Similar hospitality was provided by Sir Louis and Lady Dane at 24, Onslow Gardens, on November 10, when Mr. J. C. Curry, the author of a recent book on the Indian Police, opened a discussion on the future of the force, with Sir Francis Griffiths, late Commissioner of Police, Bombay, in the chair.

On February 21 Lady Bennett, who has been a member of the Council for a number of years, kindly entertained us at the Ladies' Carlton Club. The Right Hon. J. C. C. Davidson, M.P., Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Chairman of the Indian States Inquiry (Financial) Committee, introduced the subject of the Indian States and Federation. In March the Viscountess Astor, M.P., invited the members to her house in St. James's Square, and there was a lively discussion opened by Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., with Lord Lothian in the chair, on the political rights of women under the new Indian Constitution. The final meeting of the series for the year was held late in April at the Rubens Hotel, when the hosts were two members of the Council and the chairman was Sir Alfred Watson. Mr. F. G. Pratt encountered some vigorous opposition in expounding his views on the response to be made by India to the aims of the Disarmament Conference.

Warm appreciation was shown by members of the opportunity such meetings provide both for social contact and freedom in expression of views and giving of information. The one drawback of the new plan is that, since the proceedings are not placed on record, members in India and elsewhere unable to be present are not provided with means through the *Asiatic Review* of knowing all that takes place. Happily, this disadvantage is met in large degree by giving the lecturers facility to make their views public, if they think well, by writing articles for the record, based on the material they prepared and possibly dealing in some degree with the criticisms raised. Readers of our proceedings will have recognized the value of this facility by the articles originated in this way and written by Sir John Kerr, the Right Hon. J. C. C. Davidson, and Miss Eleanor Rathbone on the subjects they presented.

The Lecture Programme

The main interest in our proceedings, however, is rightly taken in the meetings at which the views of the readers of papers and their critics are duly recorded. A lecture of special value was that given by Sir Arthur McWatters, the late Secretary of the Finance Department of the Government of India, on the baffling financial aspects of the proposed federation, the more so as his constructive

suggestions were supplemented from the chair by Sir Basil Blackett, late Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council. In his own field there was corresponding first-class authority in the observations of Sir Wilberforce Ross Barker, the first Chairman of the Public Service Commission in India, on its work and prospects under the new Constitution. A study pertinent to the issue of the award of H.M. Government on the communal distribution of legislative seats in the provinces, and the subsequent commencement of a fast by Mr. Gandhi, was Professor John Coatman's paper on the political and social position of the Depressed Classes.

Great interest attached to the comprehensive survey given by Mr. Hugh Molson, M.P., in January of the work of the Third Round-Table Conference, and the occasion was given particular significance by the presidency and observations of the Lord Chancellor, Viscount Sankey, who was the working Chairman of all three sessions of the Conference. In the summer Mrs. R. M. Gray spoke with intimate knowledge and sympathy on the advance of Indian women, and gave an exposition of their views on political questions. A more general consideration of matters affecting the new Constitution was provided in April by Sir Albion Banerji's paper on India's social and religious problems. He spoke with the knowledge derived from hereditary interest in the social and religious progress of India, and from wide administrative experience both in British India and the States.

A paper having a close bearing on the new conditions was that in which Mr. F. G. R. Peterson in October described the changes which have come in the Frontier Province—"From Redshirts to Reforms"—based on his personal observations as the Special Correspondent of *The Times* in India. A few days later Mr. Peterson went out to New Delhi to resume his journalistic mission, but unfortunately his life came to a premature close in January. One of the most distinguished members of the same profession who has served in India, Sir Alfred Watson, late Editor of the *Statesman*, gave in March a luminous survey of journalism in India. In June Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, the Trade Commissioner for India, brought to our attention many important aspects of India's place in world trade, and made suggestions upon world

economic recovery. Last to be mentioned, but by no means least in the series, and attracting an audience too large to be accommodated, was the comprehensive lecture by Sir John Thompson, the late Chief Commissioner of the Delhi Province, on "Delhi as Capital," illustrated by lantern views, and with Lord Irwin in the chair. Our thanks are due to the Chairmen of these meetings—both those already mentioned and Sir Walter Willson, the Lady Pentland, Sir Hamilton Grant, Sir James Crerar, Sir John Thompson, Sir Stanley Jackson, and Sir Francis Younghusband.

Warren Hastings

A notable pendant to Sir John Thompson's lecture was the appearance in our proceedings of a hitherto unpublished Minute by Warren Hastings, dated 1782, recounting objections to the selection of Calcutta as capital, and expressing the conviction that the permanency of the British dominion in India could never be ensured while the settlement on the Hooghly remained the capital city. This contribution to British Indian history was unearthed in the British Museum by Mr. Collin C. Davies, of the staff of the School of Oriental Studies, London University. Note may also be taken of the co-operation of the Association with the Royal Empire Society in sharing the cost of a bibliography of Warren Hastings, prepared by the Librarian of the Society, in connection with the bicentenary celebrations in December of the birth of that statesman.

Hospitality Fund

It was the privilege of the Council to entertain to an afternoon reception at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, the All-India Cricket Team during their tour in this country last summer. The occasion was marked by the last speech delivered by the late Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar under the auspices of the Association, as well as by the reply of the Captain of the Team, H.H. the Maharaja of Porbandar.

In this connection we are gratified to report that our desire to maintain and, as opportunity offers, to develop social contacts of members and Indian residents and visitors has met with practical encouragement from one of our senior and most honoured Vice-

Presidents, the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda. By way of recognizing the value of the social work of the Association, His Highness has made a grant of £50 per annum for a period of five years to form a Hospitality Fund. The first annual payment of £50 has been received, and the Council feel that it will be appropriate for the initial use of it to be for a reception at a time when His Highness is in London and able to be present.

Donations

The Council has also the satisfaction to record generous donations of £100 from H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad and of £200 from H.H. the Maharaja of Kashmir. Particularly gratifying was the manner in which General H.H. Maharaja Sir Joodha Shamshere Jung, the new Prime Minister of Nepal, has shown practical interest in our work. In a letter acknowledging the congratulations of the Council on his accession, His Highness stated that, though he was unable, as the head of a foreign Government, to participate directly in the work of the Association, it gave him pleasure to make a donation of £50 as a mark of appreciation of the objects and aims it pursues.

The Council

Sir Louis Dane retired at the last annual meeting from the chairmanship of the Council after a tenure of seven years. He was cordially thanked for his services, and was succeeded by Sir John Kerr. The meeting approved the revision of rules, the objects of which were explained in the last Report. One of the most important of the changes, made on the proposition of Sir Louis Dane, was that of the limitation to a period of three years of the election of the Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen of Council.

When Sir Leslie Wilson, who had done useful service on the Council, left to take up his appointment as Governor of Queensland, the opportunity was taken to add his name to the list of Vice-Presidents. H.H. the Maharaja of Kashmir has accepted the same position. H.E.H. the Nizam and H.H. the Prime Minister of Nepal were elected Honorary Life Members, and Sir Reginald Glancy and Sir Hubert Carr were co-opted to the Council. Under

the new rules Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree retires from his Vice-Chairmanship, but is eligible for re-election. It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candidate for election to any vacancy in the Council on fifteen days' notice being given to the Hon. Secretary. The following members of Council retire by rotation:

Sir Charles Armstrong.
Lady Bennett.
F. H. Brown, C.I.E.
Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I.
Sir Stephen Demetriadi, K.B.E.
Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O.
John de La Valette.

Finance

The Council had no hesitation in converting the Association's small holding of War Stock last summer from 5 per cent. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in accordance with the efforts of the National Government to reduce expenditure. The rise in the value of our securities in the twelve months, consequent upon the improved credit of the Indian Government, was noteworthy: the market value of invested funds rose approximately in the twelve months by no less than £1,976 10s. The Council has been able to place to the reserves in a liquid form, not affected by changes in the money market, the special contributions of the year to which reference has been made. One hundred pounds is on deposit account, and, on the advice of the Hon. Auditors, £250 has been placed in the Post Office Savings Bank. The finances have been administered with scrupulous regard to the need for economy, so far as it is consistent with fulfilling the functions of the Association. The Honorary Auditors report that they have found the accounts "accurate and well kept," and have noted with satisfaction the increase in the market value of our securities and the very substantial sums received by way of donations.

The President and Council feel that they cannot let this occasion pass without expressing their very high appreciation of the exceptional services rendered during the year by the Honorary

Secretary, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E. It is mainly due to his initiative, tact, and resource that the Association has been able to play an active, and it is hoped, a useful part in the discussion of Indian questions at this momentous time.

The Council looks forward to continued helpful activity in the present year, when so advanced a stage has been reached in efforts to solve those great problems of Indian constitutional change which have been engaging uninterrupted attention since the appointment of the Statutory Commission nearly six years ago.

JOHN KERR,
Chairman of the Council.
F. H. BROWN,
Hon. Secretary.

June 1, 1933.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE sixty-sixth Annual General Meeting of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, June 19, 1933. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following members were present:

Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Prabhashankar D. Pattani, K.C.I.E., Sir Manubhai Mehta, K.C.S.I., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Ernest Hotson, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Wilberforce Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., Sir Hubert Carr, Sir Duncan Macpherson, C.I.E., Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Mr. H. N. Hutchinson, O.B.E., Begum Shah Nawaz, Mrs. Nicholson, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. Dewar, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. Kenneth C. Keymer, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. R. A. Wilson, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Dr. Collin C. Davies, Miss E. L. Curteis, Miss C. K. Cumming, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Rev. E. S. Carr, Colonel A. G. Hamilton, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: As the Annual Report has been circulated to members within the last few days and gives a very full account of what has taken place, I do not propose to offer any detailed comments upon it. It shows that we have had a successful and useful year, in which many minds have made contributions to the knowledge of and interest in India. These contributions have been of more than ordinary importance, for the reason that at a time when public controversy in respect to the White Paper is so prominent, they have been made under the auspices of an Association which is in no way identified with party politics. We have the good fortune to include in our membership those who hold widely divergent views on the great questions which are now engaging the attention of the Joint Select Committee and of the delegates from India who have come to share in discussions with that body.

There have been occasions in the past when for a short time India has been in the front of the political stage—as, for example, in the nineties, when an issue that exercised the public mind was that of the extent to which British cotton goods should be required to contribute to the import duties then imposed for revenue purposes. In 1919, when we had just emerged from the Great War, the Government of India Act was under consideration, and my recollection is that it made rather more impression upon the public mind than has been suggested recently in some quarters.

But the interest in India on those occasions was small in comparison with that which exists today, when the future constitution of India is one of

the foremost issues on the political horizon. It is true that relatively little was said of India in the exceptional circumstances of the General Election late in 1931; but that was due in the main to the economic and financial crisis with which we were then confronted. The fact is that for several years past Indian questions have engaged the attention of larger numbers of our people than at any time within living memory, unless, indeed, anyone survives who can recall the Mutiny.

The clear duty of an Association such as ours is not to identify itself with any propagandist organization, but to provide opportunities by its lectures and discussions for the elucidation of the many questions which have arisen in connection with the proposals for reform. I think it may fairly be said that in this respect we have discharged our obligations and have given our members, and, through our printed proceedings, the general public, a great deal of valuable material to provide a basis for definite conclusions to be reached. We have at least shown the possibility of discussing even controversial Indian questions without bringing them into party politics at home. We exist for the welfare of India, and to this end we have heard the views of those who differ very widely on the question of what will best contribute thereto.

Probably there is no organization in this country which is better able to appreciate at their real value the arguments used by the various schools of thought in the present controversy; and certainly there is none which provides a better background for their presentation.

We are fortunate to hold our annual meeting at a time when so many distinguished Indians are in this country in connection with the proposals for constitutional reform. Some of them are present this afternoon, and it is my pleasure to ask Sir Manubhai Mehta, the Prime Minister of Bikaner, to propose the adoption of the Report.

Sir MANUBHAI MEHTA: It gives me great pleasure to place before you the proposition that the Report and Accounts, which have been circulated, should be adopted.

The Chairman has spoken of the work done during the past year, and I join my feeble and humble voice in congratulating this Association on the very valuable work it has done. It has provided a very useful platform for the elucidation of truth concerning India. It is very necessary in this country that correct impressions should prevail, because though we have been visiting this country in connection with constitutional changes for the last three years, we find that there has been a certain amount of prejudice bred out of ignorance and fostered by misrepresentation. It may not be mischievous on all occasions. It may be quite innocent, but there has been both ignorance and misrepresentation, and this East India Association therefore deserves congratulation on the very successful function it has discharged in providing a platform for the elucidation of truth.

It is very necessary that at this juncture the truth should be known, because we are at the parting of the ways. The Constitution, the whole Empire, is at the cross-roads at the present moment, and therefore it is necessary that no blunders or mistakes should be committed. An unkind

critic of the British Government and the British nation has remarked that the British nation has stumbled on to greatness through mistakes and pitfalls. Though it may not be quite fair, there is a certain amount of truth in that remark. The East India Company began with a career which we will not all agree was statesmanlike. They had not the genius or the imagination of the French soldier Dupleix and several mistakes were committed. Even the assumption of control over India by the Crown came out of mistakes of an enthusiastic Governor-General, who was rather too fond of absorption, by which several States under the plea of lapse were merged into India.

There is not entire truth in the remark I quoted. On the contrary, I believe that the British nation, though not consciously assuming Imperialistic responsibilities, have the instinctive genius to come to the correct conclusion through means which may appear erroneous. Therefore, the East India Association, by providing this platform for the elucidation of truth, has furnished us with opportunities for avoiding blunders and mistakes. That is why I congratulate them on the work they have done.

From the Report also you will see that there is another very useful function which this Association has been discharging. It is in the way of hospitality, and references have been made to several donations and contributions by rulers of Indian States. The Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda has promised a contribution of £50 for five years with choice to continue it longer. Similarly there are contributions from H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad and H.H. the Maharaja of Kashmir. These illustrate the fundamental truth that Indian States and Rulers of Indian States are as much interested in the future of India as the citizens of British India and also the citizens of England. These social functions of hospitality are a great political asset. More valuable work is often accomplished at society salons and drawing-rooms than at chancelleries and legations.

We are all at one in this great Empire, and if our work in the past in this Association has redounded with credit, it should inspire us with hope and faith for the future.

With these remarks I commend this Report to you and ask you to adopt it.

Mr. R. A. Wilson: I do not know why Mr. Brown asked me to second the Report today. However, Mr. Brown has done so much for this Association that it would be churlish to refuse to comply with any request made by him.

We have covered a wide range of subjects during the past year, and there has been great divergence of views expressed, but no one, I think, who knows the East India Association and its members would think other than that, whatever may be the divergence of views, we are all united in our devotion to India where so many of us have spent the best part of our lives. One thing I notice on looking through the Report, and that is the extraordinarily happy knack which our Secretary has for finding the right Chairman to preside on the right occasion. What, for instance, could be happier than his choice of the first architect of the Viceroy's house in Delhi to preside over Sir John Thompson's delightful résumé of the history of

Delhi as the capital of India? And what could have been happier than the choice of Lord Sankey to preside over Mr. Molson's address on the subject of the Third Round-Table Conference?

The Report expresses the gratitude of the Council to Mr. Brown for his labours on behalf of the Association during the year, and I think all of us who are present here, who are not members of the Council, must join in sharing that very high appreciation of the exceptional services rendered during the year by Mr. Brown. (Applause.)

I should like to be allowed to say one word with reference to the discussion meetings which have been held during the past year. The Report seems to me to be somewhat inconsistent with regard to these meetings. At the beginning of the section which deals with the subject, the meetings are referred to as an opportunity of holding private discussion meetings, limited to members or special guests, and on the understanding that the proceedings are not reportable in the Press. But later on the sentence occurs, " The one drawback of the new plan is that, since the proceedings are not placed on record, members in India and elsewhere unable to be present are not provided with means through the ASIATIC REVIEW of knowing all that takes place." It seems to me that if the object of these meetings is to enable members to express their views very freely without any possibility of their views being reported in the Press, that can hardly be called a drawback. I gather from what I have been told that the tendency has been for these meetings to become larger and larger and to be of a more formal rather than of an informal and intimate nature, and I venture to suggest that this may detract in the eyes of some at least a little from their value.

I will only add one word, and that of a personal nature. In the list of the deaths of various members of the Council during the past year is mentioned Sir James Walker. I served for many years in the Central Provinces with and under the late Sir James Walker, and I would like to add my personal expression of regret at his untimely death. I am sure that in losing him the Council have lost a shrewd and kindly adviser.

I beg to second the adoption of the Report.

Carried unanimously.

Sir PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI : The second item on the agenda today is the proposal for the election of President for the coming year. The pleasant duty of proposing the re-election of Lord Lamington has been entrusted to me. (Applause.) I had the privilege of knowing his Lordship when he was the Governor of Bombay. Those were happier days than now. He was such a good Governor that his name is held in great respect in Western India even now. You have known him not only as an active member of the Legislature here, but as the President of your Association for many years, so you will readily agree that he has qualities which help to make such an Association successful.

In the adoption of the Report and in the Report itself, the good work that the Association has been doing has been mentioned, but I have always felt that it is the guiding spirit of the Association that makes the work valuable, enabling it to proceed on the right lines and on the principles on

which the Association was established in the first place. I think that guidance has been carried out by your President so well and in such a spirit that we hope he will be able to look after the welfare of the Association for a great many years to come.

I submit to you the proposal that Lord Lamington be re-elected.

Sir LOUIS DANE: I have very great pleasure in seconding the motion. You have heard Sir Prabhashankar Pattani's high opinion of Lord Lamington. I can only say that I entirely re-echo that. The duty of the President, of course, is to preside, but you can preside in one way and you can preside in another. After seven years' experience as Chairman of Council, I can only say that Lord Lamington's advice has been freely given and has always been sound.

Therefore I have the greatest pleasure in strongly recommending to you that Lord Lamington be invited to remain as President, and I put that motion to the meeting.

Carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is very gratifying to me to be the recipient of your favour as shown by my re-election as President. I quite recognize that my term of office should have had a termination ere this, and on intimation of the slightest desire that you wish for a change I will go, with regret but with the full understanding that it would be in the interests of the Association that there should be a successor to myself.

I was much moved by the kind remarks made by my old friend Sir Prabhashankar Pattani. We knew each other in Bombay, and now his frequent visits to this country make me feel that he is going to be a permanent resident here and I shall enjoy still more of his society. He made two points which pleased me very much, first when he said my name was still known in Bombay. My heart always clings very much to Bombay, so I was specially gratified. Also I appreciated very much his remark that my presence in the Association here was of some benefit to its working.

As to the kind observations made by my friend Sir Louis Dane, I feel he gave up his office of Chairman much too soon. At the same time I am bound to say that a year or two ago he was not looking in the best of health. Now I am glad to see him looking younger than ever. (Cheers.) I appreciate very much his kind references to me, and I also thank you all, ladies and gentlemen, for the real honour that you should think me worthy of being still your President. I accept the offer with pleasure.

Mr. YUSUF ALI: I have the honour to propose the re-election of the following members of Council: Sir Charles Armstrong, Lady Bennett, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Mr. John de La Vallete. These are seven names which represent various different interests. You have ex-Governors and administrators. You have a member representing the arts. You have a lady. You have a journalist, and you have men representing other interests in public life.

But, after all, the test of a Committee or Council is, Are they content to stand on the old beaten paths, or do they seek out new openings for the work that they have to perform? The Report which you have all read and which you have adopted shows that it is a very live Council. I remember the Association from my earliest days in India, and indeed from the days of my father, who was a member. I remember I used to read the Journal when I was a student just learning English. From the early days to the present day, the Association seems to have made a great deal of progress. We have got not only the public meetings but the private meetings, and in addition the hospitality meetings in the houses of distinguished hostesses, where an atmosphere of social gaiety mingles with the atmosphere of earnest work for India.

All that shows the Council is very much alive and getting new openings for its work, and I think I might be allowed to associate in that respect especially the name of Mr. Brown. He is a splendid asset to the Council and to the Association, and also, I think, to the whole community of Indians and Anglo-Indians in London and visitors to England. (Applause.)

I have the very greatest pleasure in proposing the re-election of the Council.

Sir ERNEST HOTSON: I have much pleasure in seconding this resolution. It requires no words from me, because I know everybody is more than well satisfied with the work the Council has been doing.

Carried unanimously.

The election of the following new members, the Rt. Hon. Lord Brabourne, M.C. (Governor-Designate of Bombay), Sir Alladi Krishnaswami (Advocate-General of Madras), Sir Muhammad Yakub, Mr. C. R. Corbett (Journalist), was proposed by Major GILBERTSON, seconded by Mr. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, and

Carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to say on my own behalf it is an additional gratification not merely to be President but to have such earnest workers as constitute the Council. Mr. Brown we all know. Everybody seems to have their heart in the work of the Association. They all do their best for it. I am sure that the very successful management of our affairs is owing to the loyalty and service of those who constitute the working foundation of the Association.

INDIA AND THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE*

By F. G. Pratt, c.s.i.

"The deep-seated suspicion of the nation that we intend some-day to possess ourselves of their country, grounded as it is on what has happened in the past, is the chief obstacle to the existence of really cordial relations. Eradicate that suspicion (which only within the last few years has found expression in the creation of a national quasi militia by encouraging the importation of arms and ammunition) and you will go far towards establishing a footing of mutual confidence and trust such as, for instance, that existing in Nepal. Then 'the sun of friendship will shine clear in the sky of contentment not darkened by the clouds of distrust'."—*Afghanistan*, by W. R. H. Merk, c.s.i. (published in 1913 by the Royal Central Asian Society).

"Personally, I no longer believe in the Russian menace. The whole situation is so changed. Modern political progress, railways, steam communications and such-like modifications have put it out of the power of Russia to invade India in the easy way they so jauntily contemplated twenty, thirty, or forty years ago." —General Sir Edmund Barrow reported in the Proceedings of the Royal Central Asian Society for July, 1926.

There was an interesting debate in Parliament in March, 1933, when the Supply Estimates were sanctioned for a British Army of 148,700 men. The point was raised by the opposition that the size of the Home and Overseas Army should be reduced in keeping with the very considerable reductions in Continental armies which were part of the Prime Minister's disarmament proposals. The official reply to this was that the British Army has never been designed to take part in great Continental wars, but exists only for the purpose of maintaining order in the British Empire, and, therefore, no changes in the outside world and no reduction in armaments outside could logically be used as arguments for reduction of the British land forces.

This line of reply is good and valid so far as the British Army proper is concerned, but it cannot be used to rebut arguments put forward for the reduction of the Army in India, which is roughly 50 per cent. more numerous than the entire British Army now maintained at home and overseas.

* Based on an address at a discussion meeting of members of the East India Association on April 28, 1933, and incorporating notes and comments on objections and criticisms.

For the Army in India is maintained not merely for the purpose of maintaining order in British India—it is maintained also for the protection of India from external aggression and for taking part in a major war against a powerful European State which might attack India's frontiers. If, therefore, it can be shown that the world situation has been transformed in such a manner as to make the danger of such aggression negligible or insignificant in that quarter, then the question must necessarily arise whether there should not be a corresponding revision in the strength and organization of the Army in India. On these matters the latest statement of the views of the Government of India is contained in the last issued annual volume, *India*, 1930-1931, where we read that the reduction of the military budget substantially below the existing level would imply a complete abnegation of statesmanship and sanity on the part of those responsible for the welfare of the Indian masses.

We are, therefore, entitled to assume that in the opinion of the Government of India there has been no material improvement in India's security since the year 1927, when the Simon Commission, on the basis of official information, described the dangers against which India needs protection of the Army. We read in the Simon Commission Report of a land frontier exposed on the north-west to a constant and pressing danger of a magnitude without parallel in any other part of the Empire. We are reminded of the series of incursions by foreign invaders throughout history, and of the fact that "comparatively small bodies of invaders have often succeeded in overcoming all opposition and making their way to the plains and establishing themselves as conquerors." And we read that at the present time the external dangers are of a wholly exceptional character. They are, indeed, described as being of the first order of magnitude, and they are dangers caused by the hostility of States which are not members of the League of Nations—in plain English, Russia and Afghanistan. There are also references to the need of arrangements for preventing raids by independent Pathan tribes on the North-West Frontier. The Simon Commission Report seems to accept the reality and the magnitude of these dangers as things self-evident, and not needing analysis or discussion.

At a later stage in this paper I propose to undertake that task, but for the present it is sufficient to note that the Government of India, as at present constituted and advised, must still be convinced that the dangers are so imminent and so deadly that anything in the nature, say, of a "ten years' military holiday" for India would be, to use their own language, a complete abnegation of sanity and statesmanship.

It is also quite certain that the Government of India can only

have reached this conclusion with very great reluctance, for it is agreed on all sides that reduction, if possible, would be desirable. The Government have repeatedly declared that they are very sensitive to the longstanding demand for reduction made by Indian publicists, a demand which in this year's Budget debate was voiced also by Sir Leslie Hudson, the leader of the Europeans in the Indian Legislative Assembly.

It is, in fact, undeniable that in India we have a country which less than any other country in the world can afford to have a large proportion of its resources earmarked for defence expenditure. For India's crying need is economic development, and large masses of her immense and rapidly growing populations are still submerged below a poverty line, the range of which is deeper than in any other country of the world except China. Sir George Schuster, in his speech at Ottawa, referred to the very heavy increase of taxation which had been found necessary in the last two years, in spite of drastic economies in administrative services.

It was suggested in discussion that it would be wrong to argue that taxable capacity should be the sole factor in defence expenditure, but no such argument is here intended. Taxable capacity cannot be the sole or the dominating factor, but where it is admittedly very low it must surely be a powerful argument for scrupulous economy in adjustment of expenditure to really vital needs.

The expenditure on the Army has increased by something like 100 per cent. above its pre-war level. India's defence expenditure is more than 50 per cent. of her Central revenues, and is 33·7 of her combined Provincial and Central net revenues, while in Great Britain, with all her Imperial and overseas responsibilities, the corresponding ratio is 23·6, or less than a quarter. The serious significance of these figures is in no way diminished by the production of statistics showing that a heavier rate of defence expenditure in relation to population is incurred in the U.S.A. or in European countries. If the outlook is black from the economic standpoint, the political consequences of the present situation are even more depressing.

The successful development, and even the first inauguration of the Federal Reform Scheme, admittedly depends upon the financial stability and resources of the new Governments, Central and Provincial. It will be remembered that the recent White Paper expressly states that even on the eve of the inauguration of the new Constitution it may be found that economic and financial difficulties may necessitate reconsideration and a change of plan. The whole Federal system will be gravely imperilled if from 1933-1934 the history of 1920-1921 should be repeated, when the new ministers in the Provinces took office only to find them-

selves powerless because their Budgets were starved by financial stringency.

Briefly stated, the situation now is that more than 50 per cent. of the Federal revenue is earmarked for military expenditure. The Budget can only be balanced by the inclusion of income tax revenues which accrue in the Provinces, and which it is admitted in principle must sooner or later be completely surrendered to the Provinces. Without those revenues the Federal Budget would now be in serious default.

In the Budget Debate of March, 1933, the Army Secretary of the Government of India referred to the work of two Committees whose reports would shortly be submitted to the British Cabinet. The first report, that of the Capitation Tribunal, of which Sir Robert Garran was Chairman, was submitted to the Prime Minister three months ago.

The capitation charges are charges made by Great Britain on the Indian Budget for contributions leviable from India towards the cost of the recruiting and the training of British soldiers who are sent to serve in India. The cost was fixed at £11 8s. per head in 1908, but after the war it rose in 1920 to £28 10s., and since 1924 India has been paying under protest £1,400,000 per year and at the same time resisting still further demands from the War Office which would bring the annual payments into the region of £1,700,000. The Tribunal was appointed last year to advise on what basis the contributions, if they are to continue at all, should in future be fixed. Among other matters referred to this Tribunal, the most important was that they should examine India's claim that a contribution should be made from Imperial revenues towards India's military expenditure and report the basis on which any contribution approved should be assessed.

The second Committee has been appointed on the advice of the Defence Sub-Committee of the First Round-Table Conference, which, recognizing the great importance attached by Indian thought to the reduction of the number of British troops in India to the lowest possible figure, recommended that this question should be investigated by expert authority. Any reduction in the number of British battalions or any substitution for them of Indian units would, of course, make substantial economies in the Indian Budget, and in this connection two considerations are important and relevant. The first is that the Defence Sub-Committee recorded their opinion that the defence of India must to an increasing extent be the concern of the Indian people and not of the British Government alone. The second is that the special function and the special value of the British soldier in India is that his complete detachment and impartiality make him the ideal peace-maker at times of communal riots and disturbances. For

a good many years past he has taken little or no part in frontier fighting.

In 1919 seven or eight battalions of British troops were sent to the front during the third Afghan War, but that war lasted only a few weeks, and in all the subsequent years of hard fighting in Waziristan, which came to an end in 1923, no British infantry were employed.

The point was made in discussion that the third Afghan War demonstrated the necessity of a large proportion of British battalions in frontier campaigns. But it must not be forgotten that at the moment of the outbreak of that war India, by reason of her immense efforts in the Great War, had been drained dry of trained troops, of armaments, and of supplies and transport. At the moment of the outbreak of this Afghan War India had actually 124 battalions and 89 squadrons engaged in war service overseas.

It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the labours of these two Committees may result in some substantial reduction of India's burdens, but unless and until that happens it would not be safe to count upon any material alteration in the present *status quo*.

The Army in India now consists of 58,000 British and 132,000 Indian troops. The official account of its organization is that it is regarded as consisting of three categories. First, the so-called "Covering Troops," intended to hold the frontiers and in the event of major operations to form a screen behind which mobilization can proceed undisturbed. This screen would be composed of roughly 40,000 men, twelve and a quarter infantry brigades.

Next, there is the Field Army of approximately the same size, which is India's striking force in a major war and which must compensate for its small numbers by possessing the "fullest measure of mobility and offensive power."

Thirdly, there are the category of internal security troops, whose function is the maintenance of order in British India. In addition to these regular troops there are maintained in India by the Indian Princes 37,000 men, the Auxiliary Forces manned by European and Anglo-Indians 22,000 men, and the Indian Territorial Army, now about 15,000, all of which would on occasion be available if needed for internal security purposes.

We may now undertake a critical examination of the dangers of external aggression which are said to threaten India and which are held to justify the strength and organization of the defence forces now maintained. And while doing this it is necessary to keep clearly in view the background against which such a discussion must be conducted. It is generally agreed that Great Britain must for an indefinite period, certainly for many years

to come, continue to guide and control the defence policy of India. If there were no other reason for this there would still be a sufficient reason in her obligations towards the Indian Princes. She will not relinquish that control until those obligations are fully discharged or until India, either by her own strength or by international guarantees or both together, is secure from internal and external dangers. The discussion refers to the defence of India during that period of transition and tutelage. Therefore no analogy can fairly be drawn from the fact that in past ages invasions and irruptions have taken place under totally different conditions, when there was no settled or organized Government.

When Shakespeare spoke of the England of his day as "this fortress built by nature for herself against invasion and the hand of war," it would have been pedantic to point to the Roman invasions and the Teutonic and Danish and Norman invasions as proving that England must necessarily and at all times be in danger of invasion.

In the course of the discussion the possibility of overseas invasion of India by a great naval Power was suggested, and reference was made to the smallness of India's naval contribution towards Imperial Defence. These questions are outside the scope of the general argument presented in this paper, but it may be observed that no responsible person has ever suggested that a reserve of military strength for Imperial purposes should be maintained in India at India's expense as an offset against the heavy cost of the naval defence of India.

External dangers are said to threaten India from three directions: either singly or in combination from the frontier tribes, from Afghanistan, and from Russia. A fair estimate is needed of each of these factors which will avoid the Scylla of exaggeration and the Charybdis of optimistic understatement. The frontier tribes, from Chitral down to Swat and the Malkand; the Afridis of the Khyber and the Tirah; the Mahsuds and Waziris of Waziristan are often spoken of as if they constituted a serious danger to the security of India. It is usual to quote the numbers of the adult male population and the numbers of their rifles as if these men were an organized and equipped army corps backed by the resources of a great and powerful Government, which might at any moment be mobilized for the conquest of Northern India.

Now it is true that in their own mountain homes they are very formidable enemies, who can only be safely attacked by greatly superior numbers of trained forces with a careful and costly organization of supply and transport and lines of communication. But it is only in their own mountains and within raiding distance of their mountains that they are formidable.

They fight only on foot; they have no money, no stores, no wheeled transport, no artillery, no machine-guns. "At no time," says the late Mr. Merk, a frontier officer of unique experience, "and for no purpose could all this mass of men combine for collective action . . . drawn from innumerable different clans, torn by family and tribal feuds living in a tangle of mountains, over a length of 600 miles of country, with no recognized head or leader and jealous to the death of each other. In former ages they swarmed down for the loot of India. But this was in the wake of the regular invading armies of the day and only to the tune of a few thousand tribesmen at a time. There is no instance of the fate of a battle or other event or of the course of history in India having been altered by the tribesmen as such."

Over large parts of the tribal country improved communications and developing trade have for many years past been establishing a Pax Britannica which is unlikely to be seriously interrupted. This is true of Chitral and Dir and Swat and the Mohmands and Afridis and Orakzais further south. Even Waziristan, for generations the most troublesome of the frontier regions, is now penetrated from end to end by strategic roads with strong garrisons of regular troops in key positions. In 1913 the only garrisons in the whole of the tribal country north of Baluchistan were three Indian battalions at Chitral and the Malakand. Today in the same country, at Chitral and the Malakand in the Khyber and Waziristan, we have three British and fifteen Indian battalions, together with an immense development of road communications, mechanical transport, and aviation. The problems involved are domestic and political, and their military aspects are purely local and tactical.

This is not to deny that for many years to come they will remain a very serious local problem and that the local forces maintained for their control must be as vigilant and mobile and efficient as the London Fire Brigade. But, when all is said and done, the tribesmen cannot by any stretch of imagination be regarded as more than a purely local problem of trans-Indus security.

When we turn to Afghanistan, the first and most important consideration is the complete change in the obligations and responsibilities of the Government of India, which has been brought about by the Afghan Treaty of 1921 establishing the complete internal and external independence of Afghanistan. Prior to that event Great Britain and the Government of India were bound by treaty engagements to protect Afghanistan from interference or attack. In a despatch of 1898, Lord George Hamilton reminded the Government of India that these engagements might possibly lay upon them the obligation of despatching a large army over

their border for the defence of Afghan territory. Great Britain is no longer saddled by this obligation. The Afghan king and Government are solely responsible for their own defence and external relations, and so far have found no difficulty in meeting their responsibilities.

In 1925, when Russian and Afghan troops came into collision on the Oxus River, the dispute was quickly and easily settled, and did not, as in Mr. Gladstone's days, result in a colossal war scare and huge army credits and an addition of 10,000 British troops to the Army in India.

But the question to be examined here is the probability or danger of aggression by Afghanistan upon India.

The extract from Mr. Merk's paper on Afghanistan, which stands at the head of this article, was written in 1913, twelve years before his death, but there have been no indications that the state of public opinion there described has materially altered in the post-war period.

Have we on our side any grounds for believing that the Afghan Government harbours any sort of aggressive design against India? Amanullah's mad attack in 1919 was, in fact, a kind of backwash of the Great War, and its results were not such as to encourage any future ruler to repeat his attempt. At the present day *The Times* correspondent tells us that Kabul is an increasingly steadying factor in the politics of the frontier. It is on official record that during the frontier disturbance in 1930 the Afghan Government actively discouraged the unrest in our tribal areas, and its assistance is stated to have been of incalculable value. It is probable that the Afghan Government, on their side, were equally grateful for our active co-operation in 1933 in preventing our Waziris from taking part in the Afghan rebellion in Khost. A Constitution was promulgated in 1932, and the Government is concentrating all its efforts on trade and pacification with a cautious policy of internal development. Her army of 40,000 is of no serious military importance. It would be almost as preposterous to speak of Switzerland as a dangerous neighbour to the French Republic as to represent Afghanistan as a serious menace to the security of India. There are no possible grounds of dispute which could not easily be settled with or without the intervention of Geneva.

It may, of course, be urged that Afghanistan, though not formidable by her own strength, may be used as a catspaw by Russia, who will first Sovietize Afghanistan and then proceed to the conquest of India. It is in this argument that we at last come up against what is generally believed to be the real menace to India's security, that "danger of the first order of magnitude" arising from the hostile attitude and the aggressive intentions of a great

European Power. The specific references to Russia in the Simon Commission Report establish quite clearly that the Government of India and their military advisers look upon the danger of Russian military aggression as not less serious today than it was fifty years ago, when memories were still fresh of the days when Russian armies were knocking at the gates of Constantinople and the fear of Russian aggression in the Mediterranean brought Indian troops to Malta and British battleships to the Bosphorus.

In spite of all the changes which have transformed the whole balance of power in the East and have transformed international relations since the Great War, they are still treating Russia as a first-class military power and are still making her a dominant factor in their military policy and preparation.

The changes referred to can only be summarized very briefly. Towards the end of the nineteenth century Tzarist Russia recognized that she had reached then her natural limits in Central Asia, and began to look to Manchuria and the Far East for further expansion. The fear of Imperial Germany led to closer relations with France and Great Britain, and in 1893, and again in 1907, she bound herself by treaty with Great Britain to respect the independence of Afghanistan. Her Far East policy soon brought her into collision with Japan: the disastrous war of 1905 and the subsequent domestic revolution shook Tzarist Russia to her foundations, and after the Great War her ruin was completed by another revolution and the old régime finally crashed. From that time onward the military strength of Russia for any purpose of external aggression has been as negligible as the naval strength of post-war Germany.

Most of all would this be true of a prolonged campaign in the face of fierce opposition through hundreds of miles of the most difficult and mountainous country in the world, where the success and even the bare survival of the invading forces would depend upon an elaborately organized and invulnerable system of supply and transport. If it took Lord Kitchener three years to organize the Nile campaign against the Dervishes, how many years would the Soviet Government require to organize expeditions from the Oxus to Kandahar or Peshawar—the Soviet Government which has to resort to martial law in order to raise its internal food supplies and which cannot conduct any large-scale piece of organization without periodical pogroms of heretics and traitors?

The hypothesis that the Afghans would willingly allow their country to be used as a corridor and overrun and Bolshevized by Soviet commanders need only be mentioned to be set aside as not worth serious discussion.

It would be more profitable to ask whether the conduct of

the Soviet Government has been such as to give any grounds for believing that they have any special designs against Afghanistan. They had ample opportunities for subversive activities during the ten months of civil war in 1929 prior to the accession of the present King Nadir Khan, when the British Minister withdrew and the Russian Minister for the best part of a year was left alone in Kabul. What, in fact, happened was that the Soviet Government took an early opportunity after Nadir Khan's accession to renew the 1926 treaty of friendly neutrality and non-aggression. It is undoubtedly the fixed policy of the Soviet Government to work for a world revolution which should destroy the capitalist system in every other country and set up in its place a system similar to their own—and to achieve this end they will employ every engine of propaganda for stirring up discontent and revolution in capitalist countries.

But apart from propaganda the foreign policy of the Soviet Government is emphatically a policy of peace and non-aggression. If there is one stable factor in the world of today it is that Russia will never attack. She will never attack because external war would mean the collapse of her economic programme; it would mean peasant risings and revolution, and nationalist rebellions by all her discontented minorities in Central Asia and Georgia and the Ukraine. This is the obvious explanation of the meekness and long-suffering of her diplomacy in the Far East in her relations with China and Japan. She lives in constant fear of her capitalist neighbours. It is for this reason that for years past she has been weaving a network of protective treaties of non-aggression with all her border States in Europe and Asia.

At the same time her fear of war has led her to energetic preparations for defensive war and a great spread of militarism. There is a flourishing society for aviation and chemical defence; military aviation has made great strides, and children in schools are given lessons in shooting and in the use of gas-masks. But it is a complete misinterpretation of plain and obvious facts to suppose that the Russian military preparations have any aggressive purpose or that any weapon except the weapon of propaganda will ever be turned against foreign countries. If this is anything like a correct statement of Russian psychology and of Russian powerlessness for attack, even if they were willing to wound, it must surely be a matter of very grave anxiety when we find the Government of India still wedded to the ideas and the policy of 1890, when Lord Roberts was looking forward to the inevitable conflict between Russia and Great Britain which would be fought out in Afghanistan. We find the Government of India in its latest official publication defending its military policy by laying great stress on the Russian anti-British propaganda, and

by references to Russia's acquisitive designs in Central Asia while she was under the Tzarist régime, and to the suspicion and alarm which were felt at that time by Indian authorities because of Russia's relations with Persia and Afghanistan.

Their military policy and preparations still look upon the territory of the tribesmen as a corridor through which the lines of supply and transport and communication must pass for supporting the Field Army when it has been mobilized for the major war and its battles in Afghanistan or on the Oxus. It is legitimate to ask against whom those battles are to be fought. We are bound by our international commitments, and the ordinary decencies of modern international intercourse have made it impossible for a state of war to exist between India and Afghanistan.

The world has moved on since 1919, and Kandahar and Ghazni and Jalalabad can no longer be regarded as possible objectives for India's Field Army. The reader need hardly be reminded that we are still maintaining a strategic railway with a terminus at New Chaman, the purpose of which is to serve as the spearhead of an advance on Kandahar. This is the railway of which the Amir complained that he felt it like a "knife in his vitals."

If the enemy is to be Russia there is nothing in the history of the last fifty years to support the theory that Russia intends to attack; and no such attack would be possible without long years of hostile preparation, even the first beginnings of which could not possibly be concealed. It is therefore suggested that the time is ripe and more than ripe for giving India the blessings of a military holiday during which her armed forces, like the armed forces in other parts of the British Empire, shall be determined solely on the basis of the maintenance of internal order and effective military control of the frontier tribes. Would such a formula be one of reasonable security for India under existing conditions? I am quoting Sir Austen Chamberlain when I say that "this is a question which has to be answered by the politicians. The answer does not affect and cannot be given by the military, naval, or air experts. It depends on political considerations and must be answered by politicians and statesmen."

A few remarks, in conclusion, must be made on the problems of internal security. It was objected that application to the Indian populations of the Hoover "police component" formula—viz., the 100,000 internal troops allowed in Germany for a population of sixty millions—would justify an Indian Army three times larger than she now possesses. But the reply to this objection is that in fact and in practice for many years past roughly one-third of the existing Indian Army has been considered a sufficient police component. The margin for reduction is in the large excess over and above the necessary police component. It may

be freely admitted that this emergency function of the Army is of vital and essential importance under the peculiar conditions of India. It must always be ready to stand by and support the civil power when it is in danger of being temporarily overwhelmed. But it must be remembered that the masses of the Indian population are peaceful and unarmed villagers. The larger urban centres are always within easy reach of regular troops, and the occasions of disturbance, when the vast areas and populations are considered, are rare and exceptional.

We have now the opportunity of giving a lead to our neighbours in the Middle East. The Governments of both Afghanistan and Persia have set their hands to the task of modernizing their countries, especially in the way of economic development. Our influence and our example might do much in preventing them from wasting their resources in extravagant armaments. The valley of the Helmund, now a cemetery of dead cities, not so very long ago was the granary of Asia and is capable of giving homes and food and employment to the hungry hillmen of the Suleman mountains.

CORRESPONDENCE

21A, COLLINGHAM GARDENS,
LONDON, S.W. 5.
May 25, 1933.

Mr. F. G. PRATT writes:

The proceedings printed at pages 298-9 of the April number of the ASIATIC REVIEW reproduce some remarks by Sir Louis Dane about the Russian menace to the North-West Frontier of India, some of which, owing to time limitations, were not actually spoken.

Will you allow me space for a few brief comments on Sir Louis Dane's statements?

1. The terminus on the Oxus of the Russian railways is not Karki but Termes. Karki is not on or near the Afghan border, but is the river terminus of a small branch line in Bokhara.

These Russian railways in Turkestan and Siberia—single tracks many hundreds of miles long—are hardly what can be called "strategic" railways. For serious military purposes they would be useless.

2. The Japanese advance through Jihol is cited to demonstrate the ease with which the Russians would advance through Afghanistan. But the conditions both physical and psychological are totally different. The "mountains" in Jihol are on the scale of the Welsh hills. The resident population of Jihol consists of Chinese peasants, the most pacific people in the world. The Chinese troops put up no real resistance. They were wretchedly led, organized, and supplied, and had no aeroplanes. The "terrible climatic conditions" were not adverse but favourable to the Japanese, for their mechanical transport moved quickly and easily over hard frozen ground.

May I in conclusion call attention to the opinion of Sir Edmund Barrow which I have quoted in another communication to the ASIATIC REVIEW?

In his remarks on that occasion General Barrow gave in full detail his reasons for disbelieving in the reality of the so-called Russian menace.

Yours truly,
F. G. PRATT.

Sir LOUIS DANE replies:

Mr. Pratt is, of course, correct in pointing out that the terminus of the main Tashkent line is at Termez on the Oxus, and it was a slip of memory on my part in mentioning Karki. But this is only about eighty miles west of Termez and is close to the Afghan frontier, and the railway from Bukhara to this gives another jumping-off point on the Oxus and would relieve pressure on Termez. For the rest I have nothing to add to or subtract from my remarks about the present position on the North-West Frontier of India and the necessity for watchful care there. Our strategic railways in India were, and in many cases still are, single lines.

THE FINANCIAL POSITION OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

(From a Financial Correspondent in India)

In their report dated January 19, 1933, the Preparatory Commission of Experts appointed in connection with the World Monetary and Economic Conference state that the total value of world trade in the third quarter of 1932 was only about one-third of that in the corresponding period of 1929. Such being the case, it is not a matter for surprise that transport industries all the world over should be in a desperately bad way. We find from Brassey's *Naval Annual* for 1933 that in the autumn of 1932 no less than 13½ million tons of the world's merchant fleets were lying idle. Railways also are everywhere in a similar condition. A special article which appeared in *The Times* in April indicated a deficit on French railways of £120 millions (gold) during the last ten years. The British railways, according to *The Times Trade and Engineering Supplement*, dated April 8, 1933, showed during 1932 a ratio of profits to capital of 2·1 per cent., which, considering the normal return of 4 per cent. for an even position, must be regarded as equivalent to a deficit and not a surplus return. The Canadian National railways, which work under more or less similar conditions to Indian railways, had a total income deficit of 96½ million dollars for 1932.

India's foreign trade has since 1929 been reduced to a little less than one-half in value. There has also been since that date an uninterrupted succession of deficits in railway working, *vide* figures given below:

Year.	*Deficit (in Rupees).*
1930-31	519 lakhs*
1931-32	920 „
1932-33	934 „
1933-34 (Budget estimate)	777 „

The above deficits have, however, not imposed any additional burden on the general taxpayer, as they have been met entirely out of railway reserves. Of course, since the commencement of 1931-32, railways have not paid the annual contribution to general revenues, amounting roughly to about Rs.600 lakhs, under the Convention of September 20, 1924. Owing to this unprecedented drain, the Railway Reserve Fund, which stood at nearly Rs.1,900

* One lakh of rupees = £7,500 at the current rate of exchange.

lakhs in 1928-29, has been wiped out and the Railway Depreciation Reserve Fund will have a balance of Rs.1,371 lakhs at the close of the year 1933-34.

Railway Earnings

It would be incorrect to say that the above deficits are entirely due to the economic depression. For a proper appreciation of the position it is necessary to examine in detail the figures of revenue and expenditure for the last few years. To take revenue first, some figures are given below:

(*In Lakhs of Rupees.*)

Year.	*Earnings. Passenger*	*Earnings. Goods*	*Earnings. Other*	*Total.*
1929-30	35,75	65,25	1,70	102,70
1931-32	28,96	55,41	2,26	86,63
1932-33	29,30	54,52	2,68	86,50
1933-34 (Budget estimate)	29,72	55,68	2,85	88,25

The drop in goods earnings is greater than in passenger earnings, and is due to trade depression. It will continue until trade revives. The drop in passenger earnings is partly due to economic depression and partly to motor competition. The Mitchell-Kirkness Committee put the loss to railways from motor competition at Rs.190 lakhs per annum. A conference was recently held in Simla to discuss the question of co-ordination of road and rail transport, but no decisions were taken. Centralized control is not possible in India, as roads are a provincial subject and railways a central subject. The utmost that can be hoped for is a central advisory body, which, however, cannot be expected to function until the new autonomous provinces have been brought into being.

The improvement in receipts for 1933-34 is, of course, an estimate, and may or may not be realized. The Commerce Member, in introducing the Railway Budget in the Legislative Assembly, said in the course of his speech:

"In the hope that we have plumbed the lowest depths of the present period of economic depression and we may anticipate a slight recovery, we are placing our estimate of traffic earnings about 1¾ crores,* or barely 2 per cent. above the current year's figures."

This is a fundamental assumption which underlies the whole of the financial position for the current year, and if not realized

* One crore = 100 lakhs.

will increase the deficit beyond the budgeted figure. It was subjected to criticism by both British and Indian non-official members. British railways apparently do not share this optimism. The *Economist* of February 18, 1933, says that "the omens for early trade recovery are not regarded as sufficiently clear" by the Board of Directors of the London Midland and Scottish Railway. Let us hope that the Indian Government forecast will be justified.

Railway Expenditure

The following statement gives the figures for working expenses and the "operating ratio"—*i.e.*, ratio of working expenses, including depreciation, but not including interest, to gross traffic receipts—for the years 1929-30 to 1933-34:

(*In Lakhs of Rupees.*)

Year.	*Working Expenses.*	*Operating Ratio.*	*Capital at Charge at End of Year.*
1929-30 ...	... 68,18	66·4	7,69,98
1930-31 ...	... 67,46	70·9	7,83,18
1931-32 ...	... 62,77	72·4	7,89,64
1932-33 ...	... 62,85	72·7	7,91,04
1933-34 (Budget)	... 63,10	71·5	7,94,34

The operating ratio has increased steadily during the last twenty years. From 50 per cent. pre-war, it rose to 56 in 1924-25. It rose by another 10 points in the next five years and a further 6 points in the last three years. The decrease in 1933-34 may or may not be realized, being, as stated already, a pure estimate.

Another interesting feature is that the rise of the operating ratio has been much greater on State-managed than on company-managed lines. Below are given figures for the operating ratio for 5 feet 6 inch gauge lines for the year 1931-32, taken from page 55 of vol. ii. (Statistics) of the Report by the Railway Board on Indian Railways for 1931-32:

State Managed Lines:	*Operating Ratio.*
Eastern Bengal Railway	82·00
North Western Railway (commercial section) ...	74·10
Great Indian Peninsula Railway	76·16
East Indian Railway	65·17
Company Managed Lines:	
Bombay Baroda and Central Indian Railway ...	59·56
South Indian Railway	57·40
Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway	53·40

This goes to show that State management has not been a great success from the purely business point of view.

The need for economy is insistent. The Pope Committee Report just published is not a very inspiring document. It says that " there are no big avenues of economy left except the intensive use of locomotive power; no fundamental changes can be made now on Indian railways to reduce expenditure except amalgamation. Considerable savings can, however, be made by detailed analysis of every operation conducted on every railway." The amalgamation of the East Indian and the Eastern Bengal systems has long been suggested. If it comes about as a result of the above recommendation, it will be some gain. Job analysis is a matter for the technical expert, on which a layman can offer no opinion. But, even so, informed opinion will not be willing to agree that Indian railways offer no other avenue for retrenchment and economy.

The Railway Retrenchment Sub-Committee, which reported in October, 1931, suggested annual savings of Rs.300 lakhs, the major portion of which related to cuts in pay of staff (225 lakhs). These have not yet been given effect to. The Director of Railway Audit only recently reported that control over expenditure is faulty and that the whole system of railway budgeting and accounting needs overhauling. Several projects have been sanctioned on too optimistic estimates on which the return originally anticipated will not be obtained in any reasonable length of time.

We could go on giving instances to show that the Pope Committee Report should not be regarded as the last word on railway financial reorganization in India. The establishment of a Statutory Railway Board is now under discussion. The object in view is the placing of railways on a business footing. Let us hope that opportunity will be taken to place the finances also on a business footing. Investigation by a committee including some financial experts is clearly necessary, notwithstanding the contrary recommendation of the Pope Committee. It should always be borne in mind that for the success of the Federal plan it is essential that the financial position of the railways be immediately improved. If the railways fare badly, general taxation would have to be increased, with railway reserves so sadly depleted. Moreover, the Central Government could not surrender one-half the jute export duty and a substantial share of the income tax to the provinces—as proposed in the White Paper—with the present inadequate margin of revenue at its disposal. Railway finance might very well be described as the keystone of the Federal arch. Early action is needed.

SOME ASPECTS OF A CENTRAL RESERVE BANK FOR INDIA—I.

A REVIEW OF THE ABORTIVE CENTRAL BANKING SCHEMES

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This is the first of a series of studies on some of the problems connected with the establishment of a Central Reserve Bank in India. In this one we shall review the abortive Central Banking schemes that were proposed from time to time. Further articles will consist of an analysis of the Indian Money Market, the question whether India needs a Reserve Bank at all under her existing state of financial development, the controversy, Private Bank *v.* State Bank, and the Reserve Bank in relation to the Money Market. Although these essays will form connected parts of one theme, it will be attempted to make them as far as possible self-contained.

The Reserve Bank Bill, which was thrown out by the Legislative Assembly in 1928, did not represent the first serious attempt to establish a Reserve Bank in India. There were many schemes before this which were similarly set aside although by different authorities. Treatises on Indian Banking, in their passing references to the subject, state that the first proposal of the kind was made in 1836.* This is to ignore two interesting schemes before that date. Warren Hastings was responsible for the one in 1773,† and Robert Rickards, a member of the Government of Bombay, for the second in 1808.‡

1. The first of these was more than a mere proposal because the Bank was working for some time before it was dissolved by order of the Company's Directors in England. It was the result of a "Plan for a General Bank in Bengal and Bahar"§ placed before the Board of Revenue in January, 1773, by Warren Hastings. After certain amendments it was finally approved by the Board on April 13 of the same year.

It is interesting to note that one of the primary causes that occasioned a demand for the Bank was the inconvenience caused

* *E.g.*, see J. M. Keynes, *Indian Currency and Finance*, p. 233.

† *India Office Records, Miscellaneous Despatches*, Vol. 776, p. 209 *et seq.*

‡ *Parliamentary Papers*, 1812-13, Vol. I., p. 261 *et seq.*

§ If we ignore the Northern Circars and the possessions round Madras, Bengal and Behar comprised British territory in India at that date.

to the money market by the withdrawal of money in the Company's Treasury in times of revenue collection. To quote the words of a minute adjoining the plan, "The great complaints which are made from all the Northern Districts of the two provinces, of the inability of the farmers to pay their rents, on account of the uncommon plenty and cheapness of their grain, are primarily owing to the great drains which have been made of the current coin in the Districts by the collections, which for some years past have centered in the Public Treasuries of the city of Moorshidabad and at the Presidency, and to the want of an equal trade to carry it back again into circulation."

"The object of the Bank," continued the minute, "is to provide an effectual remedy to this growing evil." The manner how this was to be done was given at some detail in the body of the plan. The collectors were to pay into the local branch of the Bank all the revenues they received in return for "bills on the Capital House at the Presidency. . . ." The *Hoondian*, or the rate of discount on these bills, was to be fixed by mutual agreement "according to the distance, risk, and charge of transporting the sums in specie, if necessary to the residency or from place to place; or to the facility of remitting the sums by Bills in the Districts." While ensuring the receipt by the Government of the full value of the rents paid to them, this was expected to obviate the otherwise costly necessity of conveying forwards and backwards, by the Government in the one case and merchants in the other, of loads of cash under military escorts, travelling agents, etc. In modern parlance, therefore, the first object of the Bank was to act as bankers to the Government.

It was also to provide easy and cheap means of remittance through its branches round the two provinces to "the merchants and others who may have dealings in the country." To prevent the Bank taking advantage of its privileged position in exacting high discount rates, the plan laid down that "tables of Hoondian which merchants shall pay for bills shall be affixed at each cutchery of the districts and in the most public places of the Presidency and Moorshidabad."

Another object of the Bank was as stated in a circular letter to the District Collectors, to "enforce the currency of the 'Sicca' rupees" as the standard coin of the provinces. This was to be done by insisting upon payment by the Bank to the Government of the revenues received by it in "Sicca" rupees. It was thus hoped that the Bank in its turn would insist upon or show a preference for dealing also in the same coin. And as a result of the influence of the Bank on the community it was possible that the coin in question would have acquired increasing currency and popularity.

The proposed constitution of the Bank was also interesting. It was not to be on the Company's "own immediate account," but was to be organized as a private corporation under the patronage of the Company. This was because, in the first place, the expense of the collections and the official emoluments "in the former case would far exceed the moderate profits the Bank might derive." Secondly, "the want of time and ability in the Government either to superintend or control so complicated and expensive a business is an insuperable objection to it." It will be noted that these are precisely some of the objections today advanced against the Central Bank being State owned and State managed. The plan therefore provided that "a Principal House, or Bank, under the conduct of one or more responsible shroffs, be established at the Presidency, *through which all remittances of the Revenue shall be made from the districts of the Provinces*; and an inferior House under the charge of one or more Gomastas* dependent on the principal in each district or Collectorship."

Two distinguished and well-established shroffs† were appointed managers of the Bank. It was at first contemplated that these "Shall enter into an engagement with the Government and give security for the performance of these stipulations." But both the bankers, having declined to offer security,‡ it was agreed to "adjust the accounts at the end of each month and to pay into the Treasury the balance which may be in their hands."

The Bank was established in April, 1773, and it soon began to spread its branches round the two provinces.§ But from the very start the managers seem to have encountered difficulties. In a representation to the Government they complained that the collectors were not paying into the Bank revenues as they were being received, but only at times when Bills were required; that in Dinapore a rival Bank was established; and that the collectors required the agents of the Bank to attend in person at the "cutchery" to draft the bills, a practice which "discredits the Bank." They also asked for preferential rates of coinage at the mint as enjoyed by Juggat Seth.

In December, 1773, new regulations were made by the Government to remedy these grievances, and the minting privileges asked

* Gomasta usually means a clerk.

† They were "Bauboo Hazzurimull, and Roy Dalchand, the former an ancient and respectable merchant of Calcutta, the latter a banker at Moorshidabad, and a branch of the family of Juggatseat" (*India Office Records, op. cit.*, p. 229).

‡ The security was refused because they complained that "it would materially affect their credit in the country; they having themselves been hitherto considered in such a light of responsibility as never to have had occasion in the course of their extensive dealings to enter into securities."

§ A Branch was established in Midnapore in June, 1773. See *History of Midnapore*, by J. C. Price, Vol. I., p. 203.

for were granted. At the same time the collectors were warned that "any attempt to counteract or obstruct the business of the Bank would be noticed with the severest displeasure." The Bank, however, proved to be a short-lived experiment, the Court of Directors in England having disapproved of it.*

Whether or not this germ of a Central Bank would have evolved in course of time into a fully developed Central Bank is now mere speculation. But considering that in the early seventies of the eighteenth century banking in the modern sense was still in its period of inception, and Central Banking theory as such was yet to be formulated, the "General Bank" of 1773 was perhaps not a poor beginning. It was organized as a private corporation under the patronage of the State. It was to act as Bankers to the Government and thus remedy the inconveniences caused by the withdrawal of money from circulation into the Treasury. It was to facilitate trade by providing easy and cheap means of remittance to merchants. And, finally, it was expected to enforce the currency of the "Sicca" rupee as the standard coin of the State. All these are certainly Central Banking functions, and it is interesting to note that the Bank of England did not at this time possess the privilege of the custody of Public Revenues.† Nor could it facilitate trade remittances, it being without branches. Both these functions were contemplated in Warren Hastings' Plan.

2. The second proposal of a Central Banking nature was made by Robert Rickards, a member of the Government of Bombay, in his memorandum to the Government of Bengal, dated July 29, 1808—*i.e.*, about two years after the establishment of the Bank of Bengal. It was more elaborately planned than the first scheme and perhaps is superior to it in many respects.

The primary objective that he had in mind while drafting the scheme was a reduction of the Company's debt through the instrumentality of the Bank. We do not enter into the details of how this was to be done.‡ Suffice it to say that the shareholders' part of the Bank's capital—the income from the Government's share of the capital—a loan of £3,500,000 in bank-notes to the Government, and a Government Sinking Fund, to be built up by an annual contribution of £1,000,000, were to be used for the purpose.

* *Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company by Firminger*, Vol. I., Introduction, p. ccxxiv.

† See Philippovich, *History of the Bank of England* (Nat. Mon. Com.), pp. 143 and 183 *et seq.* Also see Andreades, *History of the Bank of England*, p. 393 *et seq.*

‡ These details were given by Rickards in his memorandum. See *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit.*, pp. 266-67.

The outline constitution of the "General Bank" (as Rickards proposed to call it) was interesting in many ways. It was not to be a State Bank, nor was it to be a purely private institution. If entrusted to the exclusive management of private individuals, these were "just as liable to enter into hurtful combinations to promote their own interests as a Government is to injure public credit by arbitrary acts to relieve occasional distresses. By their union these parties will operate as a check on each other." The General Bank of Rickards, therefore, was to be a quasi-public institution. Its management accordingly was to be composed of a Court of Directors of six, seven, or eight members (he was not definite about the exact number), all of whom were to be "independent men," with the exception of one, who was to be a Government nominee. The chief concern of the latter was the "successful operation of the Sinking Fund and other public advantages derivable from the whole institution." He was also to act as a check "to speculations tending to promote private advantages at the expense of public good." But the presence of the Government member, Rickards assures us, would not compromise the independence of the Bank, because all decisions would be made by a majority vote. The Bank would thus be in a position to resist inflation on the part of the Government as a means of raising cheap revenue.

It was to have three head offices, one each at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. In this he anticipated the constitution of the Imperial Bank of India. In addition to the head offices, he contemplated the establishment of "subordinate banks or offices" round the country, to facilitate remittance business and popularize bank-notes.

The capital of the Bank was to be £12,500,000, of which £8,500,000 were to be subscribed by the public and £4,000,000 by the Government.

It was to be entrusted with the right of note issue and the convertibility of the notes was to be guaranteed by the Government. Rickards would so manage the note issue as "never to exceed in amount the quantity of precious metal a society would otherwise demand and of which it was intended to be a useful and cheap representative." And he imagined that the "constant and immediate convertibility into specie" would restrict the volume issued to this limit. It may be noted that, in his method of regulating currency issue, he anticipated the doctrines of the Currency Principle of a future date.*

Regarding the functions of the Bank, Rickards observed:

"The Bank thus constituted to be conjoined with the Com-

* A. E. Feavearyear observes that the currency and banking principles were so named in 1840. See his *Pound Sterling*, p. 244.

pany's Treasury in the receipt and payment of sums on account of Government, to be a Bank of discounts, to grant credit on *unexceptionable security*, and at such times only, as the Bank shall in their own judgment deem perfectly unobjectionable, and also to engage in the business of exchange by granting bills at a more reasonable rate than can be procured from individuals, in favour of merchants applying for the same on any part of the company's territories. . . ." To these functions he later adds the selling of exchange bills on England.

Rickards recognized that the success of the Bank required the co-operation of the great private bankers who, as a result of their vast resources and extensive branch organizations, wielded considerable influence over the business community. Owing to the competition the Bank might offer them, he thought it likely that, in the first instance, these bankers might attempt to obstruct the Bank. He would meet their opposition by competition with them. The Bank would offer lower rates of discount, exchange, and remittance to the public than corresponding rates charged by the private bankers. This, he expected, the Bank would be in a position to do, as a result of the vastness of its organization, control over Government balances, and the privilege of the remittance of specie free of cost, which the Government would be asked to extend to it. "When the shroffs are thus driven out of this part at least of the money market," he continued, "they may not improbably seek, in the gradual course of time, a connection with the Bank." He would then offer them seats on the Directorate of the Bank. And thus, through their "means" and "money-connections," he hoped that the Bank would be in a position to extend its benefits beyond the British territories over "the whole extent of India."

The advantages he expected of the Bank were many. In the first place, the rates of exchange between district and district, which were "liable to sudden and violent fluctuations," would be lowered to "a very near approximation of the real par of exchange." Secondly, in case of monetary stringency in any part of the country, "a neighbouring district or the Presidency will always be at hand to relieve." Thirdly, as a result of these advantages, "the mercantile body will be freed from the losses and inconveniences now suffered in exchange and from the artifices of shroffs, and therefore find their pecuniary intercourse with every part of British India much facilitated."

The Governor-General forwarded this plan to the Company's Directors, with the remark that "the ideas of Mr. Rickards appear to resolve themselves into mere speculation, without embracing objects capable of being realized, while the machinery proposed by that gentleman . . . was extremely cumbrous and compli-

cated. . . ." The Directors do not seem to have taken a different view of the plan, and it was some time before they wrote back finally rejecting it.

Rickards' General Bank, like that of Warren Hastings' before him, was clearly a Central Bank. It was to have the monopoly of issue. It was to act as bankers to the Government. By competition with the private bankers it was to stabilize rates of exchange, remittance, and discount. It was to mobilize its resources to relieve local monetary distress in any part of the country. Finally, it was to control the operations of the shroffs, who were almost the sole components of the contemporary financial system of India.

3. The next proposal for the establishment of a Central Bank was made in 1836.* In that year "a large body of merchants interested in East Indies" submitted to the Court of Directors a project for a "great banking establishment for British India." They were of opinion that a single State Bank, "confining its transactions strictly to banking principles and business," and "established by Act of Parliament and possessed of adequate capital, would, under judicious management and control, become an instrument of general good by facilitating the employment of the redundant capital of this country (England) for the general improvement of Indian commerce, giving stability to the money system of India, and preventing those occasional fluctuations to which it is at present subject, and also by affording the company facilities and advantages in their future financial arrangements."

The Bank was to transact the general banking business for the Government, and, in particular, "facilitate the receipt of revenue and its diffusion, and furnish the remittance to Great Britain of the sums required there for the Home Charges." The Bank of Bengal, they observed, owing to its limited capital, could come to but little assistance of the Government in times of distress, which the new Bank would be in a position to do to much greater satisfaction.

The project was sent to the Directors of the Bank of Bengal for their opinion. They naturally disagreed with the view that their Bank was incapable of satisfactorily discharging the functions enumerated in the scheme. In particular, they were ready at once to take over the management of Government business. In case additional capital was needed they "doubted not that the community of the Presidency had the means and would have the desire to make the addition."

As a consequence this scheme also came to be dropped.

4. After this date, incidental allusions in official correspondence

* The account of this scheme is based on J. B. Brunyates' *An Account of the Presidency Banks*, pp. 106-107.

to the establishment of a Central Bank are numerous. And after the establishment of the Banks of Bombay and Madras these allusions were sometimes in the direction of amalgamating the three Presidency Banks. Successive Finance Members, being not adverse to it, early materialization of the project seemed likely.

Perhaps the first of such allusions was made by Wilson in his minute of 1859, concerning the management of a sound paper currency in India. His scheme for the creation of a Government Issue Department, he observed, was not inconsistent with the establishment of a Central Bank, on the lines of the Bank of England, provided it restricted itself to the functions of the Banking Department of the latter. His successor, Laing, also believed that "a State Bank was a great protection against the frequency, the intensity, and duration of commercial panics." And in 1866 Sir Bartle Frere favoured the amalgamation of the three Presidency Banks. But the Government of India gave little attention to these suggestions.

5. The subject again came to prominence, when the old Bank of Bombay was known to have lost a large part of its capital. This was made the occasion for submitting a scheme* to the Government of India for the amalgamation of the Presidency Banks by Dickson, the Secretary of the Bank of Bengal.

His plan was to increase the combined paid-up capital of the three Banks to five crores of rupees, to form the capital of the new Bank. The shareholders of the Banks of Bengal and Madras were to contribute additional capital of 80 lakhs and 44 lakhs respectively at a premium of 25 per cent. The Bank of Bombay was to go into liquidation and its shareholders were to contribute one crore of capital to the new Bank, also at the same premium. The proceeds of the premium were to be added to the amalgamated Reserves of the Banks.

In the constitution of the new Bank the Local Boards at Bombay and Madras were to be retained, "but the supreme control and the rules and regulations for the conduct of business must rest in and be laid down by the Board in Calcutta." The latter, therefore, was to form the supreme management of the amalgamated Bank.

Dickson had no doubt that the "United Bank" thus constituted would not only be able "to meet the legitimate requirements of commerce . . . but . . . to control their recurring monetary crises. . . ." The Government would have "an absolute guarantee for the unvarying management of their Treasuries . . .; a certainty of greater economy in the use and distribution of their balances throughout India; uniform management of the Public Debt . . .; and a powerful agent in aiding

* *Gazette of India*, October 12, 1901, p. 1943 *et seq.*

them in all financial measures. . . ." And he thought it possible that at a later date the privilege of issue (which was withdrawn from the Presidency Banks in 1862) could be restored to the new Bank somewhat on the British model.

The Viceroy, however, was opposed to the idea of amalgamation on "public grounds." He feared that a powerful institution like the one proposed might overshadow the State; the Banks of Bombay and Madras would resent their control from Bengal; and in any event he thought it difficult to find men of leisure and ability to manage the Bank. Among the shareholders of the Bank of Bombay there was a strong body opposed to amalgamation, and it was only by a narrow majority of three that the proposal was carried at a general meeting. Under these circumstances Dickson thought it proper to withdraw his scheme.

In 1870 a member of the Governor-General's Council again raised the idea of "a real State Bank . . . thoroughly under Government control." But the Government of India were decisive on the point. They "looked upon the establishment of a State Bank in India as a matter of great uncertainty, perhaps of impossibility."

6. The matter seemed to have closed there for about three decades. In 1898, however, some of the witnesses before the Fowler Committee supported the idea of a Central Bank. Alfred Rothschild outlined a plan for such a Bank in his written statement to the committee.* He advocated a Bank "with privileges similar to those held by the Bank of England." It was to be a shareholders' Bank and not a State Bank, for its management "requires a technical skill and adaptability which can hardly be looked for in a Government Department." The three Presidency Banks were to be absorbed by it, and its capital was to be the same as "that of the Bank of England—namely, £14,000,000." The Board of Management of the Bank he would make "as influential as possible and composed of representatives of the chief merchants and bankers, the Government having the right to appoint its own representatives, as it is most desirable that the policy of the Government of India and that of the Bank should be in absolute harmony." It was to be entrusted with the management of the currency.

He expected that the Bank would impart "security and permanence to the currency system," stabilize the exchanges and the rates of discount. Confidence in the financial system of the country that might then ensue might stimulate the flow of capital

* Keynes apparently ignores this scheme, as becomes evident from his observation that, "apart from Mr. Hambro's memorandum, no attempt was made to deal with the question in detail." See *Indian Currency and Finance*, p. 235.

from abroad. In times of financial difficulties the Government would find the Bank of great help.

This question of a Central Bank being outside their terms of reference, the committee did not deal with it. Hambro, one of the members, however, in a separate memorandum* pointed out that "the success of the recommendations of the committee, if adopted, will very much depend on the banking wants of the country being assisted in times of pressure and curtailed in times of slackness." This, he believed, "could only be done by the establishment of some institution . . . formed on somewhat similar lines to those of either the Bank of England or the Bank of France."

7. This memorandum of Hambro became the subject of correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India for some time. The latter called for opinions on it from the provincial Governments, Presidency Banks, and the Chambers of Commerce. Since these opinions, however, were found unsatisfactory or conditional in character, an informal conference was convened between the Financial Department of the Government of India and the representatives of these other bodies. At this conference the question of amalgamating the Presidency Banks was discussed, and Mr. Dawkins, the Finance Member, placed before it a scheme for an Indian Central Bank.

This Bank was to have an "expert Direction in London—particularly conversant with both Indian and the London Money Markets—elected by and responsible to the shareholders, who would be mainly in India. In India itself there would be a Central Management apportioning its time and energies between the various centres, and in close relation to local directorates of the Presidency towns."

The Bank was not to deal in foreign exchanges for business purposes, but only for purposes of borrowing funds in London on its own account, or for "making remittances in payment of stock or other authorised investments and in payment of loans." It is interesting to note that in times of monetary stringency the Bank was to have the privilege of issuing "uncovered notes upon the payment of a tax of 10 per cent."

Among the advantages of the Bank, he counted on adequate control over the money market, a more "rapid return into the general circulation of money raised by taxation," and "a relative steadiness in the rates of discount, which would be of vital importance to sound business."

The project, however, could not materialize, for the Secretary of State found it difficult to come to a decision about it. He wrote on March 22, 1900: "There are circumstances, however,

* *Report*, Vol. I., p. 22.

at the present time which prevent my coming to an early decision on the proposals now submitted to me."*

8. Dawkins was followed by Sir Edward Law as Finance Member. On the strength of a minute on the "Establishment of a Central Bank," submitted by him to the Government, the latter also felt some uncertainty upon the point and recommended to the Secretary of State that "the scheme be held in abeyance." But they wished it to be recorded, nevertheless, that it was their "deliberate opinion that it would be distinctly advisable, if practicable, to establish a Central Bank in India so as to relieve the Government of its present heavy responsibilities." The Secretary of State accepted this recommendation.

Sir Edward Law examined the question in his minute from the point of view of its desirability and cost to the Government. While on principle he was convinced of the first, the cost of the measure appeared to him prohibitive. This he calculated on the basis of the extra-capital over the combined capital of the Presidency Banks† that he thought would be necessary from the point of view of the safety of the Bank, and the compensation that the Presidency Banks would demand from the Government to make good the fall in their dividends that might ensue as a result of the increase in capital. This compensation he put at 6 per cent. per annum. In addition to the question of cost, he was doubtful of "securing a thoroughly suitable Board of Directors having the necessary leisure to devote to the business." He suggested, therefore, the suspension, if not the rejection, of the idea of establishing a Central Bank.

The question was not further considered until the deliberations of the Chamberlain Commission in 1913. Two schemes of a "State Bank for India" were placed before this Commission, one by Sir Lionel Abrahams, then Assistant Under-Secretary of State for India, and the other by Mr. Keynes, himself a member of the Commission, at the Commission's own request.

9. Abrahams' memorandum, as stated by him, was, in many respects, "in effect a development in more definite form of suggestions put forth in the correspondence that passed between the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and other bodies in India," over the memorandum of Hambro.

His idea was to amalgamate the three Presidency Banks into a Central Bank. The Board of Directors of the Bank were to be Government nominees, "following the precedents of the Bank of France, the German Reichsbank, the Austro-Hungarian Bank,

* The correspondence on Hambro's memorandum was published in the *Gazette of India*, dated October 12, 1901.

† His scheme was for the absorption of the Presidency Banks by the Central Bank.

the Bank of Russia, and the Bank of Japan." He was sceptical of the idea of entrusting the management of the Bank to the shareholders' representatives, even if these were to be guided by a "code of rules sanctioned by the Government."

It was to act as Bankers to the Government, and as such was to have the custody of the Government's balances, with the exception of £1,000,000, which the latter would keep with itself to meet "unseen emergencies." It was to manage the paper currency and provide for inland remittances to the business public.

But the Bank was not to engage in the business of exchanges, for that would mean unequal and, therefore, unfair competition with the Exchange Banks, and the duty of supporting the exchanges was to rest with the State and not with the Bank, although, "as a matter of convenience, the carrying out of particular transactions relating to it . . . might be entrusted" to the Bank. It may be remarked, however, that the maintenance of the internal and the external stability of the currency being complementary functions to one another, their dual control might have led to important practical difficulties. This was, therefore, one of the weaknesses of Abrahams' scheme.

10. Mr. Keynes' scheme was based on the Continental model like that of Abrahams'. It was more elaborately drafted than all the preceding ones. The framers of the Imperial Bank of India Act, 1921—it is the name Mr. Keynes would give to his bank—seem to have borrowed freely from it. And if the Imperial Bank of India has failed to show the results Keynes hoped of his Bank, the reason probably is to be found in the fact that the Bank was not given control over the paper currency, and that the currency system was not based on his principles.

The title "State Bank" has misled some reviewers of the scheme into the belief that he recommended the establishment of a State Bank in the post-war sense of the term. It was designed, on the contrary, to be a compromise between a purely private Bank and a purely State Bank. To put it in his own words, he expected of his Bank "the best of both worlds."

The State Bank which he recommended embodied three principles which he considered essential for the successful functioning of a Central Bank in India. In the first place, it combined in it ultimate responsibility to the State with a high degree of day-to-day independence for itself. Secondly, while making use of the business talent and experience of the shareholders' representatives, it enabled the Bank to take a "broad and not always commercial view of policy." In the third place, in view of the vast extent of the country, the administration of the Bank embodies "a high degree of decentralization."

The Bank was to be managed by a Central Board and three

Local Boards, one each at Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. The Central Board was to be composed of three members, all of them nominees of the State. But the Board was to be independent of Government interference in the day-to-day transactions of its business, except that the Viceroy was to have the power of veto in all matters. The Local Boards were to be composed of six members each, three of whom were to be representatives of local shareholders. The Local Boards were designed to serve the requirements of decentralization.

The Central Board was not to have direct dealings with the public. This was the function of the Local Boards. The duties of the Central Board were to be, chiefly, determination of bank rates, remittance and distribution of funds between the centres, between India and London, and questions of general policy. While the general volume of the transactions of any kind were to be within the ultimate control of the Central Board, the nature of the individual transactions making up the total was to be left to the discretion of the Local Boards.

With the exception of £1,000,000 to meet unseen emergencies, the Government balances were to be held with the Bank. It was to be entrusted with the management of the paper currency modelled on the pre-war Reichsbank issue. The normal reserve backing was to be 60 per cent. of the total issue; but this could be lowered to 40 per cent. on payment of a tax to the Government. The elasticity that would thus be imparted to the currency supply would serve the requirements of the seasonal fluctuations in the demand for money. But, for the same reasons as were advanced by Abrahams, the responsibility of maintaining exchange stability was not to be part of the Bank's functions. It was to remain the duty of the Secretary of State.

While recognizing the desirability of the Central Bank, the Commission observes that they were not in a position to make precise recommendations. For this, they felt that "a careful study of conditions on the spot was essential." They therefore suggested a separate and expert enquiry into the question. The war suspended consideration of the Commission's recommendation and the expert enquiry was not carried out. The terms of reference of the Babington-Smith Committee did not include examination of the question of a Central Bank. And, apart from incidental references in the evidences given before the Committee, there was not a serious discussion of the subject.

11. The amalgamation of the Presidency Banks in 1921, to form the Imperial Bank of India, did not put an end either to the demand or to the necessity of a Central Bank. The question, therefore, was again raised by and before the Hilton Young Commission of 1926, who recommended the establishment of a Central

Bank. Since we will have occasion to examine in some detail the outline constitution of the Commission's Bank, we shall deal with it here very briefly.

The Bank recommended by the Commission is best described as a quasi-public institution. Though its capital was privately subscribed, its management had Government nominees on it. But the independence of the Bank was made secure by the provision that the representatives of the shareholders were to be in a majority.

The management of the Bank was to be decentralized on the model of the Imperial Bank of India. There were to be three Local Boards, one each at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. The representation of the shareholders on the Local Boards was to be direct, while their representation on the Central Board was to be indirect—namely, through the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the Local Boards—and one member elected by each of the Local Boards. The Central Board, which was to consist of fourteen members, was to have only five Government nominees on it.

The functions of the Bank were limited to those which are appropriate to a Central Banking institution. On the one hand, competition with the commercial banks was avoided, and, on the other, the importance of the liquidity of the Bank's assets was looked to. It was to have the monopoly of note issue; it was to act as sole bankers to the Government, and as such manage its balances, debts, issue new loans, arrange for remittance on Home Charges, etc. Through the mechanism of rediscount it was to provide emergency currency to meet seasonal demands. To enable this to be done effectively, the system of currency over which it was to have sole control was to be the well-known proportional reserve system. This, by enabling the issue of a multiple volume of currency over a given volume of gold, rendered possible seasonal expansion of currency supply. It was to act as bankers to the commercial banks whose banking reserves were to be centralized with it. Unlike the Banks of Abrahams and Keynes, the Commission's Bank was to have full responsibility for maintaining the stability of the exchanges.

The recommendations of the Commission were accepted by the Government, and those relating to the Central Bank were introduced into the Assembly in a Bill entitled the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank of India Bill, on January 25, 1927. (Perhaps the only recommendation of importance which was dropped in the Bill was the provision for Local Boards.)

From the very start the Assembly showed a lack of enthusiasm for the measure. They saw in it none of their pet schemes for a gold currency, and they were sceptical of the Gold Bullion Standard.

On March 24 the Bill was referred to a joint select committee, and when it emerged from their hands on August 18 it was in all essentials very much different from the original. Among the changes effected two were conspicuous. In the first place, the private Bank was made into a State Bank. Secondly, the number of directors was raised to fifteen, of which five were to be Government nominees, six were to be elected by the Legislatures, and the remaining four were to represent special interests like the Chambers of Commerce. On these two points, however, the difference between the Government and the Assembly proved to be formidable, and, since no compromise could be effected on them, the Government had finally to abandon the Bill on February 10, 1928. This put an end to a long series of attempts to establish a Central Bank in India, the first of which was made as early as 1773.

MR. T. V. SOONG'S VISIT TO ENGLAND

By Owen M. Green
(Late editor of the *North China Daily News*.)

The visit to England this summer of Mr. T. V. Soong, the distinguished Chinese Minister of Finance, is of great importance in view of the recent marked changes in Nanking's policy and prospects. Those changes were described in the April Asiatic Review. Very briefly, they comprise concentration on the revival of Nanking's special sphere, the Yangtze Valley, other districts being temporarily left to their own devices; refusal to be drawn into more civil wars, rigid economy, and administrative reforms.

For this policy, and the success so far achieved in it, Mr. Soong is very largely, perhaps chiefly, responsible. He arrived in London on June 5, spent the following week-end at Chequers, and attended the opening phases of the Economic Conference. (At the moment of writing it is uncertain how long he stays.) Before he left America an informal message was sent that our Government would welcome the opportunity of conversation with him. There is a strong feeling among all who know the Far East that a more active British policy is needed in China. The Chinese fully realize that our guiding principle in recent years has been to avoid trouble at all cost, and, very naturally, they do not like it. Concessions made in such a spirit inevitably appear as sugar-plums to unruly children. The Lytton Report pressed strongly that China should be helped in setting her house in order. It will certainly have been part of Mr. Soong's business in London to explain what his Government are doing and how such help could be given.

"The Soong Dynasty," as its opponents call it (it includes General Chiang Kai-shek, who married the youngest daughter), has as many enemies as any party in power anywhere. Yet there can be no question that it is actuated by a keener sense of practical needs and possibilities than any of its predecessors, and is responsible for the best chance yet offered to Republican China of evolving a stable, workable constitution.

Incidentally all its members are Christians, the father, now dead, having been converted in America in 1885, while the mother was, all her life, a pillar of the Chinese Methodist Church. The eldest daughter married Dr. H. H. Kung, a lineal descendant of Confucius, but a Christian: he was in England this spring

on an industrial mission, and, though at present without a portfolio, is always an important figure in Nanking's politics. The second daughter married Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who was converted when a medical student in Hong Kong and died a Christian. The youngest, May-ling, married General Chiang in 1927. She is a very lovely woman, of most sweet disposition, an ever-growing influence in her husband's life, to whom one may well attribute his conversion to Christianity two years ago.

"T. V.," as everyone calls him, is now forty-two. He took his degree at Harvard in 1917, worked for some time in a New York bank, was President of the Central Bank of Canton for a year, and, in 1925, became Minister of Finance in the Nationalist Government at Canton which, after many vicissitudes, blossomed into the present Nanking Government. Tall, rather reserved, but of very winning personality, he has a deservedly high repute, both as man and financier. He is a tremendous worker, yet always accessible, with a habit of going straight to the point that is rare in the Orient. His very directness, also that he does not suffer fools gladly, tends to make him unpopular with politicians. But one always knows where one is with "T. V.," and can rely on him implicitly.

During the wretched, war-ridden years from early in 1929 to late in 1931 "T. V." often bitterly complained that all his energies were wasted in raising loans. Yet his loans were well secured and payment of interest and amortization safeguarded from political interference. The Central Bank of China, which he founded in 1929 at Shanghai, has developed into a solid and useful institution. Another service, which naturally appeals to foreigners, was his revival of the Salt Gabelle organization, founded by Sir Richard Dane in 1913 and ensuing years, which the Communists, in 1926-1927, had practically smashed. Mr. Soong took the first opportunity, after Nanking had been fairly established as the seat of government, to reinstate the foreign inspectors; he has rearranged the cumbrous old salt districts, thus simplifying control; and in 1929 he framed a scheme for gradually bringing up to date the heavy arrears of payments on foreign loans secured on the Salt. In spite of depreciated silver and internal disorders this scheme, except as regards the Hukuang Loan (which is only half chargeable to Salt) has been very fairly carried out.

"T. V." may be said to represent the business conception of government which is gradually gaining ground. His reluctance, or difficulty, in compromising with the enormous force of tradition in China is, perhaps, a weak point in his character. Yet no one has done more than he to introduce into co-operation in Government work the oldest and solidest element in the nation,

China's business men, whose large representation in the Commission he invented to control finance has contributed markedly to the past year's improvements.

Of General Chiang Kai-shek very little is known abroad except his name. Yet it is no exaggeration to describe him as the ablest public man in China and one of the most remarkable men in any country today. "T. V." is sometimes prone to take things too much to heart. General Chiang is always cool and imperturbable, and he sees very far ahead. As a youth he studied military science in Japan and Paotingfu and at a much later period in Moscow, where what he saw of Bolshevism at close quarters explains much of his more recent actions. He built up the famous Whampoa Academy of Cadets, who officered the army which he led in triumph from Canton to the Yangtze in 1926, and he is undeniably a very able soldier. Yet I believe that his real qualities are those of a statesman. He followed the fortunes of Dr. Sun Yat-sen from the very beginning of the Revolution in 1911, and in those bewildered years he learnt two lessons which few of his countrymen have learnt—the supreme importance of time, and of sticking to one thing. (It is noticeable that in the hottest days of the conflict with Japan General Chiang never allowed himself to be diverted for more than the briefest time from his main purpose of crushing the Communists. He knew that it was futile to fight Japan, and that China's most dangerous enemies were at home.) His opponents furiously denounce him as a tyrant. Autocratic he is. Yet on a dispassionate review of his career it may fairly be claimed that on those occasions when he seemed most ruthless his real aim was to destroy a tyranny greater than any single man has wielded, which sought indeed to bind China in fetters of brass and iron.

This surely emerges in General Chiang's two great struggles, with the Russian domination in 1927 and with the Kuomintang after 1929. It is hardly yet recognized abroad how very nearly Moscow, through the agents whom Sun Yat-sen had summoned to his aid in 1923, succeeded in capturing all China. General Chiang had already had one brush with Borodin in 1926; and, in the spring of 1927, backed by the army of his native province, Chêkiang, and supported by all the moderate Nationalists, who were panic-stricken at the grip that Communism had got over their movement, he turned upon the Reds, upset their Government at Hankow, and drove the Russians from China.

The evil results of the Kuomintang monopoly of power in the Nanking Government have been described in these pages in recent times. Anything more cumbrous, ineffective, and corrupt could hardly be imagined. From early in 1929 General Chiang began attacking this monopoly with a freedom now echoed by

many others. The story of the contest is too long to tell here, but not the least favourable omen for the present régime in Nanking is that, at least in the Yangtze Valley, Kuomintangism has been shorn of much of its powers.

In both these episodes, as may well be imagined, General Chiang raised up a host of enemies. Even among those who, on the whole, sympathized were some whose Chinese sense of propriety was shocked by the undoubtedly drastic things the General has had to do. But they were things that very few Westerners would have failed to praise in view of the long purpose to be served.

At the age of forty-six General Chiang, when out of uniform, is more like a country gentleman amateur of art and letters than a soldier. He seems to have abundant time for visitors, yet there are few matters of state of which he is not master. Most people go in awe of him, of his short, sharp questions which brook no evasion, of his impenetrable reserve. Yet his smile is even more charming than that of all Chinese, his immediate subordinates adore him, and, if his word is brief, he is ever a man of his word.

With such undoubted assets as these two brothers-in-law it is necessary, though unwelcome, to have to take notice of the debit side. Undoubtedly the most damaging blot on China's reputation today is her failure to pay the long arrears of interest and amortization on her railway loans and even bills for material supplied years ago. There is a glaring contrast between the loans secured on Customs and Salt—the latter have already been mentioned, and there has never been any default on the Customs loans—and the railways. The Shanghai-Nanking, Tientsin-Pukow, and Peking-Mukden are the principal ones, but five or six more are also concerned.

In answer to a question in the House of Commons last July, it was stated that China's railway debts to foreign bondholders, of whom the proportion of British, though it cannot exactly be given, was admitted to be "certainly high," amounted to the following:

Arrears of interest	£4,210,569 Tls.1,700,000
Arrears of amortization	£5,856,547 Tls.78,000

Last December Captain Eden, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, told the House that "the Chinese Ministry of Railways are engaged in devising means for liquidating the debt," and that the Tientsin-Pukow Railway had agreed to set aside a monthly sum for this purpose. But nothing further (at the time of writing) has been heard from the Chinese Ministry, and the

Tientsin-Pukow payments to reserve, always meagre, have been suspended altogether since January.

That the railways suffered badly in the civil wars from 1926 onwards is admitted, but for the past two years their earnings have greatly improved, those of the Tientsin-Pukow in 1931 being equal to the best ever recorded. In these two years, moreover, advances to Chinese railways out of Great Britain's returned share of the Boxer Indemnity, either made or approved, amount to over £4¼ millions. There is a wide and by no means unnatural feeling that some check should be put upon further loans until the railways have made a serious effort to pay up what they already owe, which at present they certainly are not doing.

Another matter deserving notice, because of the conspicuous principle involved, is that of the Pekin Syndicate, which obtained a concession as far back as 1898 to develop coal and iron deposits in Shansi and Honan—the latter province is nominally under Nanking's control. The Shansi concession was cancelled owing to local obstruction, and in 1915 the Syndicate went into partnership with a Chinese concern, the idea being that the foreigners superintended the mining and the Chinese shared in the selling. A handsome royalty was payable to the Chinese Government. The whole should have been a bright example of Sino-foreign business co-operation.*

Yet for six years past the Syndicate has had nothing but obstruction and loss, partly due to the depredations of militarists, who at times have bodily closed the mines (thereby throwing 12,000 Chinese out of work), partly to the jealousy of rival owners—though, in fact, China could easily consume all the coal in Honan and ask for more. There was something like a riot in March when hundreds of Chinese schoolboys stopped the Syndicate's coal trains by sitting down on the line, plastered them with anti-foreign placards, and forced them to return. No satisfaction appears to have been reached, and thus thousands of Chinese workers are left unemployed, the Government are deprived of valuable royalties, and British bondholders, who have invested nearly £2,000,000 in the mines, railway to serve them, and subsidiary enterprises, are owed nearly £700,000 in interest and loans.

The moral of both stories is the same. Customs and Salt loans are under Mr. Soong's personal control; the railways unfortunately are not. And the mines in Honan are five or six hundred miles from Nanking. In other words, much as the Government

* Since this article was written, news has been received from China that the foreign managers of the Pekin Syndicate have been able to come to some arrangement with the local Chinese authorities in the Honan minefields. It is hoped that this will prove satisfactory.

has done in strengthening its authority and starting reforms, and much as it should yet do, it is not the effective authority it may hope to become later on.

The danger of all governments in an era of change such as China is passing through is that, like despotisms, there is no sure promise of continuity. Again and again the Western Powers have fancied they had discovered "the strong man" whom they might back—Yuan Shih-kai, Tuan Chi-jui, Chang Tso-lin, Wu Pei-fu—only with repeated disappointments, until now they are chary of hailing any saviour, however apparently well accredited. Nevertheless, it is permissible to hope that circumstances have so far altered as to allow departure from this cautiousness.

It is true that the Nanking Government rests largely on the shoulders of General Chiang and "T. V." Yet undoubtedly they and their colleagues represent something in politics, something in public respect, at least within the limits they have set for themselves, such as no previous Government has done. Excepting for the brief and feckless interregnum of Cantonese control at the beginning of 1932, Nanking has existed more or less in its present form for five years, and there can be no question that it is a great deal stronger, wiser, and more practical than at the beginning.

There is a natural disposition, in the light of China's 3,000 years of continuous thought and custom, to say that she will never settle down under the Western-trained student's rule. That belief would be a certainty if the Western-trained rulers never changed. But they are changing. The recent check to the Kuomintang is an undeniable sign that China is beginning to think Chinese again; and, though the process may be delayed, it must continue. At the same time, ideas have been introduced and are filtering even to the slow-going interior, even though at present they mean no more than electric light and motor-cars, which make impossible an out-and-out recoil to the old exclusivism. The future must see a combination of new and old—a building, as Professor Tawney so well puts it, "with Western technique but on Chinese foundations."

In considering how this process might be helped judiciously from abroad it would be a grave mistake to think in terms of money, at any rate for some time to come. With assurance of ordered government, even over a limited area, the Chinese could find a good deal more money themselves than is commonly supposed, and foreign loans are so closely connected in their minds with the old bogey of "imperialist aggression" as to excite suspicion and friction at once.

It is rather on administrative lines that the most useful help could and should be given. China needs an up-to-date civil ser-

vice; an organized gendarmerie to protect roads and waterways from bandits and pirates (here is a valuable outlet for some of her superfluous troops); expert assistance in road-making, bridge building, scientific farming, and other forms of economic development. Mere advisers, of course, are useless; there have been too many of them. But the Customs, Salt Gabelle, and, though unnoticed abroad, the work of the late Colonel Bauer and his German officers in building up General Chiang's "Model Division," afford an analogy of how practical work can be done by foreigners, responsible to a Chinese superintendent, without hurt to Chinese *amour propre*.

These are a few ideas suggested by experience. But an effective scheme can only be evolved in China. It is there that British policy ought to be initiated, as it used to be, as it might be again, with untold benefit to both countries.

MANCHOUKUO, ONE YEAR OF ACHIEVEMENT

By Isoshi Asahi
(Japanese Vice-Consul in London.)

Notwithstanding the world-wide depression referred to by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in his opening speech to the World Monetary and Economic Conference, Manchoukuo's international trade increased by more than three-quarters during 1932, offering a ray of sunshine to what might be described as a picture of unrelieved gloom.

The combined figures of the foreign trade of Dairen, Antung, and Newchang, the three greatest sea ports of Manchuria which usually represent 70 to 80 per cent. of Manchuria's foreign trade, for one year ending February 28, 1933, covering exactly the first twelvemonth of Manchoukuo's existence, show the aggregate of 569 million Manchoukuo yuan* (to be abbreviated M. yuan throughout the present article) as against 248 million M. yuan for the preceding one year, an increase of 77 per cent. Exports increased by 45 per cent. to 320 million M. yuan, while imports increased by 150 per cent. to 248 million M. yuan.

A casual glance at the latest available trade returns shows that this phenomenal increase in both imports and exports is shared by all countries with the single exception of Germany, and counters the argument raised in some quarters that Japan is putting obstacles in the way of Manchoukuo's declared policy of the Open Door and Equal Opportunity. Articles have appeared in some newspapers to the effect that Japanese merchandise was given preference to the exclusion of British and other foreign goods in spite of the professed policy of the Open Door. An answer to this assertion is to be found in these returns:

* The approximate value of the Manchoukuo yuan is 1s. 3d. It was established as the Manchoukuo unit of currency by the Monetary Law of June 11, 1932, and is equivalent to 23·91 grammes of fine silver. The Chinese character used to denote the Manchoukuo yuan is the same as the one used for the Japanese yen. This fact was a constant source of difficulty to the League Commission of Enquiry (see the Lytton Report). The monetary unit of the Nanking Government is also yuan, which is sometimes called Mexican dollars in English. But Nanking uses a different Chinese symbol from that used by Manchoukuo. The Chinese yuan has the legal standard of 23·9775 grammes of fine silver. For these reasons the term Manchoukuo yuan is used in this article in contradistinction to the Chinese yuan and the Japanese yen.

THE FOREIGN TRADE OF DAIREN, ANTUNG, AND NEWCHANG

(Unit: 1,000 Manchoukou yuan)

Countries.	*Exports.*		*Imports.*	
	Mar., 1932, to Feb., 1933.	*Mar., 1931, to Feb., 1932.*	*Mar., 1932, to Feb., 1933.*	*Mar., 1931, to Feb., 1932.*
Japan	121,777	110,780	167,119	57,191
China	55,281	50,801	46,009	26,016
Britain	30,161	8,384	3,382	1,343
France	2,239	554	258	88
Germany ...	4,971	10,916	2,639	3,338
Holland ...	41,534	19,550	765	823
U.S.S.R. ...	253	35	1,355	692
U.S.A.	4,728	5,352	3,862	2,423
Others	52,606	16,009	22,837	6,019
	320,550	222,381	248,226	97,932

It may be pointed out that the imports from Great Britain nearly trebled, as did those from Japan. It is true that the year 1931 cannot be regarded as normal in any comparison of the trade of Manchuria on account of the Manchurian incident of September 18, 1931. But credit for regaining that normalcy in trade, which is conspicuous by its absence elsewhere in the world, must first go to the Japanese and Manchoukuo authorities, who devoted a large part of their energy, time, and treasure for the restoration of peace and order in Manchuria during the year under review.

Through the energy of the forces of Japan and Manchoukuo the difficult task of restoring peace and order within the borders of Manchoukuo was very largely carried out within one year of her foundation. Thus the spectacular advance of the combined forces of Japan and Manchoukuo through Jehol Province in the early part of March this year closed the campaign of pacification which was started last autumn after the harvest of the Kaoliang, the staple food of Manchuria.

At the time when the Lytton Report on Manchuria was published on October 1, 1932, there were over 220,000 men under arms hostile to the new State, including bandits, political and otherwise, insurgents, Kuomintang agents, and the so-called "volunteer forces for the salvation of the Fatherland." 70,000 men were distributed in the mountainous regions of Kirin Province. Heilungkiang Province harboured 38,000, while the newly-created province of Hsingan had 13,000. Nearly half of the 220,000 were threatening the borders of Mukden Province with headquarters in Jehol Province. From official sources it can be shown that, after six months of campaign, all the hostile

elements were completely suppressed or expelled with the exception of about 20,000, the majority of whom are bandits. They are now scattered all over the country, reduced to a position which forestalls any concentrated attack upon Manchoukuo. Over 35,000 have definitely pledged allegiance to the new State and have been placed on farms or reorganized into peaceful units to be employed in road-making or similar constructive enterprises.

Side by side with the suppression campaign, the authorities of Manchoukuo proceeded with the reorganization of the police force. Under the old military régime of Chang Hsueh-liang each province had its own independent police. Bribery and nepotism were often the means by which men were appointed to higher posts in the police. As a rule the police were inefficiently trained and uninstructed in their duties. Nor was this to be wondered at having regard to the inability of the officers to support their families on their small pay. The expenditure of the police was farmed out to the highest bidder, who in his turn imposed all kinds of taxes and contributions upon the people, using the police as their collectors. There was little or no distinction between the police and the army. Soldiers often exercised police authority and were able to carry out arrests and executions.*

In order to eradicate these evils Manchoukuo embarked upon a number of reforms. The police systems of the various provinces were unified, the sole control of which is now vested in the Department of Civil Affairs in Hsinking. A staff training college for the police force was established in Hsinking, while a training school of lower grade was started at each of the provincial capitals. Selected officers have been sent to Japan to receive special training. The pay of the officers was substantially raised, with the result that the lowest paid constable in Manchoukuo today receives 18 Manchoukuo yuan a month. The average pay of the constable under the old military régime was 6 or 7 yuan a month. The lowest monthly salary of the frontier policeman was raised to 60 M. yuan from about 7 yuan under the old administration.

Important progress was also made in the administration of justice. In the pre-Manchoukuo days incompetent and unqualified persons frequently found their way to the Bench by influence, just as in the case of the police and other branches of the public service. Military satraps appointed and dismissed judges at will. The pay of judges was insignificant. Power and favouritism were liable to influence the verdict and supersede the law. The military intervened in the administration of justice and exerted pressure on the judges.

With an enthusiasm which was manifested everywhere in her

* *A General Outline of Manchoukuo*, Hsinking, 1932, p. 26.

activities, Manchoukuo earnestly set about to remove these abuses. The power of appointment and dismissal was taken from the provincial governments and is now transferred to the newly-created Department of Justice in the capital. Capable and qualified judges were appointed to the newly-established Supreme Court, the building for which is in actual course of construction in Hsinking. The annual expenditure for justice was increased to 4,476,000 M. yuan from about 1,400,000 in 1930. The old system under which the maintenance of judicial organs was farmed out by contract gave way to the modern Budget system. A commission of able men was appointed to draft the Constitution of Manchoukuo and other substantive laws of state. Schemes are being formulated for the introduction of the examination system of judicial officials in order to raise the standard of their qualification. A number of promising officials were sent abroad for the study of the judicial systems of other countries with this end in view.

Perhaps the most outstanding accomplishment in the initial year of her administration may be found in the fields of public finance, banking, and currency. To gain a rough idea of the conditions prevailing in the pre-Manchoukuo days reference may usefully be made to the Special Studies by the experts of the League Commission of Enquiry as contained in the "Supplementary Documents to the Report of the Commission of Enquiry." To quote from this publication, "amongst the many evils of Chinese and Manchurian financial methods, absence of publicity was one of the most characteristic, and therefore information of a budgetary and financial nature is extremely scarce. As a matter of fact, even the most sincere effort to produce reliable financial statements would have met with failure owing to the complete absence of regular methods or records concerning revenue and expenditure. . . . There was no proper Budget system nor did there exist a proper system of assessment and collection. Owing to the absence of a properly unified system it was a general habit to levy taxes of a temporary nature for local and 'special' purposes. These latter taxes were not based on proper regulations. Even the rate might vary according to the circumstances or the whim and needs of the person levying them. Finally it often happened that military authorities covered their financial needs by imposing tributes in an absolutely arbitrary manner."*

The new State successfully adopted and introduced the Budget system and placed before the public the accounts of the nation's income and expenditure. A uniform system of tax collection was introduced. In the place of the old "contractors," modern collecting offices were established at a number of places through-

* Extracts from Study No. 4, pp. 124 and 126.

out Manchuria under state officials directly responsible to the Government. The military expenditure, which used to absorb 80 to 90 per cent. of the entire revenue, was drastically reduced to one-third. Ten kinds of irregular or burdensome taxes were totally abolished, and five taxes were reduced by half in order to lighten the burden of the people. The total of the taxes thus abolished or reduced amounted to about 10 million M. yuan. It is needless to say that no new tax was introduced in their stead. Thus the tax burden of the people in general was lightened by one-third. The restoration of peace and order in the country, coupled with the improvements introduced by the new State, resulted in actual increase of national revenue month after month. The revenue for the half-year ending December 31, 1932, was estimated at 37,473,000 M. yuan. The sum actually paid into the national treasury during this period was 37,733,000 M. yuan. Her Finance Minister, Mr. Hsi Chia, is firmly convinced that an annual increase of 20 million M. yuan can be easily made in the revenue in the next five years.

On the question of Manchurian currencies the League of Nations expert writes that, "There are few provinces of China in which the currency chaos matches that to be found in the north-eastern provinces. Not only does one find that each of the three provinces has its own peculiar, but not always mutually exclusive, currencies, but also that various cities in even the same province have theirs, and that any one of the currencies may fluctuate violently and enormously with respect to almost any and all of the others . . . the Chinese authorities have always lacked either the will to standardize and unify the currencies or the power and ability to do so. They have almost from the very outset consistently abused the note-issue by turning out in endless variety ever-increasing quantities of constantly depreciating fiats."* The fengpiao, or the irredeemable notes of Mukden Province, is a representative of these inconvertible notes. "From 1920 on the Mukden authorities were preparing for war and financed themselves almost entirely by the issuance of fengpiao. The Chinese authorities, during the course of the fengpiao's depreciation, were continuously laying the blame on exchange-shop dealers, speculators, profiteering merchants, and the Japanese, seldom making reference to the enormous injections they themselves were making into the media. Chang Tso-lin made numerous ingenious attempts to discover costless and inexpensive methods of bolstering the tottering currency. . . . During the latter part of August, 1926, he had five prominent merchants and nine money brokers shot for speculating in currency and had many others arrested and in some instances even

* Study No. 5, *ibid.*, p. 138.

confiscated the property of those whom he executed. Despite these drastic measures the fengpiao dropped with renewed vigour and merchants dared to refuse acceptance of it altogether."* During the years 1930-1931 its market value fluctuated between one sixtieth and one-sixty-fifth of face value. Official attempts to retain it as the sole standard for quoting prices and keeping accounts had to be abandoned in 1927.

Manchoukuo did not repudiate this worthless paper money. She took it over, redeemed it with the notes of the newly-founded Central Bank of Manchoukuo which have always been accepted at their face value. By October last year she had thus redeemed nearly one-third of the old notes in circulation. The actual amount of the old notes thus collected and destroyed between July and October 18, 1932, reaches the total of 43 million M. yuan calculated in the new currency. Stated in the terms of the old currencies this shows the following remarkable total:

Convertible Tayang notes, Mukden	11,750,000	yuan
Inconvertible notes, Mukden (fengpiao)	24,000,000	„
Same without official seal (fengpiao)	1,558,000,000	„
Inconvertible notes with or without official seal, Kirin	2,374,979,902	tieh
Tayang notes, Kirin	13,681,500	yuan
Harbin Tayang notes	496,500	„

The Central Bank was established on June 15, 1932, absorbing the four old note-issuing institutions. The minimum reserve against the notes issued by it is prescribed by law at 30 per cent., but the actual reserve never fell below 50 per cent. Consequently its notes are being freely circulated at face value throughout Manchuria and are widely used for quoting prices of commodities, a fact reflecting the confidence of the Manchurians in Manchoukuo and her future. What the Bank has been able to achieve during the brief space of less than one year of its establishment is certainly a credit to the leaders of Manchoukuo.

Consideration of space compels me to spare you further details of the tangible beneficial results which one year of Manchoukuo's administration has brought about—results which may be tabulated. There are, however, other things which cannot be stated in the definite terms of hard cash, but which nevertheless play a far more important rôle in the welfare and happiness of the people of Manchoukuo and in the peace of the Far East. The principle of "Wang-tao" occupies the forefront of these things. It is the very principle upon which Manchoukuo was founded. It gave, and will continue to give, to her enthusiastic state builders that guidance, the outcome of which was the wonderful achievements briefly described in these pages. It is the cardinal principle of ideal government in the Far East for five thousand years. Liter-

* Study No. 5, *ibid.*, pp. 144-6.

ally translated, it means the Way of the King, and is frequently referred to as the Kingly Way in many publications. It is the antithesis of "Pa-tao," or the Way of Might. "Pa-tao" values the law above morals, coercion above agreement, might above right. One of the practical applications of "Wang-tao" is Manchoukuo's opposition to Communism. Another is the withdrawal of those anti-foreign text-books which Nationalist China imposed upon the school children of Manchuria on the pretext of teaching Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Three People's Principles." This one measure alone will go a long way in the furtherance of international peace.

The next in importance is Manchoukuo's diplomatic policy. The fundamentals of her foreign policy are set forth in her Declaration of Independence of March 1, 1932, and are enlarged upon in the letter addressed to various nations by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hsieh Chieh-shih. The principles therein enumerated contain equality of races, the Open Door, and Equal Opportunity—features lacking practical application in many parts of the world today. Those who care for peace in the world should take notice of Manchoukou's foreign policy, as it is bound to affect the international situation of the Far East for many years to come.

THE PROPOSED SALE OF THE CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY

By Ching Chun Wang, ph.d., ll.d.
(Former Director-General of the Chinese Eastern Railway.)

Once more the Chinese Eastern Railway has become the bone of contention in the Far East. News dispatches report that the Soviet has been endeavouring to sell its share of interest in that railway to Japan and that China has protested against the proposed sale. First of all China calls the attention of the Soviet to the pledge mutually made by the two Governments in paragraph 2 of Article IV. of the 1924 Agreement which stipulates:

> The Governments of both Contracting Parties declare that in future neither Government will conclude any treaties or agreements which prejudice the sovereign rights or interests of either Contracting Party.

With the relation between China and Japan so strained as it is, apparently China can well base her objection to the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway on the ground that such a deal will prejudice her vital interests as well as her sovereign rights.

In addition, China especially recalls paragraphs 2 and 5 of Article IX. of the 1924 Agreement which directly governs the question at issue:

> 2. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees to the redemption by the Government of the Republic of China, with Chinese capital, of the Chinese Eastern Railway, as well as all appurtenant properties, and to the transfer to China of all shares and bonds of the Railway.
>
> 5. The Governments of the two Contracting Parties mutually agree that the future of the Chinese Eastern Railway shall be determined by the Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, *to the exclusion of any third party or parties.* (My italics.)

As these two paragraphs clearly provide that it is only the Government of the Republic of China that is entitled to redeem the railway with *Chinese capital*, China's objection to its being

bought by Japan with *Japanese capital* appears quite irrefutable. China's protest, however, failed to make much impression upon the Soviet. Indeed, the Soviet, with equal emphasis, refutes* China's argument on the ground that "force of circumstances has excluded the Nanking Government from any share in the control of the railway." The Soviet also points out that the impossible conditions created by "Manchukuo" bandits, especially along the eastern section of the railway, compel it "to dispose of the railway, which under present circumstances is equally unprofitable, economically and politically." In other words, the Soviet answers China's protest by avoiding the contractual aspect of the question.

To this argument China† retorts that the 1924 stipulation is self-contained, whose validity is not affected, much less nullified, by local events. She contends that it is only *force majeure* that has prevented her from participating in the administration of the railway and that she has not for that reason given up any of her contractual or sovereign rights in the railway. Moreover, one is inclined to ask: Does not the Soviet's reasoning resemble that of a man in business, seeing his partner held up by bandits, who tries to sell his interest in that business to the very bandits for the reason that the partner is unable to exercise control of that business?

The Soviet's claim‡ that "the toiling masses of Russia have paid for the construction of the railway with their hard-earned money" is incorrect, because that is exactly what the toiling masses of Russia did not do.

With the exception of the supervision work, the entire railway was built by Chinese labourers, who were paid with Romanoff rouble notes, which Russia introduced into the country. Since the completion of the railway in 1903 foodstuff and other valuable goods produced by the toiling Chinese in Manchuria were purchased with the same Romanoff notes and transported to Russia in trainloads year in and year out until, by 1917, when the Tzarist régime, which built that railway, collapsed, about 1,000,000,000 roubles—in notes—were in circulation in North Manchuria. When the Soviet renounced the rouble the value of this enormous amount of Romanoff notes soon evaporated.

In so far as it is clearly printed on the Romanoff notes that all "the resources of the Russian Empire" are pledged as security, the holders of these notes obviously have a direct claim upon the Chinese Eastern Railway. Therefore, it is the toiling masses of

* Reported in the *Manchester Guardian*, May 17, 1933.

† Bulletin No. 109 of March 16, 1933, issued by the Chinese Government Delegation to Geneva.

‡ London, *The Times*, May 12, 1933.

Manchuria that have paid for the Chinese Eastern Railway and consequently are entitled to take over that railway in partial satisfaction of their losses caused by the Soviet's renunciation of the Romanoff rouble.

But these arguments are legalistic. We must recognize the Soviet's unenviable position. Japan's attitude vis-à-vis the Chinese Eastern Railway is such that the Soviet has either to surrender its interests in that railway or to defend it by force. As the lesser, or at least the slower, evil of the two the Soviet apparently chooses the former course.

To sell its interest in the Chinese Eastern Railway the Soviet will also violate one of the cardinal doctrines which has governed the railway from the time of its conception in 1896. According to this doctrine the ownership of the railway shall remain in the hands of Chinese and Russians, for Article 1 of the original contract of 1896 clearly stipulates that "the shares of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company can only be acquired by Chinese and Russian subjects."

Moreover, the Soviet itself has heretofore attached great importance to this doctrine, because it was the proposal of the Soviet that actually led to the embodiment of the doctrine in Article IX. of the Sino-Soviet Agreement of 1924 referred to at the beginning of this article, which not only limits the redemption of the railway to the Republic of China alone, but even goes so far as to exclude the possibility of China's purchasing the railway with borrowed money. During the negotiations of the 1924 Agreement people were very much surprised by the strenuous efforts of the Soviet in preventing the possibility of China's redemption of the railway with foreign money, especially that of Japan, for fear that foreign interference might be introduced. Therefore the Soviet's sudden and radical change of attitude is so much the more significant.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that it is largely the provision in Article 1 of the 1896 contract limiting the ownership of the shares of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company to Chinese and Russian subjects, just referred to, that has prevented certain foreign Powers from claiming any proprietary rights in that railway, in spite of the fact, as often reported in the Press, that the original shares of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company have fallen into the hands of a certain bank in Paris during the Russian revolution. The reason is obvious. Because of the above-quoted stipulation no bank or any other institution can claim legal ownership of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company's shares unless it is Chinese or Russian. A foreign bank may hold the Chinese Eastern Railway Company's shares, but such shares will immediately become null and void the moment they pass into the

hands of any other than persons or institutions of Chinese or Russian nationality.

It has also often been reported that the Chinese Eastern was built with money borrowed from Paris and that therefore the French creditors have a right claim on that railway. These reported claims always appear interesting, because it is an undeniable fact that France had lent a tremendous amount of money to Russia during the years when the Chinese Eastern Railway was constructed. Those who have any inside knowledge, however, hesitate to support that claim. The fact is that the money which Russia borrowed from France was apparently in the nature of general loans made in the name of the Treasury and was credited to the Treasury for Russia's general use. Some or even a great part of the money spent on the Chinese Eastern might well have been the proceeds from the Paris loans; but in so far as the Chinese Eastern was not pledged as security for any of these Paris loans the French creditors apparently cannot have any more claim on the Chinese Eastern than on the Russian battleships which were sunk in the Japan Sea.

As we recall the numerous occasions during the last twenty-five years on which foreign interference with that railway loomed formidable under one excuse or another, we must recognize the farsightedness of the former authorities in providing for the eventualities which they seemed to have foreseen long before the construction of that railway began.

At this juncture the only obstacle in the way of the sale of the Chinese Eastern is the price. The Soviet asks 300,000,000 roubles, whereas Japan bids 30,000,000 yen. Assuming both currencies to be on the gold basis, then Japan's bid is just about 10 per cent. of what is asked for.

We do not know what is the basis for the price asked and the price offered. Generally speaking there are four ways by which the price of a railway may be fixed. First of all, the existing contracts governing the question must be given due consideration. The Chinese Eastern Railway agreement of 1896 provides that the price to be paid for the redemption of the railway should cover the capital cost of construction plus all the losses which the operation of the railway may incur up to the time of redemption. According to this stipulation the price to be paid will be in the neighbourhood of 800,000,000 gold roubles, for the capital cost of construction is about 400,000,000 roubles, whereas the accumulated operating losses up to 1924 amounted to another 400,000,000 gold roubles.

In other words, the construction of each mile of the Chinese Eastern Railway has cost on the average about £40,000 at par, which is just about three times as much as the average per mile

cost of the Chinese Government railways as a whole. If the accumulated operating loss is also to be met as stipulated by the 1896 contract, then what will have to be paid for the redemption or purchase of the Chinese Eastern will be more than sufficient to build another railway six times as long as the Chinese Eastern. It was rumoured at the time that the Tzarist régime purposely spent money lavishly on the railway so as to make it unattractive for China to redeem it. If that report is true, the Russians in the old days certainly have done well in accomplishing that purpose.

The second and most reasonable way, from the point of view of investment, is to capitalise the net average profit of a number of years at a reasonable percentage so as to yield a fair return on the price to be paid. Another method of valuation is what is known as the cost of reproduction, according to which the price of any existing road should be equal to the estimated cost of rebuilding that road. A fourth method consists of a combination of the two preceding methods by taking into due consideration the cost of reproduction as well as the earning power.

Since the Chinese Eastern Railway is badly menaced by the "Manchukuo" bandits and is operated without any profit its value as an investment must be small. On the other hand, to rebuild the Chinese Eastern today will probably cost something like 125,000,000 gold roubles. Therefore the price which the Soviet asks is considerably less than the original cost of construction but is more than double the cost of reproduction, whereas Japan's bid must be based partly on a conservative estimate of the value of the railway as an investment after its amalgamation with the whole Manchurian railway system and partly on what must be considered as the negligible value of that railway in its present unenviable position to the Soviet. The final price of settlement, we presume, will probably be between 50 and 125 million roubles, with the better bargainer getting the upper hand.

But the Soviet's proposed sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway, coming as it does directly after resuming diplomatic relations with Nanking, cannot arise out of purely financial considerations. It must be obvious to everyone familiar with Far Eastern affairs that the Soviet's interest in the Chinese Eastern Railway is of paramount importance to its position in the Far East. Once Japan secures the control of that railway all Russia's territorial possessions east of Chita will be placed at the mercy of Japan. Indeed, the proposed sale must mean that the Soviet is forced to compromise its position in that vast region of Eastern Siberia which is so rich in mineral, forest, and other resources. Whether the boundaries of "Manchukuo" will extend to the North of the Amur, whether the Far Eastern Republic will reappear so as to

serve as companion to the "Manchukuo," or whether the Amur Provinces will remain Russian as a bargain of the Soviet's recognition of Japan's freedom of action in all Manchuria, time will tell. Whichever event may take place the actual change of hands of the Chinese Eastern Railway is bound to foreshadow developments as momentous as that which followed the conception of that trouble-breeding line in 1896. Incidentally, the Soviet's proposal to sell the Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan, more than anything else, proves beyond a doubt that the Soviet will have more justification to cry "Yellow!" "Yellow!" than Japan will have to shout "Red!" "Red!"

THE INSTITUT COLONIAL INTERNATIONAL AT LISBON

By Professor John Coatman, M.A., C.I.E.

The recent twenty-second session of the International Colonial Institute, held in Lisbon last April, met in circumstances of extraordinary importance and interest for the whole colonial world. It is common knowledge that no part of the dependent empires of any metropolitan country has escaped the ravages of the world economic crisis. The various colonial governments have all striven to their utmost to cope with these ravages, and the study of the various policies and expedients adopted is a fascinating exercise. It was therefore both natural and appropriate that the main interest of the session this year was directed to the study of the crisis in the different colonies. But, true to the tradition of the Institut Colonial International of keeping well in the forefront of its attention the permanent problems arising out of colonizing activities, a material portion of the time of the session was devoted to the position of the indigenous natives, *vis-à-vis* the systems of law under which they live.

In a word, the session rightly busied itself with both the short period and the long period aspects of colonization. And in this connection it is worth while noting how very far from merely academic are the proceedings of the Institute. Session by session the discussions become franker and more practical. In the excellent and completely impartial theatre provided by the Institute at its biennial sessions views can be freely exchanged between the delegates of the different nations, all of whom have first-hand personal contributions to make. For this reason the documentation of the Institute provides the most illuminating and, as far as non-official publications are concerned, the most authoritative survey of colonial problems to be found anywhere.

It was a happy chance which took the Institute this year to Lisbon. For there is not the slightest doubt that Portugal is now entering on a period of revived glory in both her domestic and imperial affairs which will rank with the great phases of her history. Nothing could have been more impressive than the formal opening of the session with Count Penha Garcia presiding, and Senhor Dr. Armindo Monteiro, Minister for the Colonies, delivering the opening address. It is greatly to be hoped that this speech will be widely read when it is published, for not only does it

breathe a virile pride in the Portuguese Colonial Empire and the determination to preserve it inviolate, but it shows how clearly aware the responsible Portuguese ministers are of the practical steps to be taken, and the definite work lying ready to their hand. There was nothing formal or platitudinous in it, and none of the delegates present, proud as they were of their own colonial empires, and of the men who had made them, could fail to be stirred by Dr. Monteiro's generous enthusiasm, and impressed still more deeply by the significance of the discussions on which they were about to embark. Certainly the British delegates recognized and appreciated in the speech that spirit and those qualities which drew England and Portugal into alliance six hundred years ago, and have kept them in unbroken friendship ever since.

The actual work of the session occupied the inside of a week, beginning with a close study of the incidents and effects of the economic depression on the numerous colonies in all quarters of the world. Naturally there was complete unanimity as to the causes of the present deplorable condition of most colonial countries. Nobody can possibly read the numerous authoritative memoranda submitted on the subject without being strongly, even painfully, impressed by the inescapable moral obligation which rests on the shoulders of the statesmen of the metropolitan countries concerned to guide their policy under the one paramount consideration of insuring by all the means available to human competence the welfare of the helpless peoples committed to their charge. As it happened, this was the keynote of this part of the work of the session. It may well be that the session of the Institute at Lisbon this year will leave a lasting influence on what we might call the human side of colonial policy. It must be admitted, however, that the accounts of some of the measures taken to meet the crisis in the different colonies give rise to a certain anxiety; for example, it is clear that one result of these measures will be a great expansion of the cultivation by organized plantation and other methods of some of the most typical tropical products. Naturally, there is no co-ordination of expansion between the different foreign colonial powers; indeed, there is little or no co-ordination between the different colonies of the same power. Possibly the French are giving more thought than anybody else to the desirability of keeping their several colonial possessions, so to speak, in economic step with each other. But it is obvious that there is a great likelihood of an unmanageable glut of colonial produce a few years hence which might itself be the cause of another economic upset. At any rate, the proceedings of the Institute will provide all concerned with the material on which to form their own judgment, and in this respect will add one more to the many invaluable services which it has performed.

Another warning note may be detected in the extent to which rationalization has been pressed in many of the economic activities of the colonies. It was clear that to more than one of the delegates one of the main lessons of the economic crisis in the colonies is that too great a stress has been laid on purely economic development, and that in consequence there is serious danger of grave upset of the whole balance of indigenous life. The opinion was expressed in more than one quarter that it would be desirable in future to go slow in the matter of economic development, and in any case definitely to subordinate it to the general welfare of the native whose countries are being developed. The whole discussion, in fact, was carried on with such paramount considerations as the above looming larger and larger, and colouring the views of speakers more and more. Also emerging from the discussion was the view—one which will take more tangible form and growing strength as time goes on—that more international co-operation than hitherto is not only desirable but necessary. Of course, such a development as this has its own peculiar and very formidable difficulties, but the Institute is an absolutely ideal form for the working out of the basic ideas and the definition of the conditions on which such co-operation must rest. Unquestionably here again is work of the first importance lying ready to the hands of the members of the Institute, and in view of the latter's recent history there is not the slightest reason to doubt that they will apply themselves to it with the same skill and impartiality as they have shown in connection with other important tasks in past years. Thus it is apparent that this session of the Institute at Lisbon may well prove to be an event of much significance in the future of colonial policies.

I have dwelt on this part of the work of the session at some length because of its pre-eminent interest, but it must not be supposed that the second part of its work was overshadowed. On the contrary, the discussion of the important subject of the laws applicable to the juridical relations of private law between the indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in the colonies was raised at once to a high plane by Professor Solus of the Faculty of Laws in Paris. Professor Solus has made this subject peculiarly his own, and his contribution was well up to the high standard which has been consistently maintained by the French delegates since the inauguration of the Institute nearly four decades ago. Properly considered, of course, this subject is the reverse side of the medal of which the economic discussion was the obverse, and important contributions were made by both Dutch and Belgian delegates. The proceedings terminated on this note of the vital importance of the personal position of colonial subjects, and so ended what is surely one of the outstanding sessions of the Institute.

No account, however, would be complete without some mention of the extraordinary kindness and hospitality of our Portuguese hosts, and of the quite amazing competence and tact of our Secretary-General, M. Louwers. There was a time, of course, when M. Louwers was not Secretary-General, but it is very difficult to imagine. It is even possible that the Institute might continue to survive without M. Louwers, but it would certainly not be the Institute of which we are all so proud to be members, and which has a personality and camaraderie rare among international bodies.

Count Penha Garcia, our President this year, assisted by the charming ladies of his family, represented hospitality in its highest and most urbane form, and all the foreign delegates left Lisbon with ineffacable memories of delightful and spontaneous friendship, and of personalities whom it was in the truest sense of the word a privilege to meet.

DEVELOPMENT IN INDIAN STATES: ADMINISTRATIVE PROGRESS

By John de La Valette

Military Reorganization in Hyderabad

The power to ward off foreign aggression and to maintain internal peace lies at the root of all self-government. Among the problems which beset India in her advance towards constitutional rebirth, that of providing for her external defence and internal tranquillity is not the least vital. Steps taken in any part of India towards these ends cannot, therefore, fail to rouse interest beyond such local importance as they may possess. In this connection the advance which is being made in remodelling the regular forces of the Indian States on up-to-date lines promises to provide not only tangible assistance, but valuable object lessons. These developments deserve, therefore, to be more widely known.

The report on the regular forces of H.E.H. the Nizam for the year 1341 Fasli (1931-1932), which has recently become available, affords an interesting survey of useful progress in this direction. To secure the co-operation of Indian States troops with British forces in India was a well-established policy of the East India Company, and provisions to this effect already appeared in the treaties which were negotiated in the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century with Hyderabad, Baroda, Gwalior, Travancore, Mysore, and the Peshwa. As the Davidson Committee's Report of last year reminded us, "there are records of fine services having been performed by States troops" under these treaties in many wars both before and since the Mutiny, as well as during that tragedy. The important part which the Nizam of Hyderabad played on the latter occasion, and the unstinted recognition on the part of the British Government to which it led, are too well known to require repetition here.

During the years 1880 to 1887 when relations between England and Russia were strained almost to breaking-point as the result of a series of incidents on the Afghan frontier, numerous offers of money and services were received from Indian Rulers, for—once again to quote the Indian States Enquiry Committee's Finance Report—"apart from any treaty provisions, unstinted military co-operation has always been forthcoming from Indian

States in time of war." It was the Nizam of that day, Mir Mahbub Ali Khan, the father of the present Ruler, who, in 1887, by offering financial and personal support to the Government, set the example which was so widely followed. Although, fortunately, war was averted, there grew out of these spontaneous offers of assistance permanent military organizations in a number of States which came to be known as the "Imperial Service Troops."

In 1903 a brigade of these troops was successfully employed in China, whilst during the World War 1914-1918 they took an honourable part in the operations in many fields, side by side with the other forces from India.

The unprecedented ordeal of the Great War revealed, in India as in other countries, some defects in the military organization which led to various reforms. Certain matters concerning the Imperial Service Troops were discussed with a number of the leading Princes. The outcome was a reorganization of these troops under their present title of "Indian States Forces." In a general way these forces are now divided into three categories: *Class A* comprises units having establishment, organization, arms, and equipment equal to those of corresponding units in the Indian Army. For these the arms are initially issued free of charge by the Indian Government. *Class B* is composed of units not organized or armed on quite the same lines as Indian Army establishment, but, nevertheless, such as to be fit to reinforce Class A troops, or for employment as second line troops. *Class C* consists of all other formations and those not permanently embodied.

Under this general scheme Hyderabad has reorganized its States Regular Forces so that some 7,200 troops, of all ranks, are now brought within Class A. These comprise the 1st and 2nd Hyderabad Imperial Service Lancers and the 1st Hyderabad Infantry Battalion, together with the Cavalry Training Squadron and the Infantry Training Company. The 3rd Golconda Lancers, the 2nd and 3rd Battalions of the Hyderabad Infantry, the 15-Pounder "A" Battery Horse Artillery, and the Animal Transport Section have been placed in Class B; but as will be seen the aim is to raise both classes to equal military standards. The remaining troops—viz., "B" Battery Field Artillery, the Nizam Mahbub Arab Battalion, and the African Bodyguard Squadron—are considered Class C units.

The re-armament of the "A" units is being brought up to Indian Army standards; the newly organized 15-Pounder Battery commenced its first firing practice in camp as recently as January last. Incidentally, as the old Martini-Henry rifles are gradually replaced, they are used for arming Class C troops, or reserved for the Territorial units which are in course of formation.

Among the measures being taken to improve the Class B units up to the standard of Class A is the raising of the establishment of officers to the same level, the equalizing of their pay and allowances, and the organization of the training of Army cadets on a scale calculated to furnish an adequate supply of officers, not only for normal requirements, but also so as to cope with the increase in the total establishment of some forty officers.

The training of officers is being intensified, and special " training grants " have been introduced. Every opportunity is also taken to send officers and men on courses of instruction to British India and to the British units at Secunderabad. In regard to the promotion of officers, the Indian Army time scale has been adopted.

Educational standards for the promotion of non-commissioned officers have been laid down in conformity with those in force in the Indian Army. The two rates of rations and allowances which were in force until 1931 respectively for the Imperial Service and the other troops have been abolished, and a system similar to that which has worked successfully in British India of free rations plus certain messing allowances has been substituted.

In regard to improved housing and other facilities the Hyderabad Government are following a policy similar to that adopted for British and Indian troops in British India under the so-called " Amenity Programme " of 1927. During the year under review the Hyderabad Lancers' lines were rebuilt at a capital outlay of thirteen lakhs, and similar provision is being made for the other units.

That these and other reforms entail an appreciable additional expense will be seen from the Budget provisions for military objects which rose from about 73½ lakhs in the year 1340 Fasli and 73¾ lakhs in 1341 Fasli to 89,68 lakhs in the current Budget, an increase of some sixteen lakhs.

The progress and further development of these and other military reforms in the Indian States will be watched with keen interest, for the measure of their success should furnish a fair indication of that which may be anticipated in other parts of India on the road towards an increasing Indianization of India's foreign defence and internal security forces.

Mysore: The Development of Road and Rail Traffic

The advent of the internal combustion motor and its application to land vehicles has not only revolutionized transportation, but raised a number of highly complicated problems. Some of these relate to the protection of the humble pedestrian who persists in moving about without mechanical assistance; others involve the creation and maintenance of roads; whilst a more recent, but

important, set of difficulties has grown out of the conflict between road and rail traffic. In India the number of motor-cars in use has not yet reached the proportions attained in this country, there being nearly fifteen hundred persons to each motor-car in India as against thirty-four in Great Britain. The increase of motor vehicles has, however, been sufficient to raise the problems referred to in a manner which requires effective and prompt solution. The Indian Motor Vehicles Act, 1914, and the regulations made under it, attempt to do this for British India as a whole, the Provincial Governments supplementing the general provisions of the act by more or less independent Provincial Rules.

Between the Indian States and the British Indian provinces, the respective territories of which are frequently intricately interwoven, co-ordination of traffic rules and regulations is an obvious necessity. The Motor Vehicles International Circulations Rules of 1931, issued by the Government of India under section fourteen of the Motor Vehicles Act, attempt to provide for this. The most useful provision is that those Indian States which have enacted the regulations of the Motor Vehicles Act as a State law are granted in British Indian provinces the same reciprocity in matters of licensing, registration, etc., as exists between the provinces *inter se*. But further co-ordination on an all-India basis was felt to be essential, and the Government of India have therefore appointed a Road-Rail Inquiry Committee whose report is shortly expected. Its recommendations are to form the basis for the consideration of further action in which it is anticipated that British India as well as the States will participate. The action already taken in certain Indian States is, therefore, of importance also beyond their borders. Hyderabad has recently enforced a number of practical measures for the co-ordination of rail and road traffic and the State railways have themselves organized certain motor services. These include a monopoly line of some 240 miles of district roads worked from depots at Narket Palli, a village about 51 miles from Hyderabad on the main road to Musalipatam, and at Kazipet. Suburban services between Hyderabad and Secunderabad are also being worked in competition with privately owned buses. The capital cost of the scheme has been estimated at over four and a half lakhs of rupees. The services are reported to be gaining in popularity and the receipts already cover the expenditure.

In Mysore two important developments have taken place, and a special Motor Transport Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Charles Todhunter, K.C.S.I., has just issued an interesting report in which it makes comprehensive recommendations. Since the passing of the Mysore Motor Vehicles Regulation of 1928 the State law has been brought in conformity with that

obtaining in the British Indian provinces. Subsidiary matters are dealt with by rules, issued by the State Government under the Regulation. Whilst the regulation of licensing and similar matters follows established practice, the provisions to ensure co-ordination between rail and road transport and the basis of taxation are in advance of the practice obtaining either in British India or in Great Britain. The principle of taxation includes an excise duty which for hackney coaches is based on seating capacity and for lorries on the unladen weight, whilst vehicles provided with pneumatic tyres pay on a lower scale than those without. In this way a far more rational relation is established between road usage and the incidence of the tax than under the horse-power tax in force in this country. The problem of regulating and restricting competition between railways and road vehicles, without discouraging the development of motor transport on routes where no railway facilities exist, is solved by a combination of several measures. First of all the mileage cess payable by buses is doubled, and that for lorries increased by fifty per cent., on all routes which compete with railways. Secondly, the issue of fresh licenses for buses on such competitive roads is restricted. A curious, but very practical, regulation is the prohibition of any passenger motor-bus, plying on competitive routes, to leave a town where there is a railway station between one hour before and one hour after the departure of a train. Finally, special measures prevent the competitive running of buses on festivals or *jatra* occasions, and at the same time encourage the Railway Department to run extra trains as well as to subsidize terminal bus services in conjunction with these trains on such special occasions.

Space prevents our following the report in detail in its interesting recommendations, or to indicate more fully the extent to which the building of roads and the provision of motor transport facilities have been developed in Mysore. Suffice it to say that in all these matters the example of Mysore contains many points which might be usefully considered in making arrangements in other parts of India. It is, therefore, satisfactory to learn that the Government of India's Road-Rail Inquiry Committee has given special consideration to the developments in Mysore in drawing up its own conclusions and recommendations.

Continuity of Policy in Baroda

The annual Administration Reports of the State of Baroda continue to be models of a pleasant economy in words coupled with an adequate supply of lucid information. The financial year 1931-1932 was, in Baroda as almost everywhere else, marked by

the adverse effect of economic conditions on the State revenue, as well as on public prosperity. The fall in agricultural prices and their results continued to dominate the financial position of the State, the total receipts falling to 249½ lakhs in 1931-1932 as compared with respectively 259 and 265 lakhs in the preceding two years. Against this the aggregate expenditure was maintained at approximately the same figure as in 1930-1931—viz., just below 239 lakhs—with the result that even the year under review ended with a small surplus of 10½ lakhs compared with over 20½ and 22½ lakhs in the previous two years.

But although the financial situation rendered a curtailing of the aggregate expenditure inevitable, skilful administration enabled this pruning to be restricted to such departments as Land Revenue, Palace Upkeep, etc., so that expenditure could be maintained in accordance with the settled policy on nation-building activities such as agricultural research and development, education, co-operation, sanitation, and others of public benefit. Nothing is, perhaps, more striking in these annual surveys of the State activities in Baroda than the perseverance with which the main lines of the general policy continue to be adhered to, whatever events the years may bring. In this steady pursuit of certain great aims it will not be unreasonable to see the guiding impulse which Baroda's famous ruler has instilled into the policy of his Government, a policy which throughout his long reign has always been directed towards the physical and cultural advancement of his people.

Agricultural development continued to be stimulated by the work of the three experimental farms which the State operates in the Baroda, Mehsana, the Amreli districts respectively and of the Makarpura dairy and cattle breeding farm. By local propaganda, supported by agricultural and cattle shows, practical assistance is given to the farmers, whilst the annual conferences and the participation by the State in the work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research enable those responsible for guiding these activities to keep abreast of the latest scientific developments in this field. During the year under review special attention was devoted to the combating of "root rot" in cotton, the Indian Central Cotton Committee having delegated important work in this respect to the Baroda authorities, a special grant for a two years' programme being made for this purpose. As in other States, so in Baroda, the possibilities in regard to the cultivation of sugar cane and the making of sugar are being seriously studied. The great quantities of cane sugar which are normally being imported into India from Java are obviously considered as being in the nature of a needless anomaly. Bearing in mind the enormous consumption of sugar by India's largely vegetarian

population, and the fact that many parts of the country are as suitable to the growing of cane as Java, it seems only reasonable that definite efforts should be made in this direction. In view of the great experience of the Dutch in this field, and the fact that Java cannot, in the long run, expect to remain the main source for the supply of cane sugar to India, it may well be asked whether it would not be in the interests of the Dutch, as of India, to join hands in establishing, by combined capital and combined technical skill, that sugar industry in India, which should have been built up long ago, and which is bound to arise before many years pass.

Industry received a further impetus by the addition of two cotton mills to the fifteen already in operation in the State, although some of these worked short time during the year. It is interesting to observe that of the 70,000 bales of cotton consumed in these mills about 58,000 consisted of Indian cotton. In other fields of industrial enterprise progress was limited, but the fact that several applications were received for the acquisition of land for factory purposes indicates a growing interest which an improvement in world economic conditions cannot fail to stimulate. The varied activities of the Baroda Government in promoting industry should, therefore, gradually bear fruit.

Education, not only on the widest attainable basis, but on lines likely to produce lasting results, has, as is well known, been a matter of permanent concern to the Government of Baroda throughout the long reign of its present ruler. Before 1871 there was no Education Department at all, nor any State-owned schools. Even by the time the present Maharaja assumed full powers, in 1881, there were only 180 primary schools with 7,465 pupils. In 1893—forty years ago be it noted—compulsory education was introduced as an experimental measure in the Amreli district. It was gradually extended, until in 1906 it was applied to the whole State. At the end of the financial year 1931-1932 the total number of educational institutions was 2,643 and the total number of pupils attending them 253,664, an increase of 10,079 over the preceding year. Expenditure on education, which in 1908 barely reached eight lakhs, has steadily risen until it aggregated some thirty-five lakhs last year. The educational organization now embraces 2,545 vernacular schools, including training colleges for men and for women and technical schools, and 98 schools in which English is taught in addition to the vernaculars. These latter include the college, 23 high schools for boys and one for girls, and 73 Anglo-vernacular schools. The difficult problem of educating the children of the forest tribes and backward races is being slowly but sensibly approached by special board schools in appropriate centres.

But education at school is of little abiding value unless its use can be maintained after the leaving age. To prevent the lapse into illiteracy after leaving school is in all parts of India the real problem that has to be faced. In Baroda it is being solved by the provision of libraries scattered not only throughout the cities, but as far as possible in the villages. In addition to the Central Library in Baroda City, which comprises lending, reference, and Mahila libraries, as well as a newspaper room and a children's playroom, there are 45 libraries in other towns and 818 in villages, whilst 152 villages not yet provided with libraries have reading rooms. At the end of last year out of the total population of Baroda of 2,443,007 over 65 per cent. were within reach of a library, that is to say the whole of the population of the towns and about 56 per cent. of the village population. It has been ascertained that there is no appreciable lapse into illiteracy after leaving school in those villages where there are libraries. Hence the Government of the State has settled upon the policy of providing every village where there is a school with a library. At present there are still 418 villages which have schools but no library. From this year on the Baroda Government has decided to establish 100 new libraries every year. In this way it expects at the end of the sixth year to have supplied every suitable village with at least one library as well as improved those which exist. The result of these well planned measures over a long period has been to raise the degree of literacy among the population of Baroda beyond the average for the whole of Gujerat, including the British Indian parts—namely, to 209 per mille (of all ages over 5 years) for Baroda State compared with 163 for North Gujerat and 196 for South Gujerat. In Baroda City literacy amounts to 408 per mille. In the State as a whole, although its population includes, as mentioned, certain backward forest tribes and others, one in three males and one in thirteen females can read and write. Among the city populations these proportions are even higher. For males they vary from 584 to 482 per mille and for females from 294 to 110 per mille of the population of each sex over seven years of age.*

In order to afford a comparison in regard to the results achieved by the educational efforts of Baroda State it may be worth while to compare the number of literates in the State—viz., 209 per 1,000 inhabitants (over 5 years of age) with the corresponding figures for British Indian provinces (Burma not included) which range from 50 for Bihar and Orissa to 163 for Delhi, with 110 for Bengal as the second best. Of the other Indian States only Travancore and Cochin exceed the achievement of Baroda, Mysore being the third in the list with a literacy

* Baroda, Census figures, 1931.

figure of 106 per mille. As for the knowledge of English by the male portion of its people, Baroda State with 28 per mille runs Bombay's 32 close and exceeds the 26 of Madras, whilst the figure for Baroda City of 166 per thousand compares with 153 for Bombay City. The Government of Baroda may therefore look with satisfaction not only upon the generosity of the support it has constantly given to popular education, but also upon the practical results which these efforts have achieved.

Gwalior: Census Facts

One after the other the 1931 Census reports of the Indian States are being published, gradually fitting the details of Indian India into the general picture of that sub-continent. Among the latest reports which have become available is that of the Gwalior Census. It derives special interest from the fact that, whilst it is signed by the Gwalior Census Commissioner, Mr. Rangi Lal, its proofs have been read by Colonel Sir Kailas Haksar, C.I.E. The conclusions and reasons for drawing them bear in many parts the obvious impress of the broad views and wide experience of that statesman. The special feature of this report would seem to lie in the somewhat unusual light which it throws on certain problems common to India as a whole, but the development of which does not everywhere proceed along parallel lines.

The total population in the State has fluctuated rather violently since the 1881 Census was taken. Although it has generally maintained itself between 3 and 3½ millions, aggregating at the last count 3,523,070, it showed an increase over the previous decade of as much as 13·9 in 1891 and a drop of 12·7 the following Census. In 1931 the net gain during the ten years reached just over 10 per cent. The growth and decline of the capital, Lashkar, has been even more erratic. After reaching 104,000 in 1891 its population dropped to 56,000 in 1911, increasing to 80,000 in 1921 and to 86,767 at the last Census. This increase of some 8 per cent. compares, as regards some neighbouring cities, with increases of 36·8 for Indore, 24·5 for Ujjain, 23·8 for Agra, 19·9 for Jaipur and 19·2 for Baroda during the decade prior to 1931. It is obvious that plague or influenza epidemics alone could not account for such a marked difference, and the conclusion that it is due to railway developments, which made Lashkar at first an important terminus and subsequently a mere intermediate station with little scope for industrial or commercial advancement, seems well justified.

Another interesting observation contained in the report relates to the preponderance of males over females in the population, a phenomenon which is, of course, general in India. An analysis

of the figures according to castes shows that there would appear to be ground for the conclusion that "the lower the caste the greater is its number of females." While the castes at the lower end of the scale show an almost even proportion of the sexes, the Rajputs, Brahmans, Banias, and Marathas at the other end of the scale disclose "a startling excess of males." This leads the *rapporteur* to the conclusion that "it seems that the sex ratio at birth and duration of life are both transmissible characteristics which are passed on from generation to generation—just as stature, nose, and eye or hair colour—with a relatively high degree of precision."

On the subject of juvenile marriages the Indian Census reports published so far generally tend to an expression of the opinion that there has been an increase in juvenile marriages during the previous decade. A close scrutiny of the figures for the various age groups in Gwalior leads to the conclusion that the method of collecting information on this subject in connection with that adopted for ascertaining the ages of the individuals has affected the resulting figures, with the consequence that these are to be considered as "entirely misleading," in so far as they suggest that among all religions there has been an enormous increase in the marriages of children in the 5- to 10-year age group. The writer of the report holds that there is adequate evidence that recent legislation against child-marriage has had no effect in hastening the marriages of immature persons towards the close of the last decade, and that this may, in fact, be taken as an indication of "the existence of a general feeling in favour of later marriage." Whilst it may be yet too early to draw any definite conclusions on this point, one can more readily accept that "the economic depression appears to be a considerable factor in reducing the proportion of early marriages."

On the interesting question of the changes which are taking place in the caste system the report observes that "there are clear signs that this ancient institution is dropping piece by piece its heavy armour of form and formulæ." Even among the orthodox sections of the Hindu community the emphasis is said to be moving from the non-essential to the essential aspects of the system, while the introduction of Western innovations is stated to have produced a tendency "which finds vigorous expression in extensive caste displacements." Widespread sympathy with the position of the lower classes, combined with the effects of education on Western lines, the increased facilities for travel and similar influences are kindling new hopes in the masses and hardening their determination to break through social barriers.

"The inference," states the report, "may safely be drawn that the social and psychological bases of the Hindu caste system have

been rudely shaken." Coming from such a source the statement is of special interest.

Bhavnagar: Recent Progress

With its 2,961 square miles and a population of just over 500,000 Bhavnagar is one of the most important States of Kathiawar. As its Census report for 1931 discloses, only 43 per cent. of its area is cultivable and the whole of it is in use. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that of its population, which increased from about 400,000 in 1872 to its present figure, an increasing proportion lives in towns. Whilst the percentage of the urban population was 26·8 in 1881, it is now 30·5 Even so, the farmer's struggle for life is no easy one, and his indebtedness correspondingly burdensome. A committee of inquiry which was appointed to investigate this question delivered itself of an able report which disclosed a disturbing state of affairs. The number of *kheduts* free from debt was only half that of those who were in debt, and as many as 30 per cent. of the total number of farmers were stated to be "hopelessly involved in debt, and their condition such as to give cause for grave anxiety." Here the matter might have remained, as such matters frequently do after recommendations have been made. Not so in Bhavnagar, where the thorny problem was energetically tackled on the basis that the cultivator "should be liberated from the economic bondage of the money-lender," whilst the latter should at the same time be equitably treated. A system was organized under which existing obligations could be investigated at the joint request of the *khedut* and the money-lender in accordance with rules similar to those of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act. After reducing the amount due to equitable dimensions, the Darbar discharged the *khedut's* debts by distributing the total amount of the liability so fixed *pro rata* among the farmer's creditors in full settlement. At the time the Census report went to press the cultivators of three districts had in this way been completely freed from debt to money-lenders, their resulting obligation to the State being brought within reasonable limits. Operations in other districts are proceeding to similar effect. This bold and constructive policy by the Bhavnagar Government cannot fail to react favourably upon the condition of the peasantry. As those directly engaged in the "exploitation of animals and vegetation," together with their dependents, represent 56·2 per cent. of the total population, the measure is of widespread importance.

In addition to this direct furthering of the interests of the agricultural population, the State's fostering of the co-operative movement, its facilities for the sinking of wells, and its attention

to the creation of railway communications have a beneficial effect in similar directions. Bhavnagar owns its own railway system which intersects every district and, with the exception of a small tract between Mahuva and Talaja, encircles the whole of the State. The construction of these lines has increased the aggregate mileage from 217 miles in 1921 to 341¾ miles in 1931. As regards industries in the State, the number of cotton looms in operation increased from 337 in 1921 to 727 in 1931, and that of spindles from 19,600 to 29,138. But it is a disheartening indication of the drop in world prices to find that, whereas the production of yarn rose in the last decade in weight from 830,000 lb. to 2,2 million pounds, its aggregate value only appreciated from ten lakhs of rupees to not quite fourteen. Similarly, the cloth output grew in weight from 1½ to over 2,8 million pounds, but its value only from twenty-four to 25½ lakhs of rupees. In any event it shows that when economic conditions improve the cotton industry in the State will be able and ready to reap its share of the benefit.

In connection with the remarks quoted above from the Gwalior Census report on the relation between sex and caste, it is interesting to note that the Bhavnagar report also draws attention to the fact that "on the whole it may be surmised that masculinity is found to be greater in the higher and lower in the descending social and economic groups." On the subject of child marriages the report concludes towards "an obvious change in the former attitude of the people towards infant and early marriages." Educated public opinion among the people in the State "has during the past decennium rallied all its support in favour of late marriages," and the Darbar "took the necessary initiative to recognize it by passing the Child and Old Age Marriages Prevention Act of 1930," by which it fixed the minimum ages for marriage at 14 for girls and 18 for boys. Altogether the Bhavnagar Census report, in addition to supplying much detailed information, gives some interesting indications of the vigorous and statesmanlike policy which the ruler of the State is following in his attempts to improve both the economic and social condition of his people.

THE INDIAN REFORMS AND THE PEASANTRY

By Stanley Rice

(*Author of "The Challenge of Asia," "Life of the Maharaja of Baroda," etc.*)

To Lord Curzon is attributed the saying that India is ruled by the district officers. The phrase has far-reaching implications. The Government of India may direct policies of high finance and military defence; Provincial Governments may sanction schemes of importance or reject them and may issue orders affecting indirectly the lives of the people; legislative assemblies may enact measures, wise or foolish, according as they are gifted with foresight and imagination, or may in the stress of political passion obstruct those that are evidently necessary. But the district officer is bound up with the intimate life of the villagers. It is to him that they look and have been taught to look for the just arbitration of their little disputes, for the mercies of remission when the seasons are bad, for the improvement of their roads and watercourses, for the development of their schools, and ultimately for the protection of life and property. In no civilized country, perhaps, does the supervision of the Government officer descend to such petty detail; in no civilized country have the peasants greater recourse to authority in small matters. And in no civilized country does the subordinate staff conform so closely to the temper of its chief. A vigorous officer creates a vigorous staff; weakness and laxity are reflected throughout the district administration. To do no more than you need is the natural tendency of human nature, especially of human nature working under tropical conditions; but it is a tendency that can be, and more often than not is, corrected by a high sense of public duty, by an intense pride in the work, and by pardonable ambition. From this it is evident that what matters to the masses is not so much the composition of the legislature as the character of the executive. And since that is in rapid process of Indianization which has not so far produced any catastrophic results to the people, or, conversely, since during that process a by no means negligible proportion will remain in the hands of Englishmen, it might be concluded that the new constitution, which touches neither of these aspects of the district executive, will not seriously affect the masses at all. Those who oppose the reforms on the ground that in surrendering control to Indian hands we are guilty of betraying the masses and the "sacred trust" which we have assumed for

their welfare, cannot be supposed to overlook these considerations, and, in truth, if that were the whole story, there would be no more to be said. But it is not the whole story.

In the first place, if the district staff dance to the tune of their chief, it is also true that the district officer looks to his Government for support and for the recognition of his work. I do not mean by this that he is constantly looking out for approbation on the one hand or for promotion and honours on the other. What I am thinking of is rather the evidence of a real interest in the affairs of the district, of the realization of the efforts of the officer on behalf of the people and of his recommendations for their welfare. Nothing is more heartbreaking, nothing is better calculated to stifle enthusiasm, than an attitude of indifference, an attitude which says, "Do as you please, we don't care," or, on the other hand, an attitude which, like Mephistopheles, *stets verneint*, which instinctively says "no" to every proposal, well or ill conceived, in the belief that to refuse shows greater independence than to accept. If this attitude should manifest itself—and whether it will or no is a matter of speculation according to individual temperament rather than of proof, argument, and evidence—it cannot but result in a certain apathy or disillusionment which will react eventually upon the welfare of the people.

Secondly, there is a tendency to procrastination. Governments, like the mills of God, have a habit of grinding slowly, and sometimes they grind exceeding small; but there are other times when a matter is laid aside "for further consideration," which in less polite English means that it is put off from day to day and from week to week without any consideration at all, because the authority whose business it is to "consider" can never arrive at any conclusion. But this habit of procrastination can easily develop into a habit of inaction. You appoint a committee to report on a large question, perhaps comprising many important factors; you receive the report and you agree "in principle," rejecting this and accepting that. But as nothing can be done without money, you put off the final action till a period, known as "financial stringency," has passed. No one knows when it will pass, and in the meantime the unfinished file remains to disfigure the returns and to undergo slowly the process of disintegration. At last, when everyone has forgotten its very existence, it is quietly transferred to the record room and there decently buried. Now a report which contains recommendations approved in principle cannot be altogether without value and therefore the shelving of it cannot but be, however indirectly, to the people's disadvantage.

There is a natural inclination in many men—perhaps in most—to avoid really hard thinking; the mental effort involved is far

greater than any commensurate physical effort. A man who will cheerfully trudge over the fields and through the jungles, in search of snipe or bear, or in the execution of his duty, will often shrink from the task of applying his mind thoroughly and honestly to some difficult problem. This tendency, perhaps inherent in human nature, has been said by a distinguished Indian to be specially characteristic of Indians—a tendency so marked that if not resisted consciously and continually it may gain the upper hand. If that be true, one may expect to see a good deal of this kind of relegation to Limbo of problems which ought to be grappled with. The structure of the Hindu religion is philosophic; it was born and evolved in India; it is not, like Christianity, an importation from a foreign land, modified and transformed by a new environment, and it may therefore be supposed to embody the genius of the Hindu people. They are familiar with its dialectic, and they are, as it were, nurtured upon discussion and argument. It is difficult for the Western mind, filled with the practical solution of material things, altogether to appreciate this innate tendency to discuss. But in matters of administration too much discussion obscures the issues. There is a well-known story of a certain Viceroy who, confronted with a portentous file containing opinions, cross opinions, arguments, comments, recommendations and perhaps recriminations, closed the whole thing with the two words "Drop it." That, it is not improbable, may be the fate of many a salutary measure under the new constitution.

Thirdly, there is, doubtless owing partly to inexperience and partly to an inclination to think on too small a scale, a certain prudence which is apt to degenerate into timidity. The biggest schemes in India—schemes which have brought prosperity to thousands—have been the outcome of courage; some have been failures, and failure always brings with it some obloquy; some, like the Punjab colonies, have been conspicuously successful, but the question one asks is this: Would these schemes now have been sanctioned at all by Indian ministers, fearful of accepting the responsibility, conscious of their own inexperience, not perhaps quite sure of reports, and anxious to do nothing which would imperil their political prospects with the electorate? If not, India will be the poorer. It is not an easy matter to spend the people's money on schemes which promise no immediate advantage and which may turn out to yield no advantage at all. No one can justly blame a lack of courage which may after all be only prudence, just as nobody should in reason praise rashness which, though unjustified by every canon of good government, happens to be successful. That is the difficulty of administration; of two courses to choose the better. Either may be plausibly adopted; either may lead to success or failure.

Yet, in spite of these tendencies, the Swaraj Governments of the more advanced Indian States have managed to rule without injustice to their populations and without seriously falling behind their neighbours in British India. Such inferiority as there may be is due largely to two causes: the lack of money and the lack of credit. In such States as I am thinking of the will to govern well is quite apparent; the general condition of the States has improved past belief since the last century. If it be permitted to quote from oneself a catalogue of misdeeds, "in 1825 the ruler of Udaipur was 'a man of no character, addicted to vicious habits and low pursuits.' . . . In 1867 the State of Jodhpur was on the brink of rebellion owing to general misgovernment. In 1837-38 such was the state of disorganization in Indore that the British Government was forced to intervene. . . . About 1840 so bad were the affairs of Kolhapur that 'misrule could scarcely have reached a greater pitch,'" and finally came the climax in 1875 of the deposition of Mulhar Rao in Baroda. Such a catalogue is unthinkable now. Everywhere we find hospitals established; everywhere there are Courts of Justice, not always of the British type; in all States that lay claim to good government education is fostered, the peasantry are cared for, veterinary science and co-operative societies have made headway, and there are tolerable roads and perhaps railways. The smaller States cannot afford so much, but they too, where the ruler understands his business, have made good progress. But the resources of a State are limited and under an autocratic system credit must necessarily be restricted. Hence it is that the personnel is inferior; hence it is that crying needs have to be postponed. In all such States the days of extravagant magnificence have passed.

If then the Indian States, the best of them, are well governed, it is difficult to see why British India, with its infinitely greater resources, its superior talent, and the traditions of British institutions behind it, should not be at least as well governed under the new constitution. There remains, however, an undoubted risk. It will be noticed that in the advance of the States, each new step, especially those which depend on modern scientific development, has been imported or copied from British India. Medical science (as understood in Europe), veterinary science with improved methods of castration, co-operative credit, agricultural research—progress in these directions and others has been inspired by British India, and British Indian laws often serve as the model for State laws, if indeed they are not adopted as they stand. Will there be the same initiative in future? Will the States look to British India as before for their accustomed lead? Nobody knows. The doubt is there; but it may be that the responsibility will itself beget the initiative and that the modern Indian, thrown back upon himself,

will develop qualities hitherto unsuspected because hitherto unused.

And finally there is the risk—a very insidious one—that in fits of economy the quality of the personnel will deteriorate. Every Government is under the temptation to cut down the staff to the lowest possible, and to offer rewards below the standard of efficiency. It is not easy to decide to employ two men when perhaps one will do, or to fix his pay at Rs. 1,000 when perhaps Rs. 500 would suffice. High pay does not always ensure good government, and a huge staff is sometimes an unnecessary incubus; but adequate pay and an adequate staff are the first essentials of successful administration. The difficulty is always where to draw the line, and complaints are heard from departments that they cannot do the work well if Government refuses to increase the staff or insists on employing officers on clerks' pay. It needs courage and foresight and wisdom to strike the happy mean which shall ensure that the work shall be adequately but not extravagantly done, to realize that work badly done had better not be done at all.

In all these ways the new constitution may react upon the life of the people, but to say that such things may happen is not to assert that they will. At worst they would mean no more than that the rate of progress would be checked, that there would be some waste of money and of energy, and that there would, or might, be in consequence a loss of that confidence which is so necessary to good administration. But those who speak of the sacred trust and of the betrayal of the millions are not thinking of these things. They are after all not fundamental.

And it is in fundamentals, as we are assured, that the danger lies. First, of course, law and order. The Police, it is asserted, will loyally trust their British officers and no one else and, with British control removed, they will become a party to the communal and religious strife of Moghul and Maratha days from which British rule has purged them. But is this accurate history? The Police Force is not like the Army—a body of men led into action by British officers with whom they are in close and often familiar contact every day and from whose bodily presence they may derive confidence and loyalty. They are scattered all over the country and often many of them can hardly know their British superintendent by sight, if indeed the superintendent is British. They have often to act on their own initiative under an Indian inspector or even sub-inspector, and the tale of gallantry against odds and of injuries received certainly does not suggest any special loyalty to some abstract authority many miles away, be he superintendent or inspector-general. The Police, moreover, work fairly well in the States where there is no British inspiration at all. Nor is it true to say that British rule has freed India from communal

faction and religious animosities. The old days of Moghul rule were marked by fanatical insults by the conqueror to the religion of the conquered; and the uprising of the Marathas, which led to an empire, was largely inspired by indignation at these insults. Since then communal faction has persisted, and religious animosity has shown itself in sporadic episodes, sometimes of no particular account, sometimes extending to loss of life and arson. In these latest days such animosities have been intensified by political passion, and it is surely significant that this passion has burnt at its fiercest, not in Indian India—that is, the States—but in that very British India which is supposed to have been purged by British rule.

Communal faction and religious animosity have in fact been aroused and kept alive by fear and uncertainty. When there are two communities, both deeply religious, but professing antagonistic creeds, and each conscious of the past I have just sketched, it is hardly astonishing that both should be afraid of an unknown future. When uncertainty comes to an end, and when fears are shown to be groundless, India will return to her normal ways; but as long as that uncertainty and therefore those fears exist, as long as problems remain to be solved, which some day must be solved, so long will these factions and animosities continue. That is a vicious circle. So long as there are factions, the control of law and order must be withheld; so long as the control is withheld, factions will continue. The assumption appears to be that communal feeling is inherent in Mussulman and Hindu, and that therefore it is bound to continue on the same scale as we have lately been witnessing whether the control of the Police is in British or in Indian hands, that as it has been kept within bounds by British officers and by them alone, it must necessarily get out of control in Indian hands. That again is a false assumption. Hindus and Mussulmans, as Sir Verney Lovett has said, ordinarily live on amicable terms; it is only in times of excitement that religious feelings are stirred and then, it is true, the most trivial of sparks will serve to start a conflagration. The history of previous agitations confirm this. With the opening of a new era and with the subsidence of excitement, communal passion dies down, and the spark which then would have served to light the fire now splutters out unnoticed.

But we must not overstate the case. As I have said before, the department is apt to take on the colour of its chiefs, and if the administration of the Police becomes lax, infirm, and inefficient it is quite likely that laxity, infirmity, and inefficiency will pervade the whole force, leading to disloyalty and the loss of morale. Communal rioting may break out unexpectedly, either because the Government does something incredibly silly, or possibly

owing to something that has happened in a foreign country such as Egypt or Turkey or Japan. In such an event the Indian Police Force would be put on its mettle and the uncertainty of the outcome prohibits a too facile optimism. Indian opinion itself is not blind to the risk. But the risk must be weighed against the certainty, and nothing is more certain than that if true autonomy is now denied to the Provinces, communal faction will continue if it does not increase. As for security to life and property against ordinary crime, that may be dismissed in a very few words. Not only is the record of crime no higher in the States than in British India, but the great majority of criminal problems are worked out by Indian Police under Indian inspectors. The picture of the unfortunate peasant fleeing to the jungle because he has been left helpless to the mercy of thieves, robbers, and murderers is merely the fantasy of a lurid imagination.

Secondly, law. If there is one department in which Indians have distinguished themselves and in which they have hitherto been given a chance to prove their capacity, it is the department of justice. Eminent lawyers have sat on the bench of the High Court; district judges there are in plenty. The vast majority of cases, both civil and criminal, are tried by subordinate magistracy, by district Munsifs, by sub-judges, all of them without exception Indian. It is a system that has served well enough hitherto, and the changes in the constitution cannot possible affect the administration of justice to any appreciable extent. Here again the experience of the States shows us that wherever the courts have been organized there is no complaint from the peasantry. Black sheep there will be in every flock; here and there a corrupt magistrate, now and again an inefficient, lazy, weak, or eccentric judge, but it will not do to condemn a whole class by its exceptions. If then it is not incompetence which arouses this special fear, we are driven back upon communal bias and corruption.

When the Government is accused of betraying the masses, the bias of Hindu for Hindu, of Mussulman for Mussulman, of caste for its own members, is one of the chief heads of the indictment. There is sure to be favouritism, and favouritism not merely of the kind which is thrown into the scale of two otherwise equal claims, but of that more unblushing kind, which, to gratify a kindred feeling, does not hesitate at positive injustice. You cannot exorcise what is bred in the bone. You cannot expect a Mussulman to side with the infidel, or the Brahman to give judgment against a Brahman. Hence will arise tyranny and oppression and the villager will become the plaything of prejudice. Corruption and nepotism will aggravate the situation until the lot of the unhappy man will be no better than that of the canaille of pre-revolutionary France.

The attitude of the orthodox towards the Untouchable problem, the working of the caste system which makes blood-brothers of its members, and the institution of the joint family, which substitutes the family for the individual, lend some colour to these gloomy prognostications. But it would be unfair to ignore the growth of a public spirit during the last ten or fifteen years. The sense of responsibility has been, or is being, gradually evolved through the successive advances of the Morley-Minto and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The signs are not unhopeful. As an illustration, though not a proof of this, take this quotation from the latest report on Moral and Material Progress: "Ministers of the Provincial Governments have of late unquestionably displayed more courage and initiative with regard to education. . . . Municipalities and local boards are being entrusted with wider powers, and many of them are exercising them wisely. Particularly satisfactory among recent developments has been the attention devoted to the education of children of the 'depressed classes.'" And if we may thus observe the growth of public spirit in the local boards which are manned by an inferior class of talent, may we not reasonably expect something more in the talented men who will be called upon to fill the executive posts in the new Government?

And this development of public spirit has gone some way towards checking nepotism and corruption. Granted that the individualism of Europe finds it difficult to grasp that feeling of clanship which is inherent in caste, or to realize the implications of the joint family, cases are not unknown of flagrant scandals such as those which not long ago came to light in the Punjab. But flagrant nepotism and flagrant corruption are as severely reprobated by Indians as by Englishmen. The corrupt officer in an Indian State will, if convicted, obtain as short shrift as his brother in British India. Of the petty kind of so-called bribery, which really amounts to nothing more than "tips," that kind which according to custom is given to peons to obtain, or at least on the occasion of, an interview with the great man, it would not be necessary to speak, were it not that too much is made of them by those who expect a higher standard in India than they exact in England. Corruption among lower officials there is and always will be, though it is not more conspicuous in the States than in British India and can hardly be counted amongst those evils from which British rule has freed the country.

Lastly, there is the question of taxation. When it is more exactly determined what the new Government will cost it will be possible to say whether extra taxation will be needed and if so to what extent. Two things, however, are certain: (1) That if there are extra taxes they cannot but affect the people indirectly, and (2) that no one, British or Indian, wants to tax the land directly

beyond its present burden. The periodic settlements will recur, bringing with them the periodic revision of the land tax, based upon prices, but that is not a system peculiar to Indian barbarity. We need not be at pains to insist that the lot of the villager will in no wise be changed; we need not assume the mantle of the prophet and attempt to predict what no one can foresee. We may well admit, as has so often been admitted, that there are risks to be run, the greatest of which is the transference of law and order. But to represent the Indian as the natural enemy of his countrymen, to insinuate that the peasantry are being thrown to the wolves, to suggest that the British and the British alone care for the villages, is neither fair to the Indian nor to the system of British rule which has been patiently guiding him into that path which he has now entered.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL

THE GARDEN OF VISION. By L. Adams Beck. (*Benn.*)

(*Reviewed* by STANLEY RICE.)

The transcendental novel will probably make but a limited appeal to the average reader of fiction. "Consider the lilies" is a precept to which most of us pay only lip service: we are far more likely to consider the speed limit. And when the language is that of Buddhism and the setting is Japan, the task of the author becomes even more difficult. To anyone who is entirely ignorant of Buddhism and its terminology much of the conversation must be wellnigh unintelligible. Here is a typical passage, clearer than some to the average man or woman, taken at random and as it happens from the love-letter of the dying hero to his beloved: "I who have known *satori* know that for me there is no rebirth. The weary round is over. I behold the Clear Light which burns away all earthly illusion. You are Life and Light as I, and because there is no place where you can end or I begin, I summon you to the knowledge of the Formless, the Desireless, the Utterly Desirable in which is neither change nor division."

Yet the book was worth doing. It is an attempt—a not unsuccessful attempt—to introduce the casual reader to the more intimate knowledge of the East, to seduce him from the commonplaces that India worships idols and is caste-ridden, that Japan consists chiefly of cherry blossom and geishas and Buddhist monks, and that both countries have a veneer of Western civilization which from the nature of the case must be all to the good, if only it goes deep enough and is not too delicate to show the slightest scratch.

I suppose that a theme, as opposed to a plot, requires that the light and shadows shall be in high relief: What you are trying to do is to convince your reader in the manner of an advocate, not to charm him by the method of a portrait painter. Judged by the latter standard, the books seems overdrawn. A young English girl, Tasma Brandon (whose name is justified by a far-off strain of Indian blood) meets at the house of an English friend who is a convert to Buddhism a young Japanese student from Oxford. She, belonging to the so-called "smart set," takes an instant dislike to him, avoids him when she can, and goes off to live her own life. The climax comes. She surrenders herself to a worthless man and her eyes are opened. She seeks to fly from her environment and is advised to find peace in Japan. So great is her dislike to the Japanese youth that, finding he is to be a fellow-traveller, she changes her boat: he, from a chivalrous recognition of her dislike to him and in order to save her embarassment, finds the same thing and does likewise. So after all they travel together, and before they reach Port Said they are on the verge of love. Arrived finally in Japan, she goes to a sort of monastery, or rather school for the discipline

of mind and body according to esoteric Buddhist precepts. There she is perfectly happy in the "simple life" and grows ever more attached to her hero, Ito. But the serpent comes into her happy Eden in the shape of the man to whom she had given herself. There is a quarrel between him and Ito. Ito throws him by his knowledge of jiu-jutsu, and Maxwell, from the ground, shoots him with eventually fatal results.

A summary of a story is bound to be inadequate, and the author may reasonably demur at the omission of what is really the core of the book—the long sojourn in the garden of Arima, the Garden of Vision, by which she is enabled gradually, through the mystical effects of the discipline of mind and body (for even the physical jiu-jutsu has its esoteric meaning), to approach to, if not actually to achieve, Enlightenment. That and the contrast between Eastern and Western civilization. Yet the unenlightened mind, which has merely dabbled in the written word, cannot avoid a certain scepticism. If this school is typically Japanese, what are we to make of that race of determined little men who, forced into the open by American action, have built up armies and navies, have established a formidable competition in trade, and won for themselves a foremost place as one of the world's great nations? Is it the author's intention that these things are only the result of adopting an inferior civilization, or that they have been achieved by observing the Higher Law of Buddhism? In the suggestion—unconscious, perhaps, but that is the impression—that the typical life of London is garish, hectic, vicious, and essentially vulgar, the author has, I think, possibly in zeal for the theme, overdrawn the picture, except perhaps in the last particular. The simple life could have been had in England without flying for it to Japan.

Nevertheless, the book provokes more thought than most of its kind. If it goes too far in exalting the Oriental ideal at the expense of the West, it does at least bring service to the East, in that it shows the Japanese, not in the usual garb of the Eastern villain intent on exploiting or injuring the heroic Englishman, nor as the man who has thrown on an ill-fitting cloak of Western respectability over the nakedness of his own Orientalism, but as a man with high ideals, with all the instincts of a gentleman, and with the innate love of culture which is seldom to be found in England and when found is too often the subject of ridicule. Above all, this is a book which is about the Japanese and not about some exotic European immigrants who happen to live in Japan and who are painted against a background of local colour. The book might almost be described as an essay in Buddhist transcendentalism thrown into the more attractive form of fiction.

FAR EAST

CHINA: THE PITY OF IT. By J. O. P. Bland. (*Heinemann.*) 8s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* BRIG.-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.)

A book about China by an author so fully equipped to write it as Mr. J. O. P. Bland is something to be thankful for. So many authors of latter-day books upon China and the Far East are qualified mainly by their

earnestness of purpose or by their ability for research into standard works. There is, unfortunately, no small proportion of the reading public which prefers to follow the prevailing fashion in its study of a peculiar question, and to accept as proved fact theories frequently the outcome of a limited and superficial knowledge. This book is essentially a carefully documented presentation of facts as opposed to theories about the Far East. In one sense, readers may be a little disappointed, for Mr. Bland seems to have allowed himself to be enticed out of his way in an attempt to convert the unconvertible. In other words, to engage in somewhat controversial discussion, and to waste good space when the same might have been used with more advantage to his readers by filling it with his own practical knowledge and experience.

The author begins by showing how the elements of unrest and disorder, which came to the front in 1911, have ever since been greatly multiplied and encouraged, as the result of the well-meant but misguided policy of *laissez-faire* and attempted conciliation imposed on the Treaty Powers by the Washington Agreement of 1922. The actual result of this policy has been that for a decade past, as has long been apparent, China has not had any government capable of fulfilling the obligations which her representatives assumed at Washington in 1922. Looking back over the course of events in China since the beginning of the present century, Mr. Bland traces the chief causes of the rapid demoralization of the body politic. He puts this demoralization down mainly to the over-sudden substitution of Western learning for the old classical system of education in 1905, and to the violent indiscipline and chronic unrest displayed by the new generation of scholars. Here are some of the disruptive forces which China's patriarchal civilization was unable to resist. These new Western and republican political ideas could not possibly be adapted suddenly to its deep-rooted social system. "That the race will in time find an issue out of its present afflictions cannot," Mr. Bland thinks, "be doubted, but the length of time required, and the amount of suffering which the masses must endure in the meanwhile, are matters in great measure dependent upon the collective wisdom and good will of the Powers chiefly concerned, upon their sympathetic understanding of the Chinese people's real needs, and upon the substitution of realism for idealism in concerting measures to protect their helplessness through the necessary period of adjustment and reconstruction."

Here in a nutshell is the gospel of salvation which alone can set China on her feet again. Whether the Great Powers chiefly concerned are not themselves within measurable distance of succumbing, temporarily, to the disruptive social and economic influences of our modern system of Western civilization remains to be seen. In any case, such sympathetic assistance as can be offered to China by the Powers has today to run the gauntlet of being accepted or refused by at least three political parties continually quarrelling among themselves—the parties are those who represent the Northern, Southern, and Central zones of that unfortunate country.

In Chapter 2, "The Washington Conference and After," the author outlines the new trend of American Pacific policy after the Washington Con-

ference of 1921-2. This is a chapter of exceptional interest for, in Mr. Bland's opinion, America has been mainly responsible for the institution of a Far Eastern policy which has led the world astray. "Inasmuch," says the author, "as America's Far Eastern policy has now become the paramount factor in the immediate and future problems of that region, let us briefly consider the genesis, tendencies, and implications of that policy." Mr. Bland goes on: "The significance of the Washington Conference was twofold. It was, in the first place, an outward and visible sign of the American nation's consciousness of its new rôle of predominance in world affairs; in the second place, it inaugurated a new alliance of the Powers, in substitution for that of the Anglo-Japanese alliance pledged under American initiative, to a policy of non-interference and patient conciliation in China." To those who have followed and are following carefully the trend of events in China and Manchuria, the results of this policy are plain to see.

Mr. Bland continues, "The effect of the Treaties and Agreements signed (at Washington) by the four and nine Powers respectively concerned, was practically an intimation to the world in general, and to Japan in particular, of America's intention to establish a moral guardianship over China, and, by virtue thereof, to challenge Japan's position of ascendancy in Manchuria and Mongolia." Here, again, is plain-speaking, but many readers who have followed the course of American policy *vis-à-vis* China during the time the Kuomintang Nationalist Government has been in power will agree with Mr. Bland.

Another chapter of great interest to anyone endeavouring to understand the effects of the impact of the West upon the people of China is Chapter 5, "The Missionary Factor." The present disruptive influences of this impact can hardly be gainsaid, even if their future effect may in the end compensate for the harm already accomplished. Continuing his survey of various factors to which he desires to call particular attention, Mr. Bland discusses in Chapters 6 and 14 such leading questions as China's Modern Students, Can China be Westernized, The Question of Manchuria, and Geneva and the Far East. On all these matters he has something original to say. In Chapter 15, "A Survey of Realities," readers may find information which may interest them as much as anything in the book, for in the Survey of Realities is to be found a condensed account of certain main events during the last decade in China. This chapter illustrates only too well the sub-title of Mr. Bland's present book. The chapter is a sad record of opportunities missed and realities shirked.

In the final chapter the reader is given the conclusions the author feels called upon to draw from the earlier chapters. "The process of demoralization (in China) has gone so far," writes Mr. Bland, "that only by a benevolent intervention of the friendly Powers can final ruin and disintegration be averted." Which few readers, having an intimate acquaintance with the past and present condition of the country, will be likely to deny. But they will probably ask by what means is any kind of intervention, benevolent or otherwise, to be put in force today? If China was represented by a unified Government—which she is not—confessedly in sore distress, ready to accept foreign advisers and to give such experts honestly a free

hand to carry out what they advise, there would be some hope of an eventual if not a speedy reorganization. But with not one but at least three separate political parties to be consulted and placated, "benevolent intervention," even in its most promising form, will not easily be achieved.

Mr. Bland's latest book can be confidently recommended to everyone interested in one of the most vital problems of the day.

L'HISTOIRE DIPLOMATIQUE DE LA CHINE DEPUIS 1919. By P. Wou, Docteur en droit de l'Université de Bordeaux. (Paris: *Librairie Arthur Rousseau.*)

(*Reviewed by* BRIG.-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.)

Mr. Wou's book, *l'Histoire diplomatique de la Chine*, is a carefully compiled account of China's attempts to get rid of the so-called "unequal" treaties with foreign nations. Also of how China endeavoured to force the rest of the world to accept her, politically and otherwise, upon a footing of perfect equality with the Great Powers.

As everyone interested is aware, a beginning was made in 1928 when China informed the Powers of her intention to abrogate all the "unequal" treaties and to conclude new treaties "on the basis of equality and mutual respect for territorial sovereignty as the most pressing problem of the present time."

The Nationalist Government of 1928 began this notification in the following words: "Now that the unification of China is an accomplished fact. . . ." It then proceeded to state that (1) "all the unequal treaties between the Republic of China and other countries, which have already expired, shall be *ipso facto* abrogated and new treaties shall be concluded." (2) "The Nationalist Government will immediately take steps to terminate, in accordance with proper procedure, those unequal treaties which have not yet expired, and to conclude new treaties."

The notifications above referred to are here recapitulated because, under numerous sub-headings, they make up the entire contents of Dr. Wou's book. Like the Nationalist Government in 1928, Dr. Wou appears to adhere to the fiction that "the unification of China is an accomplished fact," and as many of his arguments and assumptions seem based upon what all the world knows to be a mis-statement it is only right to mention the fact.

To Dr. Wou the collection of the numerous papers, memoranda, and documents he quotes so fully has evidently been a labour of love. The bibliography given at the commencement of the book refers to innumerable treaties and documents published in European languages, as well as to one hundred and eighty-one separate books in English and French. In addition, Dr. Wou's research has included, he tells us, a great number of Chinese works.

In the course of marshalling his facts, Dr. Wou discusses such provocative matters as Consular Jurisdiction, Foreign Settlements, Foreign Concessions, Foreign Guards, Tariff Barriers, Foreign Law Courts, and China's

right to erect on her own soil Radio Stations. After close on fifty pages of introduction comes a "Preliminary Chapter" upon the historical relations of China with the outer world. Chapter I. describes the post-war efforts of Chinese diplomacy; Chapter II., the attempts to obtain a hearing at Versailles of China's representatives—an acknowledged failure; Chapter III., the work carried on at the Washington Conference; Chapter IV., that at Geneva before the League of Nations. The final chapter, number V., sums up the results to date, as Dr. Wou sees them, of China's efforts to obtain the revision of treaties originally quoted demanded by the Nationalist Government in 1928.

At times, some of Dr. Wou's readers may find a perhaps pardonable note of bitterness in his general comments upon the relations of China with foreign Powers (pp. 262-3, Sec. II.). In fact, it almost seems to amount to the possession of an inferiority complex far from common in China. If the reviewer is correct, such feeling is entirely uncalled for. The people of China have the sympathy and respect of all who have sojourned among them. To no people in the world today are both more abundantly due.

Whether the ordinary student of Chinese affairs will be willing to be taken once more and at no little length through the doings of China's representatives at Versailles, at Washington, and at Geneva is perhaps doubtful. To those who have leisure Dr. Wou's book offers a good opportunity of studying the Chinese view of the international drama now being played before the world in the Far East.

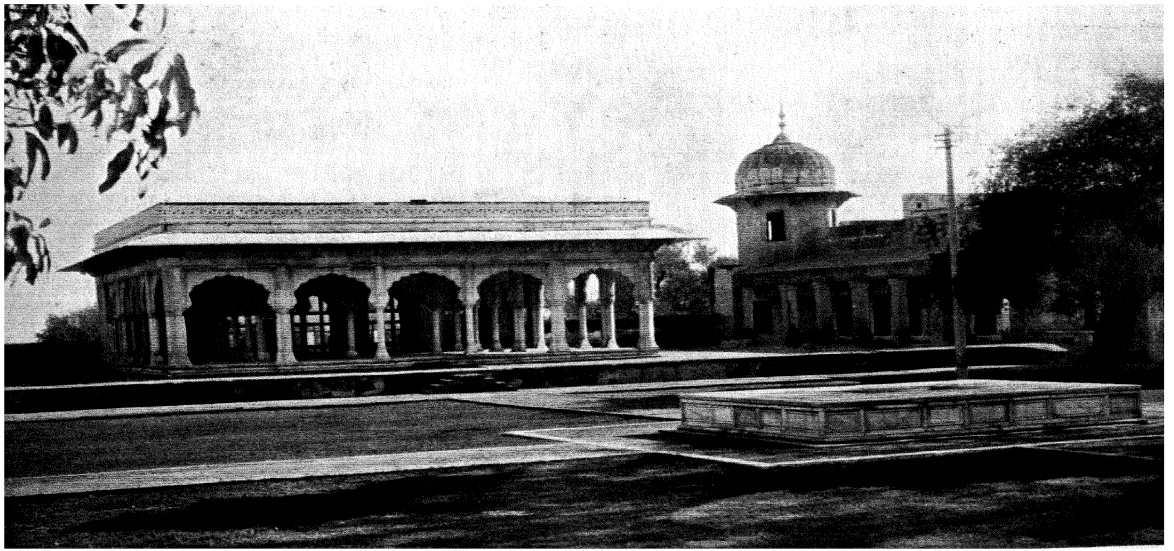
ORIENTALIA

AN INTRODUCTION TO BUDDHIST ESOTERISM. By Benoytosh Bhattacharya, M.A., PH.D., Rājaratna, Tattvavācaspati. (*Oxford University Press.*) 15s. net.

(*Reviewed by* DR. RANJEE G. SHAHANI.)

A reproach is sometimes levelled against Indians that they are unwilling to face the stern realities of life. Temperamentally or constitutionally, it seems, they have no *goût* for harsh, ugly facts. If this is so, it argues a sad limitation in a great people. For to see things in too simple a light is ultimately to see them as in a glass darkly. To attain to anything like an adequate view of the cosmos we must envision the entire mosaic of the totality spread before us. Not a shade, not a ray must be ignored. Truth, as we are beginning to sense, often lies on the dim borderland where light melts into shadow.

There is thus no excuse for cavilling at Tāntrism, whether Hindu or Buddhist. Those learned scholars who have condemned it as a "disease" in the "fair flesh of India" know little or nothing of human nature. Their opinions appear to us merely a measure of their own ignorance. No derogatory epithets can wash away the "is" of life. Some writers, indeed, have tried to show that Tāntrism is not of indigenous growth, but "came with Magi priests of the Cythians." It is consoling to believe so. There is, however, no evidence for it. Alas, it is a characteristic of certain



IN LAHORE FORT

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A NILGIRI STREAM

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AT THE TOP OF THE KORAPATHAR PASS (11,668 FEET)

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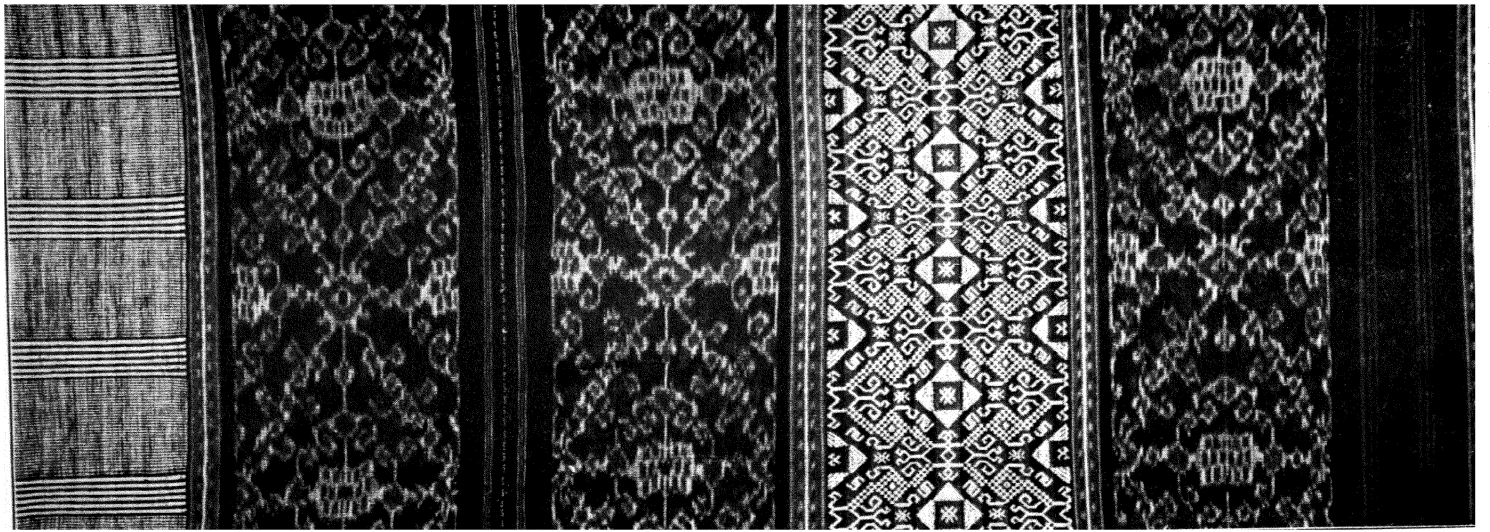

PARTLY TIE-DYED (IKAT) FABRIC FROM EAST SUMBA

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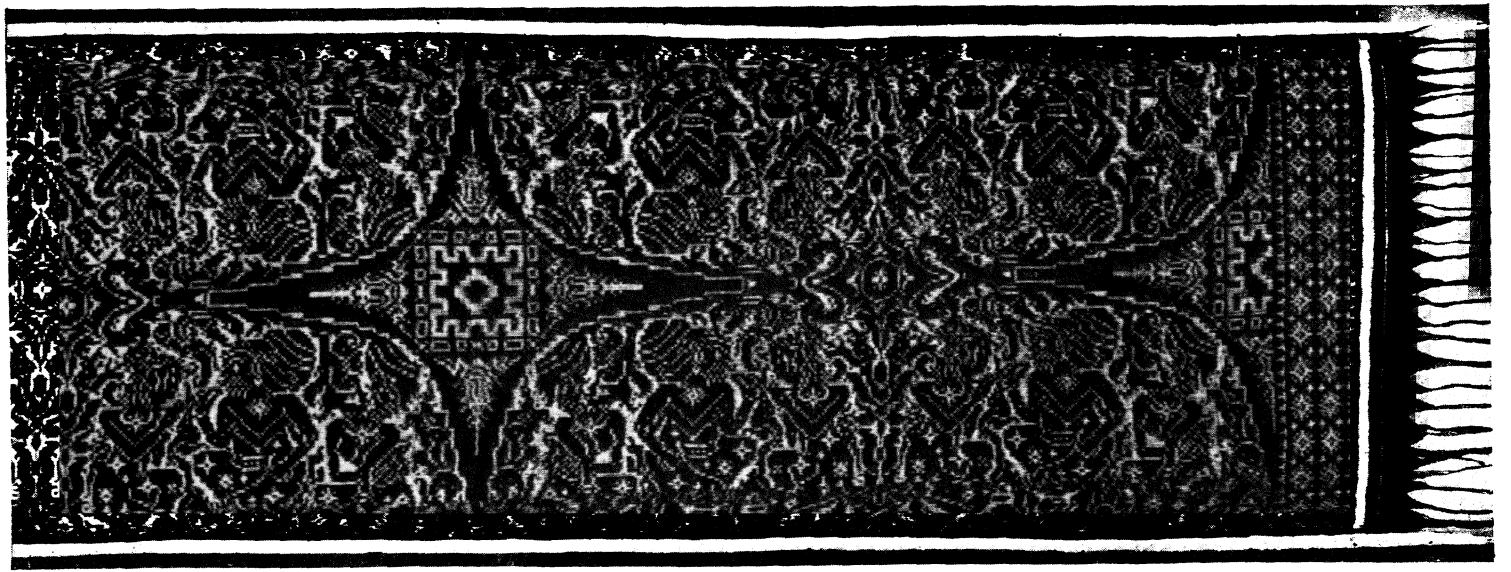

FUNERAL CLOTH FROM BALI: TIE-DYED (IKAT) BOTH IN THE WARP AND THE WOOF

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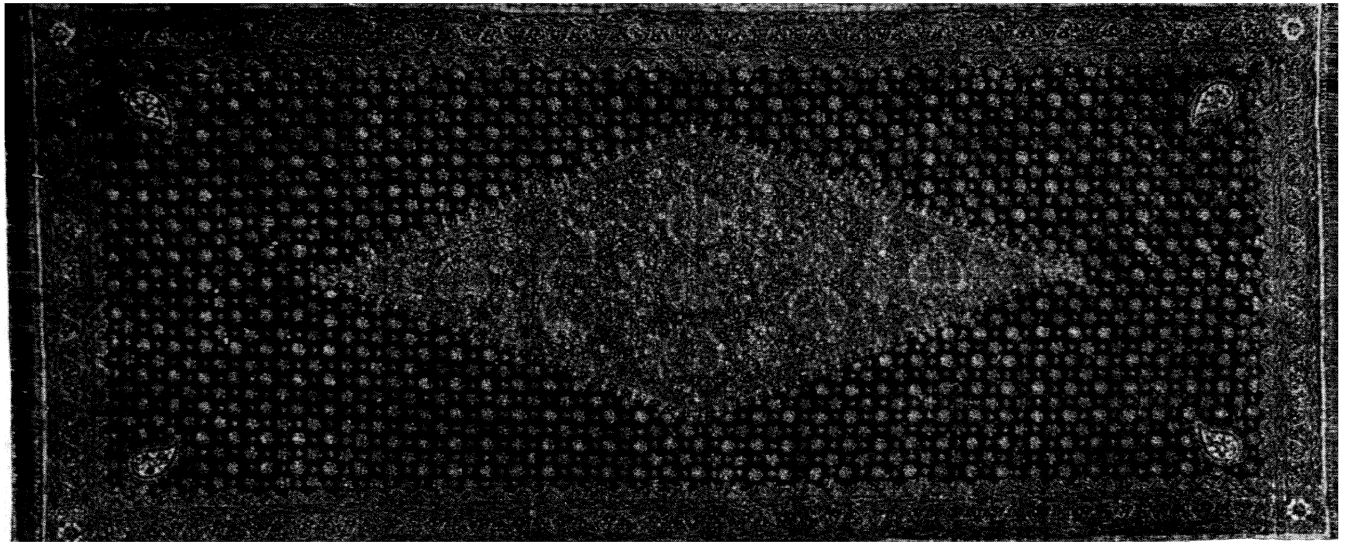

BATIK FROM DJAMBI (SUMATRA)

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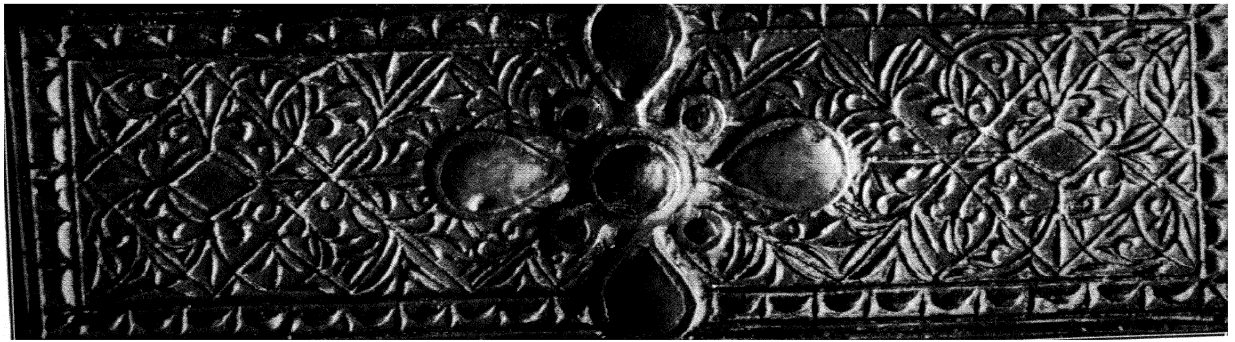

COVER OF BRASS BETEL BOX: UPLANDS OF PADANG

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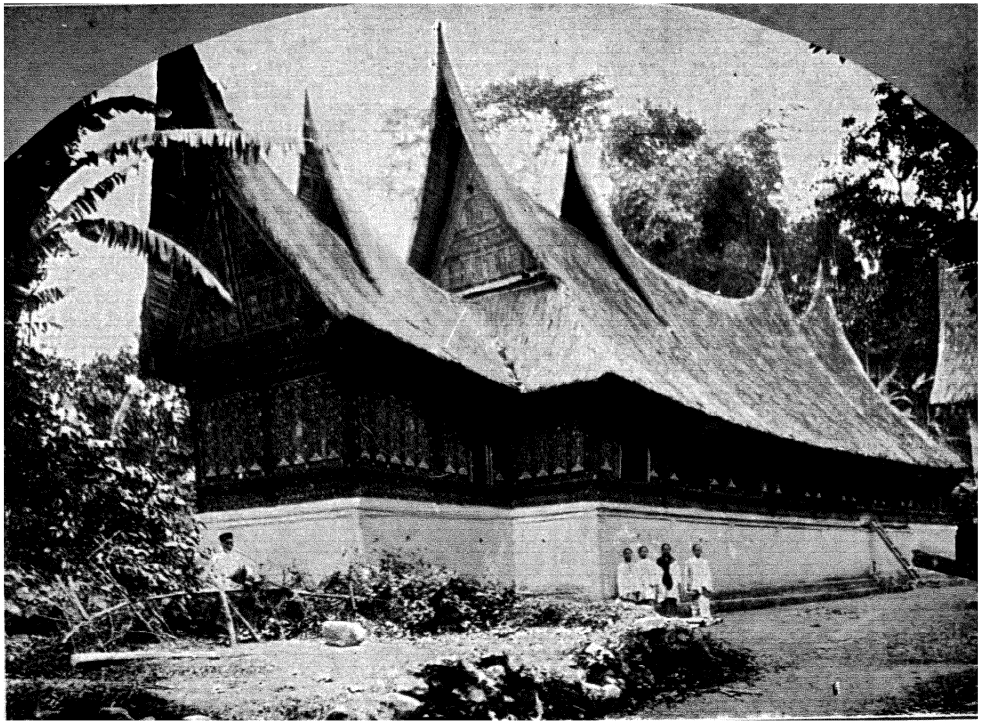

A HOUSE IN THE PADANG UPLANDS (SUMATRA)

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exclusively logical minds to trace all things to one unique source, as though the human mind were incapable of experimenting along similar lines in different lands or at different times. It is as though we should insist that the number 1 must have come before the number 100. It is quite conceivable that the reverse is the truth. Who can tell?

Tāntrism, to my mind, is a kind of spiritual materialism—a sort of Rabelaisianism of ideas. It has satisfied a human need and thereby justified its existence. It cannot be without a moral content. To outgrow it is not to negate it or to vilify it.

I cannot, therefore, agree with the author of this book, and the authorities that stand behind him, that Tāntrism is "consuming the vitality" of "the Hindu population of India." "Someone," we are told, "should therefore take up the study comprising the diagnosis, ætiology, pathology, and prognosis of the disease, so that more capable men may take up its treatment and eradication in the future." Mr. Bhattacharya cannot be so simple as all that. Surely he is not suggesting a "bowdlerization" of the Hindu spirit! In youth, it is true, one is apt to be a crusader; but with "ripeness" (not at all a matter of years) one finds oneself reduced to a serene acceptance of the spectacle of life, and valuational epithets as applied to manifestations of the mind of man appear jejune and meaningless. Happily, Mr. Bhattacharya has confined his attention to giving "a dispassionate account of the Tantras in general and Buddhist Tantras in particular." I cannot help feeling that a kindly fairy was whispering in his ear.

Mr. Bhattacharya has carried out his arduous but limited task with commendable thoroughness. His wide knowledge of the original texts and his judicious handling of the enormous material at his disposal are manifest throughout the book; and only a captious expert would quarrel with him for not doing what the critic imagines he must have done. The book, let me hasten to add, is not altogether intended for the specialist, though he too might consult it with profit. Of special interest to laymen are the author's ideas on the significance of the Vedic Hymns, on the rise and stratification of the theory of Moksha, and, last but not least, on the contribution of the Buddha to the intellectual dower of India. Here, to my mind, the author has shown considerable independence of interpretative thought.

May I, in conclusion, request Mr. Bhattacharya to give us, if possible in the same series, a volume dealing with the adventure of India as a chapter in the unfolding drama of life. What I mean is a book of critical philosophy on the place that India may justly claim in the story of mankind. Such a book would fill an empty place. The Maharajah of Baroda, whose interest in things of the spirit is so happily alert, would earn the gratitude of all serious students by encouraging the pursuit of this inquiry. May I express the hope that this appeal is not in vain!

ON ANCIENT CENTRAL ASIAN TRACKS. By Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E. (*Macmillan.*) 31s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* ARTHUR DUNCAN.)

The great depression between the Tien-shan and Kuen-lun Mountains, extending east from the Pamir plateau through the Tarim basin to the Gobi desert and the Chinese province of Kansu, is Central Asia.

The dead heart of this arid region is the 1,500 miles of the Taklamakan desert, north-west of Tibet. Sand dunes and steppe vegetation make up the landscape. Life is limited to a string of comparatively small oases and depends entirely upon streams, which have contracted steadily owing to the shrinkage of the ice from the last glacial epoch. As some of the streams dwindled towns were deserted, but fortunately the dry atmosphere has preserved their remains.

The scientific exploration of this desolate part of the world began with Sven Hedin in 1890. Stein soon followed and made the subject his own. Beside these, Kozlov, Pelliot, and Von le Coq are other names that come easily to mind in connection with Central Asian exploration and archæology.

Stein's first expedition to Taklamakan was made in 1900. The second expedition lasted from 1906 to 1908 and the third from 1913 to 1916. He travelled some 25,000 miles and examined Yoktan, Dandavilik, the Lop-Nor region and the disappearing lake which, according to Dr. Eric Norin, is the last survival of an enormous inland sea in late glacial times. He crossed the Gobi in the footsteps of Marco Polo and the earlier Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to India, explored the ancient site of Karo-Kolo, the Etzina of Marco Polo, which the Russian explorer Kozlov had identified, and visited Zungari, Turfan, Kashgar, and Samarkand. The original reports of these expeditions are scarce: this book is a condensed account of them, which was delivered as the author's Lowell lectures in Boston.

China turned her attention to these regions in the second century B.C. In the first century A.D. Pan Ch'ao established her power in the Tarim basin all the way to Kashgar. White Huns or Ephthalites and Western Turks disputed China's dominion, and in the eighth century she had to give way to Tibet; but in 747 A.D. Kao Hsien-chih marched 10,000 men over the lofty passes of the Pamirs and Hindu Kush—the only time the feat has been accomplished by a considerable force—and regained control. Chinese power waxed and waned until 1775, when the Manchus brought the whole of the Tarim basin under direct Chinese administration.

For nearly a thousand years Central Asia served as the principal scene for the early interpenetration of three great civilizations. It was here that the cultural influences of Greece, India, and China met. Mongol hordes, the troops of Darius and Alexander, Fa-hien, Hsuan-Tsang, and other Chinese pilgrims travelled along these highroads. So did Marco Polo. And it was by this way that China sent to other countries her silk wares, which later reached Europe through Parthia and Syria. To guard the silk route between Kashgar and Tun-huang the Chinese Emperor Wu Ti built a fortified wall about 2,000 years ago. Stein discovered the wall and explored it for 200 miles. The Chinese pilgrims between the end of the fourth cen-

tury and the middle of the seventh century found flourishing cities along their way: Marco Polo, six centuries later, described their ruins.

Stein has carefully traced the early reactions of pure Indian culture, and through it of Grecian art, in Central Asia. The more one studies Hellenistic influence in Buddhist art the more astonishing it becomes.

At Miran, near Lop-Nor, Stein found Buddhist frescoes with the signature of the Roman decorator Titus. One of the Miran panels represents the "King of the Rats," mentioned by Hsuan-Tsang as having saved Khotan by setting his rats to work on the bowstrings and harness of an invading army. Herodotus has a similar story about Egypt.

Stein reaped a rich harvest of manuscripts in the Tangut and Tibetan languages at Kara-Kolo. But his greatest finds were in the Cave of a Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang, an oasis in Kansu. The cave was first noticed by de Lóczy in 1879, and since Stein's visit has rewarded the investigations of Professor Paul Pelliot and the two Japanese expeditions of Otani and Tachibana.

A crack in a wall led to the chance discovery, by the Taoist priest in charge of the monastery, of a room crammed with manuscripts, embroideries, and paintings. They had been hastily secreted there at the beginning of the eleventh century on the invasion of the Tanguts (Uighurs) from the extreme north-west of China. By negotiating with the priest Stein acquired twenty-four cases of manuscripts and five of embroideries and paintings. There were wooden documents in Chinese with clay seals bearing impressions of Eros, Heracles, Pallas Athene, and other Greek figures. At Niya he had found similar documents in Kharoshthi, one of the two scripts from which all the alphabets of India have been derived. Among the documents that Stein acquired at Tun-huang are some originals of Hsuan-Tsang, the oldest specimen of a block-printed book, dated 868 A.D., and the oldest known Sanscrit manuscript. Some of the Kharoshthi manuscripts are far older than any preserved in India. These finds leave no doubt that in the second century A.D. Indian influence extended to the frontiers of China.

Silks of many charming patterns have been preserved in their pristine colours although they are about 2,000 years old. They are the oldest Chinese textiles we know, belonging to the T'ang dynasty when Chinese art was at its best.

This is a singularly stimulating and valuable book. In reading even the first few pages the impression asserts itself that it is a great book, created out of sound scholarship, patient endurance, and much faith. It is a story of great courage. Sir Aurel Stein has suffered to the full those hardships which are the inescapable lot of every genuine explorer. Much of his work was done under gruelling conditions, with only the loyal help of an Indian surveyor, but there is little in the book of his hardships and still less of his skill. He has chosen instead to resurrect the past and make it live for his reader; and his vivid yet simple phraseology conveys not a little of the glamour and romance of his discoveries.

The book is lavishly illustrated in monotone and colour, and is provided with excellent maps. The coloured plates are particularly beautiful.

FESTIVALS AND SONGS OF ANCIENT CHINA. By Marcel Granet, Professor at the School of Oriental Languages, Paris. Translated from the French by E. D. Edwards, D.Litt. (*Routledge.*) 18s. net.

(*Reviewed by* JOHN CALDWELL-JOHNSTON.)

In this work, now an established book of reference in its kind, Professor Granet takes the Chinese Book of Odes, the *Shih Ching*, and, by modern critical methods, discovers in it a great deal which illustrates the ancient popular customs of China, especially those associated with the public festivals that have been held there since the dawn of time. Needless to state, authentic documents relating to such matters are rare.

The *Shih Ching*, one of the classical books of China, is an ancient anthology of political compositions. Tradition maintains that the selection of the odes and songs was the work of Confucius, who urged the study of his anthology on the ground that from it the practice of virtue might be learned: the habit of moral reflexion, respect for social duties, and a strong antipathy to evil—these would be the benefits of such a study. Regarded as being of assistance in the development of the upright man, and having the authority of a great saint, the Book of Odes has become a handbook of instruction, sanctioned by millennia of scholarly comment and interpretation.

But those who do not feel bound to revere the *Shih Ching* as a classic, or to accept the scholarly pronouncements as of paramount importance, are no longer under the necessity of attributing to this work a moral and educational value, independent of its actual origins. Since the odes were used in China for purposes of instruction, it was imagined that they were composed for that purpose: since they were employed as a stimulus to goodness, it was assumed that each poem was specifically an exhortation to virtue.

The ancient festivals, the record of which has been preserved for us by the *Shih Ching*, appear as festivals of union which, in the ordered life of the Chinese peasants, marked the period of the assemblies of local and sex groups. They ordered the course of social life, but because their order coincided in point of fact with the natural order of the seasons, they were also credited with possessing the power to insure the normal course of things and the well-being of nature.

Thanks to the study of the ancient festivals, it is possible to describe the form of Chinese society at a remote age; and this Professor Granet has done in great detail and with remarkable insight and intelligence in this book, which can be recommended to the attention of all who may desire a knowledge of the foundations upon which the prodigious superstructure of the Chinese civilization has been reared.

Professor Granet's book is a truly epoch-marking and monumental work, which has been adequately and clearly rendered into English by Dr. Edwards.

AKBAR. By Laurence Binyon. (*Peter Davies.*) 5s. net.

Assuredly it is among the strangest circumstances in historical research that so little should, in fact, have survived regarding almost everything that

is truly worth knowing in our past. One must exclude, of course, those matters wherein it was plainly profitable to suppress or mutilate all contemporary witness. But those other occurrences which took place before a host of observers, many of them highly intelligent and fully literate—of many such events, without doubt closely documented at the time, today scarce a wrack remains. Thus, concerning the last hours and death of our own Charles I., or of the actual circumstances attending the Restoration of his son, what do we know? Little indeed! So too with the subject of this monograph, Akbar. In Akbar's Court it is probably no exaggeration to say that every third or fourth person was literate—a very high average for those days, when at the contemporaneous Court of Elizabeth scarcely one in ten of the nobles could do more than sign his own name—and of these literate persons probably not less than one-half kept some form of journal or memoir. These memoirs, where are they? Apart from Abul Fazl's so carefully manicured disclosures, and the Jesuit Fathers' notes, there has survived to all intents and purposes—nothing.

Thus Akbar's life, in so far as revealed to us, resolves itself largely into a throat-parching, dusty catalogue of campaigns, negotiations, enactments, treaties, massacres, and similar greenroom frippery, illuminated by but few human touches. Of the ruler, the general, and, strangely! the theologian, we know much: of the man, scarcely one single worthwhile thing. How like our William Shakespeare in this! How liker still to Akbar's own fated City of Victory, Fatehpur Sikri, which he built of the glorious red sandstone in a desert place—as it were with the aid of the fierce red desert Djinn—and forgot to endow with water! Truly did the great King unknowingly (or was it knowingly?) inscribe his own life's sum and epitaph upon a gateway in this haunted place: "Thus saith Jesus, upon whom be peace. 'This world is a bridge. Pass over. Build not there!'"

Within this slender volume Mr. Binyon has gathered up, and sedulously set down, all that is recorded of Akbar—one of the world's few greatest men. More cannot be done. What remains must be reconstructed, as best may, by the reader's own sympathy and imaginative insight.

CATALOGUE OF THE SOUTH INDIA HINDU METAL IMAGES IN THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM. By F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran. (Madras: *Government Press.*) Rs. 5/8.

(*Reviewed by* ARTHUR DUNCAN.)

During the last thirty years the Madras Museum has gathered together a particularly fine collection of South Indian metal images, chiefly Hindu.

The closest European parallels to the generalized type of facial expression characteristic of Indian work are to be found in the stone figures of Gothic cathedrals. It was in this connection that Rodin studied Indian images, and two of the Natesas mentioned in his memoir *Le Danse de Civa* are illustrated in Fig. 1, Plate XVIII., and Fig. 2, Plate XVIII., of this catalogue. The first is from Velankanni in the Tanjore district and was found

in 1872; the second was found in 1907 at Tiruvelangadu in the Chittor district.

Another Natesa (Fig. 2, Plate XVI.) is the only definitely dated South Indian Hindu metal image known. It bears the date A.D. 1511—the Vijayanagar period—and was found in 1906 in treasure trove at Belur in the Salem district. Beside this, the only other images bearing inscriptions definitely relating them to a period are Kali No. 6 (early Chola period), Chandrashekara No. 1 (late Chola period), Balakrishna No. 41, and Alvar No. 9 (Vijayanagar period).

The Natesas, or Natorajas, as Indian craftsmen term them, are figures of Siva dancing to quell the pride of Kali. They are characterized by the completely different pose necessary to express great activity and have the *prabha*.

Literature about Hindu iconography in South India is limited. Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil is the only one who has attempted to deal with the subject in detail, and one of his conclusions is that the animal *vahanas* (vehicles) for the different gods seem to have been introduced from North India in the twelfth century A.D.

Every Hindu image must conform to the traditional pattern described in the salpa-sutras; and most images are designed to remind worshippers of the dual conception of the Divine, philosophically as the Impersonal Absolute and devotionally as Lord and Divine Lover of believers. Notwithstanding such rigid rules and the fact that much of the subject-matter is grotesque, there is considerable scope for the expression of art, as one may see by referring to the illustrations of Varadaraya, Vishnu, Srinavasa, Narashima, Hanuman, Rama, Venagopala, Chandrashekara, Kali, Somaskanda, and the Natesas.

This catalogue is indispensable to students of Indian iconography. It was commenced by the late Mr. S. R. Ayyangar and has been continued by Messrs. Gravely and Ramachandran. There are twenty-three excellent plates illustrating about eighty-five images.

THE BOOK OF THE GRADUAL SAYINGS (ANGUTTARA NIKAYA), OR MORE-NUMBERED SUTTAS. Translated by F. L. Woodward. Vol. II. (*Oxford University Press.*) 10s. net.

This is Vol XXIV. of the Translation Series of the Pali Text Society. Mr. Woodward has once more excelled in his translation of this part of the Pali Canon. The English rendering, in spite of its difficulty, is fluent and easy. A number of notes on every page testify to his unquestioned knowledge and reading. The Gathas have been put into good rhythmic verse, but of course there remains the constant controversy whether any poetry in a foreign tongue should be translated into poetry or prose. The reader should be reminded that Mr. Woodward has done previous fine work for the same series by his translation of the *Samyutta Nikaya*, or *Book of Kindred Sayings*, and other volumes.

CENTRAL ASIAN ANTIQUITIES MUSEUM, NEW DELHI. Catalogue of wall paintings from ancient shrines in Central Asia and Sistan recovered by Sir Aurel Stein. Described by F. H. Andrews. (Delhi.) 8s. 6d. net.

The present volume adds considerably to our knowledge of art in Central Asia and forms another stepping-stone to the solution of early intercourse between the Far East and the West. Mr. Andrews, one of the early scholars in this field, has described the collection fully, and his introduction explains where these paintings were found, the structure of the shrines, and their materials. Of special interest to archæologists is his information regarding the colours used. The problem of the paintings is not yet solved. Most of them are entirely Buddhistic, but there are others of Sasanian character. There are three plates showing paintings, two sketch-plans, and one map.

INDIAN MYSTICISM: MYSTICISM IN MAHARASHTRA. By R. D. Ranade. (*History of Indian Philosophy*, ed. by S. K. Belvalkar and R. D. Ranade, Vol. VII.) (Poona: *Aryabhushan Press.*)

This formidable *History of Indian Philosophy* is not published in regular sequence of volumes. The first volume sent out was Vol. II. (1927), which traced the development from the Vedic through the Brahmanic to the Upanishadic period. The present volume of over 500 pages is a perfect monumental work in itself. It traces mysticism back to the Upanishads and shows how the system came into perfect form in the Narada and Sandilya Sutras. The larger part, however, is devoted to a discussion of the spreading influence which was introduced into Indian thought by writers such as Ramanand, Kabir, Tulsidas, Mirabai, Tnkaram, Manikkavasager, and many others. The author divides the work into five large parts, the first of which deals with the age of Jnanadev, whose chief work, the *Jnanesvari*, is a free paraphrase of the *Bhagayat-gita* in Marathi verse (A.D. 1290). The second part is the age of Namdev (the friend of Jnanesdev) and entitled Democratic Mysticism. Synthetic Mysticism in the age of Gkanatha, whose chief work is a commentary on the eleventh chapter of the *Bhagavata Purana*, fills the third part. Personalistic Mysticism is contained in Part IV. as the age of the great poet Tnkaram, and the final section contains the age of Ramdas (about A.D. 1600), whose chief work, the *Dasabodha*, is the outcome of the fullest experience of the world by one having attained to the highest spiritual experience. This important volume concludes with a bibliographical note on Comparative Mysticism (18 pages), an Index of source and a very elaborate and careful Index of names and subjects of 32 pages. Professor Ranade has once more proved to be a great painstaking scholar, as well as a deep philosopher.

INDIA

PLANTATION LABOUR IN INDIA. By Rajani Kanta Das, M.SC., PH.D. (Calcutta: *R. Chatterji.*) Rs.3.

(*Reviewed by* P. K. WATTAL.)

Dr. Das has written several books relating to labour and industrial production in India which are fairly well known.

Plantation Labour in India is a study in the rise, growth, condition, and problem of the workers employed on the tea gardens in Assam. Other plantation labour—viz., on coffee and rubber estates and tea gardens in Southern India—has not been dealt with.

The main object of the study is a critical analysis of the work and life of the labourer with a view to ameliorating his condition. The author has with great care and industry presented the history of plantation legislation and the system of recruitment of labour, which at one time was the subject of acute controversy in India. Since the publication of this book the whole question of plantation labour has been very fully and impartially examined by the Whitley Commission, who have devoted four chapters of their report (covering nearly 80 pages) to this subject.

The Commission reported that economic and general health conditions on the plantations in Assam were of a higher standard than those in the average rural or urban area and that the physique of plantation labourers and their families appeared to be satisfactory, and the general standard was certainly higher than that of the population of the recruiting areas. After this authoritative testimony it is strange to read that "the tea gardens of Assam are virtually slave plantations, and, in Assam tea, the sweat, hunger, and despair of a million Indians enter year by year." The remark is extracted from the Report on labour conditions in India by Messrs. A. A. Purcell, M.P., and J. Hallsworth of the British Trades Union Congress Delegation to India (1928) and was successfully challenged at the time.

Though the abolition of the indenture system in 1926 put an end to many abuses in connection with the recruitment of labour, the ideal of free recruitment has not by any means been realized. Organized recruiting is still necessary, and with the recent enactment of the Tea Districts Emigrant Labour Act, which embodies many of the proposals of the Whitley Report, a further step in the direction of elimination of control over recruiting has been taken and is greatly to be welcomed.

The depression in the tea industry since 1930 has been gaining in intensity from year to year. More than 90 per cent. of the tea gardens in India paid no dividends in 1932. The preference of 2d. per lb. on Empire teas granted by Great Britain in 1932 has given some relief. Further relief is expected from the scheme recently adopted for the restriction of tea production throughout the world. When the industry is once again in a position to pay its way proposals for voluntary action to provide better sanitation, housing, and welfare work in relation to labour made by the Whitley Commission could be pressed with greater hope of success.

INDIAN PROBLEMS. Speeches by Lord Irwin. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 12s. 6d. net.

It is a difficult task to make a selection from the speeches of a viceroy. There is necessarily so much that is scrappy and transitional, references to schemes and projects for which the head of the Government can only promise "sympathetic consideration," and to phases in negotiations which are not yet ripe for a pronouncement. The subjects are so numerous that they pass before the reader almost like a succession of lantern slides, which have little connection except that they all relate to one country and represent different aspects of the policy of one government. So brief is the space that can be devoted to each that their treatment allows no room for the display of the mind of the Viceroy in action, and the reader who seeks light on the methods adopted by Lord Irwin, and the principles and aims which he set before him, is continually knocking his head against these rocky departmental paragraphs. But if he perseveres he will be rewarded, for he will inevitably find himself in touch with a mind of singular distinction and charm. The main impression one gets is that of a viceroy who regarded it as one of his primary duties to meditate, to interpret, and to explain, while at the same time doing all in his power to ensure "the maintenance of a progressive, orderly, and contented India within the orbit of the British Commonwealth." Lord Irwin had no illusions as to the necessity for order and the iniquity of the civil disobedience movement. One point which he is never tired of emphasizing is the supremacy of Parliament. It appears in the earliest speech in this volume, and also in the farewell speech delivered at Delhi a few days before his final departure from the capital. It is in keeping with his strong views on this point that he should so frequently have given advice and warnings to Indian politicians as to the probable effect on Parliament of certain lines of action. On the other hand, he emphasizes the inevitability of advance, while at the same time bringing out the mechanical necessity for maintaining, in the Crown, a common centre for all the conflicting elements.

The index is not very satisfactory, and the text contains a number of slips which should have been corrected before the volume saw the light, among them a misquotation of the famous epitaph on Wren in St. Paul's cathedral. But the collection is one which should be studied by all who wish to understand the different phases of Indian politics during Lord Irwin's viceroyalty. The editor has done well to include the Toronto address, which was written more than a year after Lord Irwin left India, and contains an admirable expression of his matured views on Indian problems.

We cannot leave the book without saying a few words about the style. Its primary quality is perhaps lucidity. The reader is never left in doubt as to the speaker's meaning. But it is something more than that. Polished and cultured without being laboured, grave and dignified and yet not lacking in humour, it abounds in happy phrases which leave the reader with the feeling that they are a natural growth rather than the product of a literary workshop.

PRINCIPLES OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT. By Akshaya K. Ghose and Sachin Sen. 2 vols. (Bombay: *Taraporevala*. London: *Kegan Paul*.) Vol. I., 12s.; Vol. II., 9s.

Although the present work deals with general civics, it has special reference to India. The first volume is divided into three books on the essentials and the types of Governments, and on the general organization of the Government of India, being an introduction to the science of politics, whilst the second part deals with the science of economics. The bibliography is very lengthy, and both authors show that they have studied these numerous books. They must have obtained a very wide knowledge of the minds of chiefly European, but also Indian writers. The students of universities, to whom these volumes are directed, will receive a well classified exposition of civil government which should assist them in their future studies in understanding this very difficult problem. Both authors have placed university students under an obligation by the neat division of the chapters and the clear presentation.

NEAR EAST

IN THE MARGIN OF HISTORY. By Sir Harry C. Luke, Lieut.-Governor of Malta. (*Lovat Dickson, Ltd.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* HY. S. L. POLAK.)

In the odd moments of a busy and adventurous career Sir Harry Luke has found time for wide travel and close observation in some of the more obscure and less-known parts of Europe and Western Asia. His literary output is a distinguished one, and this book affords an additional illustration of his scholarship and the curiosity of his mind. One can understand how readily an administrator, whose tasks are usually laborious, not seldom dangerous, and frequently involving grave issues, chooses for his playground those unfrequented by-paths that are to be found in the penumbra of history. The incongruous and the incredible alike have happened and do happen, and they still remain to bear their record of interest for us. Sir Harry Luke writes his marginal notes in a clear hand and his style delights whilst at the same time it informs.

In the present book he recalls to us scenes, places, and events mostly, but not entirely, in Europe. The opening chapter, which gives its title to the book, brings to mind the exploits of would-be or might-have-been kings of territories overseas or beyond the boundaries of Europe. In another chapter we are reminded that weakness and an incapacity for military defence can be as effectively corrected by the judicious exercise of diplomacy, for the purpose of preserving the freedom and independence of a tiny state, as the jealousies of two great countries have helped to preserve the sturdy independence of another minute territorial fragment, notwithstanding that a shot from a modern big gun fired from one of its boundaries would pass right over its area and fall far beyond.

There was, in fact, a King of Yvetot that most of us, even had we known

of it, had forgotten, or else we had regarded the story as legendary. The continued existence of a single Grand Duchy in Europe on the borders of France, Belgium, and Germany recalls how a woman rules there, notwithstanding that the accession of another to the throne was barred by the Salic law.

In mediæval Europe we are shown all sorts of obscure currents and countercurrents of envy, jealousy, fear, cruel ambition, and all the other sombre passions that only too often formed the warp and woof of "romance." The forgotten names of dead Republics on the Dalmatian coast are brought back to recollection, whilst the new world of the peace treaties emerges at Aqaba, where four countries and two continents meet.

And, finally, a flashlight is thrown upon the Mediterranean of the corsairs and piracy in the reign of Charles II. by extracts from the diary of a naval chaplain who, apart from his amazing feats of spelling, must surely have been a sort of spiritual ancestor of the author of this excellent and racy book.

Sir Harry Luke, who is now the Lieutenant-Governor of Malta, goes to that historic island for part of his background. Perhaps we may look to him at some future date for a brilliant and illuminating history of the island, whose origins and antiquities go back to prehistoric times. It only remains to be said that he adds to our enjoyment of the book by the profuseness of its illustrations and by a series of twelve useful maps.

THE INDEPENDENT ARAB. By Sir Hubert Young. (*John Murray.*) 15s. net.

The author has had extensive experience in the Near East, where he has resided since 1913. He began his work when journeying across Turkey and down the Tigris to Baghdad. During the war Sir H. Young was sent to Mesopotamia, where he took part in a number of expeditions, and in 1918 he met Col. Lawrence and other officers who helped the Arabs to destroy Turkish suzerainty in Arabia. An interesting account is given of the dispute with the French regarding the position of Mosul. There are three small maps at the end, one dealing with the Middle East, the second dealing with Mesopotamia, and the third with Syria, Arabia, and Petræa.

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