

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Polish situation is as complex as it is obscure. The view expressed by Senator Harding that the League of Nations was a definite and irredeemable failure and that it had broken down at the first test in the case of Poland is widely entertained. That Great Britain and France have not been able to see eye to eye with each other on the Polish question, in spite of the frequent ministerial declarations to the effect that perfect harmony prevails among the Allies with respect to their attitude towards Russia and Poland is an open secret. The negotiations for peace between Poland and the Soviet have been interrupted and delayed by causes, the responsibility for which is being thrown by the two parties on the shoulders of each other. The Poles are reported to have won signal victories over their enemies and to have driven them in confusion back over wide territory. The fact that Warsaw was saved from imminent fall at the hands of advancing Bolshevik armies lends support to the Polish claims. A Bolshevik statement, however, declares that the Polish reports of the Russian losses are simply fables and that the offensive against General Wrangel continues successfully. The peace *pourparlers* are, in the meantime, being delayed owing to the Polish delegation having gone to Brest-Litovsk to confer with their Government. The position of the Allies in this matter is, by no means, enviable and they have to wait upon the development of events.

THE confession of one of the assassins of Mr. Willoughby that he "committed the foul deed in a fit of Khilafat frenzy" ought to awaken the more responsible leaders of the movement to the dangers

of appealing to the religious feelings of the ignorant and the uneducated. Mr. Willoughby was known to be a popular officer and one having a deep sense of sympathy for the people of India. At the condolence meeting in the deceased's honor, Sir Harcourt Butler warned his hearers of the harmful effects of violent speeches at some Khilafat meetings. It is to be earnestly hoped that this warning, coming as it does from such a sympathetic friend of the Muslim community as the present Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces is reputed to be, will have the desired effect. Our feelings in regard to the dastardly outrage are those of deep detestation and horror; and our sympathy goes out to Mrs. Willoughby in her bereavement. We trust that the Government of the United Provinces will, as in the past, keep its head cool during the difficult times ahead.

IN the debate on the Auxiliary Force Bill and the Indian Territorial Force Bill, that took place in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, the Commander-in-Chief vouchsafed no explanation of the necessity for two separate measures to provide a second line army for India. That the Government promotes different bills, one for subjects of pure or mixed European descent and the other for other classes, itself postulates a differentiation in treatment. The statement of objects and reasons attached to the Territorial Force Bill has it that the general principles underlying this Bill correspond closely to those laid down for the Auxiliary Force meant for Europeans and Eurasians, subject to two qualifications: (1) that the Territorial Force being of a tentative character, the details regarding training, service, etc., have to be left to rules and regulations; and (2) that "the wider scope" of this Force necessarily entails certain limitations to which the Auxiliary Force is not subject. We cannot guess what these limitations are, but the glaring contrast which the two Bills present is not to be accounted for by the reservations which are mentioned above.

THE Territorial Force Bill bears on the face of it marks of racial discrimination. To the Force constituted under it, the Indian Army Act will apply, while the English Army Act will be made applicable to the Auxiliary Force. This by itself involves certain disabilities, which we detailed in our issue of August 19. Of them, the one subjecting Indian recruits to whipping will, we expect, be

removed at an early date. There is no sign that the other inequalities will similarly disappear. Again, we are not clear that the rule restricting the Indian section of the Indian Defence Force, which now gives place to the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces, to the Infantry units only will be done away with, and that the recruits in the Territorial Force will be admitted into the Light Horse and Mounted Rifles, Artillery Corps, etc., which, those who enlist in the Auxiliary Force, will be allowed to join. From the framework of the two Bills, it would rather appear that Indians will be denied admission into any other branch than the Infantry; for clauses 8 (2) and 15 (1) of the Auxiliary Force Bill make mention of the other branches, but corresponding clauses of the Territorial Force Bill, 6 (1) and 6 (2), make no such mention. It is unlikely that if the constitution of the other branches were contemplated for the Territorial Force, the above clauses of the Territorial Force Bill would have been drawn as they are.

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SOME other points of difference may be mentioned. It is proposed, under the Auxiliary Force Bill, to limit the obligation of members of that Force to local service; that is to say, units in this Force will normally be called out on duty only in the military area, to which they properly belonged. It is only in circumstances of emergency, notified by Government, that they are liable to be required to serve beyond the limits of that area; but in no circumstances are they liable to serve out of India. The case is different with the Territorial Force, which is liable to general service within the limits of India. By special sanction of the Government of India, however, this Force may be employed for military service beyond the frontiers of India, though "the employment of the Force overseas is not contemplated." Under the Territorial Force Bill, several matters are provided for by regulations to be made by the Commander-in-Chief, which, in the other Bill, are provided for by rules to be made by the Governor-General in Council; e. g. the rates of pay and allowances of the recruits; Cf. also clause 27 of the Auxiliary Force Bill with clause 13 (1) of the Territorial Force Bill. If two separate bills are needed, they might at least run on parallel lines.

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THE object of the Bihar and Orissa Agricultural Labourers Bill, 1919, recently introduced into the legislative council of the province was described by the Member in Charge to be "to meet and mitigate, as far as may be found expedient and possible, the evils of what is commonly known in this province as the 'kamiauti' system". Under it, a kamia cannot bargain for his wages, which are always paid in kind and represent "only one-third of a day's wages for free labour paid, for example, by a contractor for road repair work." This precludes the possibility of his ever being able to repay either the small loan he might have taken from his landlord or the interest thereon. The rates

of interest on these loans are fearfully high, going up in some cases to 75 per cent. per annum. Specimens of the so-called food allowed to them have been produced before Settlement officers, who have declared them unfit for human use. No wonder that the High Courts of Bengal and Bihar and Orissa have condemned such a system as "one of slavery or practically indistinguishable from slavery." The Bill in question proposes to invalidate all 'kamiauti' contracts and deserves support from all well-wishers of the class of agricultural labourers in the province.

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THE public demand for a repeal of the Press Act has found a supporter even in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore; for it has now begun, presumably under official inspiration, to "doubt the value of the Press Act at all under present conditions." It even goes so far as to admit that "there is much in the Press Act, apart from its political aspect, which is administratively cumbersome and anachronistic." The Indian view, that such papers, as lay themselves open to the charge of sedition-mongering, might be dealt with under the ordinary law, seems at last to have appealed to our contemporary. The Indian public have always considered this piece of legislation superfluous and as one investing the executive with powers which they might conveniently do without. With such views coming from the *Gazette*, the fate of the Act is evidently sealed; and its removal from the statute book may be looked for in the near future—probably, it is believed, on the occasion of the Duke of Connaught's visit. Another welcome agreement of the same paper with the popular view ought also to be recorded. With regard to the eligibility or otherwise of the Punjab leaders to stand for election to the Councils, the paper expresses a hope that "no technical obstacles will be thrown in the way of the election or possible defeat at the polls of the potential candidates in question."

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FOLLOWING the well established vogue, the president-elect of the Special Congress has made an appeal to the Liberal Party to attend its sessions. We have already expressed our opinion of the moral worth of such an appeal, issued in the name of a body which is associated with a policy of proscription, so far as the Liberals are concerned. Until the Congress takes measures to disown this policy in an unequivocal manner, it can have no claim upon the homage of those who, regarding the Congress as a sectional body, abstain from its sittings. For our part we are anxious, so far as in us lies, to restore the Congress to its national character; and if Messrs. Paranjpye and Sastri are unable to be present at the ensuing sessions, it is only because the work in the College in the case of the former and on important Select Committees in the case of the latter prevented them from carrying out their original intention to attend.

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### THE FUTURE OF MESOPOTAMIA.

REUTER has seen fit to cable out here a statement, published in the *Daily Express*, of the Government's new policy in Mesopotamia. It runs thus: "The idea of employing a large garrison forcibly to hold Mesopotamia has been abandoned. The present system of civil administration will be given up. Numerous officials from the India Office and the Foreign Office will be withdrawn. The Arabs will determine their own form of self-government under their own chiefs, but will be enabled to enjoy the assistance of expert British advisers. The Government's first care will be to relieve the beleaguered garrisons." Well may Reuter remind us of England's objective in Mesopotamia, for we were perilously near forgetting it all. So large is the army of occupation stationed there, so tight is the grip of the civil administration imposed upon the people, so ruinously costly has the whole business become both to Britain and Mesopotamia, and so long has the transition period continued, that it seemed as if there would be no end to the existing state of things. Reuter's message regarding the "new" Mesopotamian policy thus comes to us with the freshness and almost suddenness of a startling change made public for the first time, though as a matter of fact, this policy, now pompously announced, is as old as the war. When England entered into engagements with the King of Hedjaz in 1915, she declared her intention in unequivocal terms of recognising the independence of the Arab country. She reaffirmed it two years later and made it still more explicit in November, 1918. "Far from wishing to impose any particular institutions on these lands," such was this last declaration, "they (France and Great Britain) have no other care but to assure, by their support, effective aid to the normal working of the Governments and Administrations which they shall have adopted of their own free will." That there would be no annexation, but that the British Government would set up an Arab Government, and not impose upon the population any Government not acceptable to them has ever been the declared intention of Great Britain.

England thus entered into a solemn engagement with the conquered country, but how has she observed it? We will quote Lord Islington's words. He said in the recent debate in the House of Lords: "However deep you may delve into the recesses of constitutional history based upon undertakings, you will find it difficult to discover any more conspicuous instance of a system of government being established at greater variance from the principles underlying that undertaking than has been instituted in Mesopotamia during the past two years; and certainly never a system that has imposed heavier or more unwarranted burdens on the taxpayers of this country" and also on the Mesopotamians themselves. At present there is an army establishment of 80,000 troops in Mesopotamia: 15,500 British and 66,500 Indians. And the total

population is 2,850,000. Thus, as Major-General Seely computed, there is one Indian infantry soldier to control every eight Mesopotamians! How much has this cost England in two years? Very nearly £60,000,000! The staff employed in civil administration too is very numerous and costly. There are 419 gazetted officers, mostly British, with salaries ranging from 450 to 2,800 rupees per month. The subordinate officers are recruited from Mesopotamians and Indians. What is the total cost? It was something like £1,250,000 in 1918-19 but rose to about £5,500,000 in 1919-20, a rise of 490 per cent. The whole of this money is raised by Mesopotamians, an extremely poor people, that is, they are being taxed at the rate of over £2 per head. England has thus already established a Crown Colony system of administration, or rather, as Lord Islington termed it, a super-Crown Colony system of administration, forestalling the decision by the League of Nations, which is certainly opposed to Sir Percy Cox's declaration of November, 1918. The civil staff has no doubt largely developed Mesopotamia's resources, and it may be said that it will enure ultimately to Mesopotamia's benefit. The question, however, is not whether England's rule has been that of a benevolent despot, but whether it is acceptable to the people. That British administration is very unpopular, there was never any doubt, and recent events have made it as plain as plain could be. In regard to the development of the country, it is to be remembered that the development must take place at such a pace and in such a manner that the rightful owners of the country can take their full share in it. In the present development of Mesopotamia the natives have had no part or lot. And when once foreigners come to have vested interests in a country, they, being the dominant party, naturally wish to run the administration of the country their own way. This point was emphasised by Lord Islington and Capt. Ormsby-Gore. The former said: "I venture to say that nothing should be done with regard to the development of oil which would interfere with political development of the country. If foreign capital on a large scale were sunk in the fields of Mesopotamia, the owners of that capital would undoubtedly demand a higher standard of administration, and that would have a serious effect upon the steady development of the self-government of the country. I venture to say that this standard, whatever it be, should in no way interrupt or defer the self-government of the country." In short, the people of England must not cherish the ambition, as Lord Crewe well put it, "to play the fairy god-mother to all undeveloped parts of the world, and to hold themselves responsible for introducing a higher standard of administration in uncivilised countries." Their aim should rather be to promote self-government in the "liberated" country, and to give its people a chance "to develop their own institutions, their own ideas, their own armies and their own policy." The development of the country must,

therefore, be parallel with the development of the indigenous population.

Now, what is to be the future of Mesopotamia? On 20th of June last, England's policy in that country was further announced in the following terms: "H. M.'s Government, having been entrusted with the mandate of Mesopotamia, anticipate that the mandate will constitute Mesopotamia as an independent State under the guarantee of the League of Nations and subject to the mandate of Great Britain, that it will lay on them the responsibility for the internal peace and external security and will require them to formulate an organic law framed in consultation with the people of Mesopotamia and with due regard to the rights, wishes, and interests of all the communities of the country. The mandate will contain provisions to facilitate development of Mesopotamia as a self-governing State until such time as it can stand by itself, when the mandate will come to an end." How this mandate will be discharged remains to be seen. "It is our real policy," remarked Lord Curzon, "to set up some form of self-government which shall be acceptable, with our assistance, to the people themselves." But the trouble is that the mandatory's assistance and advice are apt to be indistinguishable in any material respect from absolute control. The exemplar of the constitution of the Federated Malay States recommended by Lord Sydenham points to the danger. "The four principal of these States," he said, "are all governed by native rulers, with British residents at their side, and they are federated under a Council, over which a British Commissioner presides, which makes laws affecting all of them. That system has been a wonderful success; it has proved to be no hindrance whatever to the proper exploitation of the wonderful resources of the Malay Peninsula, and it has also proved to be to the immense advantage of the inhabitants of those States." If the constitution is really to be devised by the Mesopotamians, we have little doubt that they will not select this model. The British Government claims to have already taken some interim steps to introduce representative government into Mesopotamia. "Municipal councils have been set up where they did not exist in all the principal cities. Representative divisional councils have been started in the various provincial areas, and councils of notables, where it was not possible to get any other form of representative institution, have been started. . . . We then decided (as an interim measure) to set up an Arab Council or Cabinet, whichever you like to call it, the majority of whose members will be natives (Arabs), under an Arab President, and further to summon a native Representative Assembly to meet Sir Percy Cox, or the head of the Administration, whoever he may be, in drawing up an organic law which it will presently be our duty to frame." It all depends upon the spirit in which the administrators go to work. But doubt is raised as to whether self-determination will be allowed full play by the

complaint made by Lord Curzon that there is an extreme Nationalist party in Mesopotamia "fighting for ideals which, at any rate at present, it is impossible to realise." It is by the manner that the mandatory responsibilities are discharged by England that her professions will be judged.

#### BRAHMIN vs. NON-BRAHMIN.

CASTE is an all-pervading problem in India; in every question it always turns up and complicates the issues. Whatever utility it may have had in ancient times, it appears to be inconsistent with any real democracy as understood in the modern sense of the term. Sooner or later the institution is bound to disappear. Shall it be sooner or later? Again, is its disappearance to be accompanied by intense pain and endless friction or is the process to be a kind of painless euthanasia? The answer to these questions is largely in our own hands; but the first requisite is to see that the end of caste is inevitable. The institution may have served a useful purpose, or it may not; but it is futile to fight about the past. I want to look to the future rather than hark back to the past. It is, however, undoubted that it is creating very bad blood among various sections of our people. We wish to stop this if possible and to ask each side to see and appreciate the point of view of the other.

To descend from these generalities to a particular case, let me boldly take the question of the Satyashodhak Samaj, which is making a great headway in several Marathi-speaking districts. Started about forty years ago, it was originally a religious movement of a rationalist nature, initiated by some non-Brahmins, who, being educated, wanted to deny the theocratic supremacy of the Brahmins. In its early stages, it was ridiculed and its leader abused by Brahmin writers like the late Mr. Chiplunkar. But at that time the number of educated men among the non-Brahmins was small. The Brahmin supremacy in religion was not felt to be galling by other castes; and so long as this was so, it continued. But gradually these castes are awakening. They resent the exclusive claim of Brahmin priests to officiate at religious ceremonies in all castes. They chafe at the inferiority implied in the use of *puranic* rites in some castes and of *vedic* rites in the Brahmin castes. If the Brahmins had been wise in due time, they would have tried to conciliate this feeling before it assumed large dimensions. They ought to have seen that ultimately the authority of a priestly minority depends on the consent, express or implied, of the vast majority. But nothing of this kind was done. Even law courts were resorted to for the purpose of enforcing these religious privileges and it is a moot point still whether such claims are legally enforceable or not. Feelings continued to be more and more estranged by the way in which arguments were used on the two sides in these wordy controversies. When the Brahmins quoted passages from scriptures to defend their position, when stress was laid on the fact

that *anuloma* marriages were permitted while *pratiloma* ones were among the most sinful of actions, when social disabilities based on religious beliefs continued to be enforced, the opposite side naturally made use of the same scriptures to emphasise their own case or cast ridicule on that of their opponents. If old books are to be literally interpreted only when they suit you, your opponent will insist on doing the same, when they do not suit you. The same thing has often happened in the West; thus when the orthodox began to oppose the doctrine of evolution by a reference to the Bible, the less educated opponents of the old view turned the tables on their opponents by going into minute details of the story of the flood and Noah's Ark or of virgin birth. In the same way, the Satyashodhaks are said to hold up several gods of the Hindu pantheon to ridicule often in a very obscene way. These things can, of course, not be countenanced by any Liberals; for they stand for purity of public life which is invaded only by the so-called Nationalists.

Nobody doubts that some of the members of the Satyashodhak Samaj are not actuated by purely anti-theocratic motives. Several of them are doubtless led on by mixed motives. So, they retort, do many of the Brahmins use their official or priestly position to further their material interests. The newspapers recently reported a case in which a Brahmin patel trumped up a false charge of abduction against some Satyashodhaks, who were very prominent in their anti-Brahmin propaganda. Perhaps a great part of the prevailing opinion among the Brahmin newspapers against some of the native chiefs may be unconsciously due to their anti-Brahmin or rather pro-Maratha bias. When two parties are ranged definitely against each other, it is not fair to take single details of the struggle and blame one party or the other for them. Thus we are told that in some places the position of the small minority of Brahmin residents is made impossible by a complete boycott on the part of the Satyashodhaks; nobody cultivates their fields, they cannot get even a barber or a shoemaker to work for them. But frankly, we may ask, is the present doctrine of non-co-operation anything essentially different? If there is any body of persons whom you wish to bring to their knees, use the weapon of non-co-operation, say our non-co-operators. Of course, our Nationalist friends urge its use against Government only. But such methods, when once made familiar, will not necessarily be confined to particular issues. The far-sighted leaders must see that the common people are not taught these methods. It is, therefore, that we are against the practice of non-co-operation, leaving aside the question of its constitutionality or legality.

The Liberal party is often asked to define its attitude towards the activities of the Satyashodhak party and its excesses. I have no hesitation in saying that it condemns methods of boycott and violence, wherever found; it has always done it.

But at the same time it feels that the root idea of the Satyashodhaks is on the whole sound. It believes that, in the twentieth century, a social fabric based on birth and priest-craft is essentially vicious, It has therefore placed social reform on a rational basis in the forefront of its programme. It wishes to relegate religion to the domain of private matters to be determined by each individual for himself. It considers any associations for buttressing priest-craft as a century too late. To free the country from the unwholesome reaction of the Satyashodhaks, it is not enough to invoke the aid of the law to suppress the symptoms merely. There should be a round-table conference of the leaders of both sides honestly desirous to arrive at an undertaking. There is time for it still; but it will pass away in a few years, if nothing is done in the matter very soon. The Brahmins as the more educated of the two should be prepared to go half-way and hold out their hand to their brothers, non-Brahmins, who are not so educated and who have begun to feel their inferiority of position. Naturally they blame individuals instead of the system, as they should really do. The sharper differences between the Hindus and the Mohammedans have been got over in this manner. It is not impossible to heal these differences also, if there is an honest effort made in that direction. The Liberal party wishes to heal the breach; but it is abused by the Extremists for its pains. The Extremist journals, even the more respectable of them, have no compunction in abusing the Liberals in the foulest language and raking up personal matters, true or false, against them. When the Satyashodhaks show that they have learnt, or perhaps even bettered, this lesson, it is no use then to assume an air of injured innocence and complain.

We have attempted to explain the position of the Satyashodhaks. May we also tell them that on their part also they should show forbearance? The Brahmin as well as non-Brahmin is the creature of the system handed down for several thousand years. The Brahmin priestly family, which feels its means of subsistence on the point of disappearance for no fault of its own, is naturally liable to feel that it is being penalised for the system for which all are responsible. A new reform is bound to press hard on individuals with vested rights in the old system. While it is but proper for the non-Brahmins to claim their rights and press for the fullest recognition of them, in actual exercise of them they may proceed a trifle sympathetically. They may even bear in mind that below the awakening classes of non-Brahmins, there is a large class that has not yet awakened. For the moment all non-Brahmins may appear banded together against the Brahmins; but if the latter were out of the way, similar disputes will soon arise among different sections of the non-Brahmins themselves. A radical cure is, therefore, required, and while the cure is proceeding, the patient must be treated sympathetically. For the well-being of the whole fabric the five per cent. of the population, which is Brahmin



and which is well educated, performs an important function. The birth distinctions may disappear; but education is bound to tell. Let the non-Brahmins advance educationally and then no priesthood will be able to keep them down.

R. P. PARANJPYE.

### EGYPTIAN INDEPENDENCE.

FROM a Protectorate to the position of an Ally is doubtless a big step; but, strangely enough, it has been actually taken in the case of Egypt. In the winter of 1914, the British Government declared Egypt to be a Protectorate; deposed the then reigning Sultan and substituted another in his place. Evidently with the object of stopping all criticism of these high-handed acts, the declaration of the Protectorate over Egypt was accompanied by a declaration of martial law, vesting all civil power in the military governor. A rigorous censorship of the Press was established; public meetings were prohibited; the privacy of private correspondence violated. This continued not for a month or two, as in the Punjab; but all throughout the War; viz. for about four long years. The hardships and troubles through which the people passed can be easily imagined, with our experience of martial law in the Punjab still so fresh in our minds. The Egyptians suffered and have been rewarded.

The question naturally arises: What did they ask for and does the agreement reached last week in London satisfy their demands? Their main contention was that their right to complete independence be recognised and their integrity guaranteed. This was no wild claim they were putting forward: they were taking their stand on British promises to evacuate, repeated on not less than 60 occasions, the last one being the King's message to the new Sultan in 1914 at the time of the declaration of the Protectorate. This does not mean that the Egyptians were not prepared to recognise the special position of England in Egypt: as a matter of fact, as practical politicians, they were willing to make due provision for the safeguarding of British and other foreign interests in their country. But while the Egyptians on their side were thus inclined to meet Britain, the British Government on their part hardly showed any signs of responsiveness. Every attempt was made to belittle the movement for independence. It was said that it was based on religious fanaticism; its origin was attributed to Turkish and German intrigue; and even Bolshevik influence was alleged to be at the bottom of Egypt's agitation for independence. As in India, ridicule was poured on the movement on the ground that it was confined only to a small minority of the people, the agriculturists and Government officials having had nothing to do with it. Events have proved all these charges groundless. The demand for independence, far from proceeding from a few discontented people, had the hearty support of the

whole of Egypt. The difficulties experienced by the British Government as to the formation of the ministry after Rushdi Pasha had refused to serve as a protest against his being denied an opportunity to discuss the Egyptian situation with the Foreign Office in London, the Government officials' strike to express their sense of disapproval of the Milner mission, the participation in popular demonstrations by women and even by school boys and girls and by the *fellaheen* and lastly, the unmitigated boycott of the Milner mission itself—what else is required to prove that the movement had captured the hearts of the people as a whole? Even the British Government could not have afforded to be incessantly at war with a whole country and they have at last stumbled on the only right solution of the Egyptian problem. We are glad they did not allow ideas of false prestige and dignity to turn them away from the correct path. Until almost towards the close of last year, the British Government's policy in Egypt was the same as in India, viz. "the progressive development of self-governing institutions." Lord Curzon, who enunciated this policy on the 25th November, 1919, also made it clear that Great Britain was "unable to give any encouragement to the claim of complete national independence." He had also forecasted "not an unfriendly greeting, but a cordial welcome" for the Milner mission on its arrival in Egypt. Everybody knows how differently things have turned out. The Milner mission which had been on the spot for about three months was completely boycotted, their attempts to the contrary notwithstanding. Being probably convinced of the seriousness of the situation, they have now recommended a different policy from the one the British Government had in mind not long ago. This new policy seems to conform to the demands put forward by the national delegation headed by Saad Zaghloul Pasha and ought to receive general approval. It grants Egypt's claim to independence and guarantees her integrity against outside aggression. Britain's privileged position on the other hand is acknowledged by Egypt, which promises to give her every facility in its own territory in case of war. The control of her foreign relations, subject to her not making treaties at variance with British policy, is restored to Egypt and she will enjoy the right of having her own diplomatic representatives abroad. Egypt still owes a large debt to Britain and mainly in her interest "a British official will be appointed to take over and carry out the operations of the Public Debt Commission." "Veto on legislation affecting foreigners will be vested in the High Commissioner." Provision will be made for safeguarding the rights of British officials. Such of them, however, as wish to resign or are asked to give up service will receive due compensation. These, in short, are the terms of the agreement between Britain and Egypt.

The discontent in Egypt has been an inexplicable mystery to many people. They know that the

British connection has contributed not a little to the prosperity of Egypt; and that a considerable part of the credit for the present sound financial position of the country is due to Britain. By constructing the great dam at Assuan, she has done much to reduce the chances of famine in Egypt; and to improve the lot of the agriculturists who form an overwhelming majority of the population. The establishment of agricultural credit banks has been admitted on all hands to have been a veritable boon to the poor *fellah*. The fixing of the land-tax for a period of 30 years, and the abolition of *corvée* or forced labour and *kourbash* (flogging), are also measures that directly benefit the agricultural population. Lord Kitchener's Five Feddan law prohibiting an uneconomic sub-division of land is another good measure for which the *fellah* must thank the British Government. The growth of public interest in local government is also rightly attributed to Britain's connection with Egypt. Municipal institutions in that country are not more than 27 years old; their present number, however, is 50 and, what is more, every small village has got a village council to manage its own affairs. But though Britain has all this and perhaps a little more to her credit, it cannot be denied that she has lamentably failed in her mission to train the Egyptian people in the arts of self-government. We are free to admit that she had many difficulties to contend against; but even then it is difficult to excuse her for the backwardness of the country in education. Even after forty years of British connection, Egypt cannot boast of more than 8 literate males in every 100; while the corresponding proportion for females is perhaps less than 1. She has paid little attention to higher, and still less to primary, education; indeed the complaint is that the latter was systematically sacrificed to the former. In spite of all that Britain has done for the promotion of higher education, even an official apologist like Sir Valentine Chirol is forced to admit that her record in this behalf was "desperately little!" Commercial and technical schools started ten years ago have literally become full to overflowing and there is need for more. The provision made for medical education is insufficient and that for the study of Oriental languages none at all. The bulk of the revenue comes from the *fellaheen*; but out of the niggardly 2 p. c. spent on education, only a small fraction is devoted to the spread of literacy among the agriculturists. It may here be noted that the educational expenditure in some backward countries like the Balkan States comes to somewhere between 7 and 10 per cent. The recruitment to the Labour Corps during war-time was another very potent cause of discontent in that community. The methods of recruitment adopted by or under the inspiration of British officials were not far removed from conscription: indeed that would have been more understandable than the make-believe of voluntary enlistment. That one million people out of a population of 13 million (*i. e.* one in every 13) were so recruited is an

interesting commentary on the voluntary character of the recruiting operations of the British administrators. The corps is reported to have worked well under trying conditions; but not <sup>to</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>point</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>encouragement</sup> or acknowledgment of the services rendered by these people has so far been forthcoming! The number of casualties will probably never be ascertained in the absence of proper records; but the least that could have been done was to notify the casualties to the families. But even this obvious duty was lost sight of. The forcible taking away from the *fellah* of his beasts of burden to satisfy military exigencies and the disproportionately low compensation allowed to him in case of their loss also added to the already prevailing discontent. The continued increase in the number of Englishmen in the Egyptian services, from 285 in 1896 to 662 in 1906 and 1671 in 1919, is also another legitimate source of dissatisfaction among the people. There is thus a family likeness between the situation brought about in Egypt and that in the Punjab. In both cases, the people, severely tried by hardships, both natural and artificial, were longing for, and certainly deserved, some respite, when they were thrown off their balance by the most injudicious action on the part of the Government in quietly spiriting away their beloved leaders. The natural results followed. The deportation of Saad Zaghloul Pasha and his compatriots was followed by serious riots all over Egypt in the month of March, 1919, in the course of which a good deal of innocent blood was shed on both sides. The disturbances succeeded in drawing Britain's pointed attention to the Egyptian problem, and the Milner mission was the result. The intention to send such a mission, was declared almost immediately after these regrettable occurrences. But there were long delays in its despatch, and it did not start for Egypt till about eight months after. A calm atmosphere had to be ensured for the mission on its arrival and the British authorities proceeded about the business—in a wrong way. When Mr. Montagu declared his intention to visit India for the purpose of collecting materials for his scheme of reforms, one of the principal causes of bitterness, *viz.* the internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, was removed. But a different course was followed in Egypt. A few days before the arrival of the mission, several prominent Egyptians were either imprisoned or their liberty restricted. This had quite the contrary effect on the state of public feeling and when Lord Milner arrived on the scene with the other members of his delegation, he found himself completely boycotted. A conciliatory appeal to the people to come and discuss the problem fell on deaf ears. Even the Egyptian Princes of the Sultania family insisted on the national demand for independence being satisfied. The women, the great majority of whom are illiterate, were not backward in taking their own part in educating public opinion as to the reasons why it had been

decided to leave the Milner delegation severely alone. This boycott movement was so deep-rooted that even young girls attending schools went on strikes to mark their disapproval of the Mission! This left no alternative for the British Government but to negotiate with Saad Zagloul Pasha on his own terms with the happy result announced last week.

Comparatively speaking, the Egyptian problem seems to be a simpler one than the Indian. While, in the case of India, the presence of different castes and the absence of a common language and a common script add to the complications surrounding the problem, no such difficulties are believed to exist in Egypt. The Egyptian people are not divided among themselves by rigid caste restrictions as they obtain in India; by nature they are more democratic; and their geographical position is specially favourable for the spread of democratic ideas. These factors go a long way in making the introduction of self-governing institutions into Egypt a matter of much less difficulty. On the other hand, the presence of foreigners in Egypt is regarded as a great obstacle to the economic development of the country. By virtue of the Capitulations, they are practically exempt from payment of all taxes except octroi and customs duties, since all proposals of fresh taxation require the unanimous approval of 17 foreign governments—a well-nigh impossible task. A great part of the commerce and trade of Egypt is known to be in foreign hands; but the country itself does not on that account profit even by a penny. Its only important sources of revenue are the land-tax, customs, excise, judicial and registration fees. The land-tax cannot be touched just yet, in view of the fact that it was settled on 30 year's tenure only in 1899; while the other sources do not leave much scope for expansion. Income-tax, succession duties and similar items form the legitimate heads of revenue in other countries; but in Egypt, the Capitulations prevent their being exploited for the country's benefit. It is difficult to believe that no other means of adding to the national income in any considerable degree are open to the Government; but the Capitulations have been the one great stumbling block in their way. They have impeded the fiscal and economic progress of Egypt to an extent not easily realised and it is gratifying to learn that steps are at last to be taken under the new arrangement to remove them. Political independence unaccompanied by fiscal liberty can hardly be looked upon as a blessing. HISTORIOUS.

### A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, AUGUST 12.

#### RUSSO-POLISH SITUATION.

ARE we going to be at war with Russia within the next few days? That is a question that we are mostly asking ourselves with some anxiety. It is even possible that we are putting the question badly, and that it should be—are we already at war with Russia? Poland, when she thought

Russia in difficulties, attacked her. The provocation at the time was said to be that Russia had already announced her intention and was making preparations to attack Poland. However that may be—and it is not beyond the limits of possibility, for Russia and Poland are old foes, and the former was unlikely to regard with favour the newly established Polish State lying between her and Germany—the Allies warned Poland that in making an aggressive attack, she would do so without support from them and entirely on her own responsibility. That some elements among the Allies—notably the French—hoped in their hearts that Poland might win is not improbable. Well, Poland attacked, advanced into the Ukraine, and was eventually chased out of a Russia united under the inspiration of defending the country against the foreign invader and an ancient enemy to boot. The militarists are in the saddle at Moscow, and reactionary generals are at the head of a victorious Bolshevik army which is almost at the gates of Warsaw, sweeping everything before it. Negotiations between the Soviet Government and Great Britain, on behalf of the Allies, of a particularly delicate and dangerous character, have been proceeding with a view to save the independence of Poland. The question at issue before the Allied diplomats has been whether the Bolshevik pacifists at Moscow, eager for peace and reconstruction and the recognition of the Soviet Government, would win through or the Trotsky element, composed of militarists, Bolshevik fanatics and Tsarist reactionaries would swing the situation in their direction. One cannot yet tell who will win. But the situation became most serious and critical during the week-end, partly owing to shady diplomacy on our part, partly owing to Polish egregiousness and folly, and partly owing to Bolshevik duplicity. At the week-end the British and French Premiers met at Lympe and their decisions were published by Mr. Lloyd George on Tuesday evening in Parliament. They would await events, and if the Bolsheviks proved that they intended to crush Poland and in fact to deprive her of her independence, and if Poland were to call upon the Allies for help, this would be given in every way, short of sending troops. The Prime Minister hoped, however, that this would not be necessary, and that the olive-branch held out, which included the concession that Russia was justified in taking guarantees from Poland against a recurrence of recent events, would be accepted by Lenin's Government.

The preliminary peace terms for Poland were handed the same night to Mr. Lloyd George by M. Kameneff. They are as follows:—

(1) The strength of the Polish Army shall be reduced to one annual contingent up to 5,000 men and the command and administration of the army to an aggregate of 10,000 men;

(2) The demobilization shall take place within one month;

(3) All arms over and above such as may be required for the needs of the army as reduced above, as well as of the civic militia, shall be handed over to Soviet Russia and the Ukraine;

(4) All war industries shall be demobilized;

(5) No troops or war materials shall be allowed to come from abroad;

(6) The line of Polish demarcation shall be Volkovisk-Bilystok-Grajevo, and shall be placed fully at the disposal of Russia for commercial transit from and to the Baltic.

(7) The families of all Polish citizens killed, wounded or incapacitated in the war shall be given lands free.



On the other hand :—

(1) Parallel with the demobilization the Russian and Ukrainian troops shall withdraw from the Polish front.

(2) Upon the termination of these operations the number of Russian troops on the Russian frontier line shall be considerably reduced and fixed at a figure to be agreed upon.

(3) The armistice line shall be the *status quo*; but not further east than the one indicated in the note of Lord Curzon of Kedleston of July, 1920. The Polish Army shall withdraw to a distance of .50 versts (33¼ miles) from that line, the zone between the two lines being neutral.

(4) The final frontier of the independent State of Poland shall, in the main, be identical with the line indicated in the note of Lord Curzon of Kedleston of July, 1920, but additional territory shall be given to Poland on the east in the regions of Bialystok and Kholm.

It is, however, suggested that Russia's real peace terms have not yet been divulged, and that they include, as a *sine qua non* of peace, the introduction of the Soviet system into Poland, which is likely to be rejected by Poland, whose Socialists, as is clear from the following manifesto, are opposed to Bolshevism :

"The war conducted by Soviet Russia is assuming clearly the character of an invasion of Poland. The Communist principles, in the name of which Soviet Russia alleges, it is conducting war, do not in the least change the aggressive and imperialist character of the warlike action of the Soviets. In its foreign policy the degenerated Russian Communism follows the footsteps of the aggressive Tsarist policy. At present Soviet Russia aims at the restoration of the Russian Empire within even wider frontiers than during the time of the Tsars. Soviet Russia desires to incorporate Poland into the Russian State, eventually partitioning her with Germany. Therefore, as long as peace with Russia will not be concluded, on principles free from imperialist pretensions, we are obliged to wage a ruthless defensive war against Soviet Russia. The order calls upon the Socialists in the occupied territories not to take any part in the Bolshevik régime, not to enter into any compromise with the hostile authorities, to boycott all institutions supported by foreign bayonets."

Last night, however, a new complication was introduced into the Russo-Polish situation by the decision of the French Government formally to recognise General Wrangel's Government as the *de facto* Government of South Russia. According to the French Foreign Office, this means that France will render all possible material assistance to General Wrangel, who, the French are said to believe, "shows more promise of overthrowing the Bolsheviks than the Poles, or Denikin, or Koltchak," inasmuch as he is believed to be "turning all the Cossack tribes against the Soviet Government." How far this new move will affect Franco-British relations remains to be seen. And how far it will steel the Bolsheviks against the Allies and Poland is another question. At the moment, it seems difficult to think that war with Russia can be escaped. Last night Mr. Lloyd George stated that he had no knowledge whatever that the French Government took this view, and the general impression at the moment is that the statement is not the opinion of the French Government, or even of M. Millerand, who, besides being Prime Minister, is also Foreign Minister of France, but that rather it is the view of some ill-informed high official of the Foreign Office. Meanwhile, judgment remains in suspense, and the House of Commons remains in session, at least until Monday next.

#### ARCHBISHOP MANNIX'S EXTERMENT.

*L'affaire Mannix* bids fair to prove a tragedy. Archbishop Mannix has been captured by the British Navy and is now extermed from Ireland, Manchester, Liverpool and Glasgow. "Since

the Battle of Jutland," says he, "the British Navy has not scored any success comparable with the chasing of the 'Baltic' from the Irish shores and the capture without the loss of a single British sailor of the Archbishop of Melbourne." He says that he does not intend to recognise the Government's prohibition, but he will not, for the moment, defy it.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### MR. LAJPAT RAI'S APPEAL TO THE LIBERALS.

THE Hon. Principal R. P. Paranjpye has sent the following reply to Lala Lajpat Rai's appeal to the Liberals to attend the Calcutta Congress, which was recently published in newspapers:—

My dear Lalaji,—Many thanks for your letter asking me to attend the special session of the Congress at Calcutta under your distinguished presidentship. I should have been glad to accept it; but I am sorry I cannot leave my work in term time for a week for this purpose. I hope that the session will be a great success under your guidance and will arrive at the right decision on the various problems before it.

As regards non-co-operation, I am fully convinced that, if adopted by so responsible a body as the Congress, it will lead to unfortunate results, perhaps undreamt of now. Every non-co-operator is not likely to be a Gandhi, of whom there is only one in the country. In my opinion, we should take full advantage of the reforms and thus hasten our attainment of the goal laid down by the Congress.

I said above that I should have liked to attend if I was able; but I shall not be doing my duty if I did not bring before you the difficulty of the position of the people of my way of thinking. The majority party of the Congress, in our part of the country at least, appears bent upon hounding out of the Congress every body that does not hold all the opinions of the majority, even though he accepts the creed of the Congress and has prided himself as being a Congressman so far. Several persons, therefore, naturally feel that their presence is not wanted in the Congress. However, I am glad that you are not in favour of this policy of ostracism.—Yours sincerely,

R. P. PARANJPYE.

Fergusson College, Poona,

August 25.

## SELECTION.

### THE AUXILIARY FORCE BILL.

#### MR. SASTRI'S SPEECH.

THE Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri spoke as follows on the Auxiliary Force Bill in the Indian Legislative Council on Friday last:—

Your Excellency, when three years ago the Bill to constitute an Indian Defence Force for the purposes of the war was discussed in Council, it was the painful duty of some of us, non-official members, to draw attention to certain racial discriminations that were made in the Bill. On that occasion we were put off because it was alleged that the Bill under consideration was an emergency measure, and that the principles which we proposed to discuss could only be settled satisfactorily when the war was over. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, in replying to our observations, said: "We have had to take up an attitude of *non possumus*; it has been forced on us by the inexorable circumstances of the war. We feel we cannot embark on questions some of which relate really to very high imperial policy and are visions into the future. We can only deal with the present and that is hard enough." Your Excellency in closing the session observed, in referring to these matters: "The Act is confessedly a war measure and therefore temporary. Do not ask us at such a moment as this to give answers to problems which will have to be solved at a time when there is more leisure. When that

time arrives then criticise, as you will, the Government in respect of its policy, but for the moment I would assure you that all the subjects of your criticism are engaging our most sympathetic consideration." We have a right, my Lord, to complain, if after the conclusion of the War when it is proposed to place these measures on a new basis, those very high questions of imperial policy we then raised still remain as if nothing had been said on those measures. I am sorry to observe that the matter of great significance to which we then drew attention remains exactly where it was, and in the opening speech of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief I failed to observe the slightest trace of reference to that controversy. Neither in his speech nor in the *communiqués* issued on this subject nor in the statement of objects and reasons is any reason put forward for differentiation between Europeans and Anglo-Indians on the one hand and Indians on the other for constituting an Auxiliary Force under that specific name for the benefit of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and a Territorial Force about which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will speak presently for the benefit of Indians. Why is it impossible to make the Auxiliary Force open to all Indian subjects of His Majesty? Why is it impossible to make the Territorial Force open to all subjects of His Majesty? The reason for this has now to be made clear; it has not been so far. I implore H. E. the Commander-in-Chief, who is about to lay down his office, to tell us, the public of India, whether it is intended by the Government of India and by the Secretary of State and his advisers in England that, in the new *régime* upon which we are about to enter with the object of placing India in a position of equal partnership with all other parts of His Majesty's Empire, whether it is seriously intended to perpetuate measures of this kind which involve racial differentiation of the most objectionable type.

Your Excellency, there are very many points of difference of a deep and radical nature between the provisions embodied in the Bill now under consideration and the Bill about to be introduced by H. E. the Commander-in-Chief. Subject to Your Excellency's ruling on the subject, I propose to enter in detail into those differentiations when the Second Bill is under discussion. For the moment I wish only to draw attention to one provision in this Bill, that contained in clause 33, which provides that any person accused of an offence under the Bill should be tried only by magistrates of a certain grade of authority. If H. E. the Commander-in-Chief is unable to satisfy us that discrimination is essential, it will be our painful duty when the occasion arises, to move an amendment for the excoision of that clause.

Other features of the Bill I could notice, but, my Lord, it is quite enough for me to refer for some enlightenment to an article published in the *Pioneer Mail* in July last which seems to me to supply the gap left by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and by the *communiqué* issued by the Government of India. That article goes in great detail into the reasons which underlie the differentiation hitherto established and proposed by His Excellency to be perpetuated for the future. My Hon'ble and gallant friend from the Punjab has referred in no ambiguous terms to some of the reasons to which the article in the *Pioneer Mail* also makes definite allusion and that is that the Auxiliary Force is especially meant for the protection of the lives and prosperity of the European and Anglo-Indian subjects of His Majesty which seem to lie under a special risk from insurgent bands of Indians. Is that so? We often have to look for unsupplied reasons to the columns of the Anglo-Indian journals. If that is the case, the Auxiliary Force remains shut, as the Volunteer Force previously was, to subjects of His Majesty of pure Indian extraction for the mere reason that it is from that class of people that danger is most apprehended to His Majesty's European subjects. I have a misgiving that there may be something in it, but I have no right to assume it until I have it on the authority of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that this either does or does not form part of *raison d'être* of the differentiation. My Lord, it is absolutely necessary for us to be enlightened on this subject as it will determine our conduct not only with regard to this

measure in its final stage, but it will enable us to find out precisely what amendments we should seek to introduce into this Bill in order to make it completely satisfactory to the self-respect of the Indian people.

### THE TERRITORIAL FORCE BILL.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri in speaking to the motion for the introduction of the Indian Territorial Force Bill said:—

Sir, This Bill, for the introduction of which leave has been asked, is, in comparison with the previous Bill, a very small measure—a measure of very restricted scope. If it had been on the same level as the other Bill my welcome would have been quite as hearty as the welcome given by the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee and the Hon'ble Sir D. P. Sarvadhikari. As it is, I am sorry that it falls very far short of the expectations that would have been roused in these spacious times by a perusal of the other Bill. If I make any criticisms I wish to disavow as far as possible any element of bitterness, and certainly of personal imputation, against him who holds the command of the Indian Army. If, in spite of myself, a tone of bitterness is occasionally discernible I wish to ask my Hon'ble colleagues to put that down to the effects of the abnormal situation I am considering and not merely to the spirit in which I am considering. Let my remarks be accepted as mere suggestions leaving behind no sense of bitterness which I do not mean, but which sometimes, unconsciously perhaps, is visible.

In the first place I wish to commend to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and to his advisers a very careful perusal of a pamphlet published by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, an ex-member of the Executive Council of Madras and President of the Committee for the promotion of recruitment among Indians to the Indian Defence Force in the Madras Presidency. He was in charge of the operations which brought into existence the Indian Defence Force movement in that Presidency. He has published a narrative complete in every detail of the way in which the work was done. That pamphlet will disclose, I think, to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, innumerable directions in which the vigilance of his Department has to be exercised if the new attempt made is to be more successful than its predecessor. In one place Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer goes to the length of saying that for anything the military authorities knew or cared the young men for whom he was responsible might have perished of starvation. I think the conditions varied even more with regard to the classes of Indians likely to be recruited under this Bill than they do with respect to the classes of people who are comprised in the former Bill. I would, therefore, beseech His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to consider whether it is not necessary to establish Advisory Committees in reference to this Bill as well as with reference to the Auxiliary Force Bill. We are all at great disadvantage by not being in possession of the views and recommendations of the Army in India Committee upon which it is alleged that this Bill has been more or less cast. This Bill, I would ask my hon'ble Colleagues to remember, does not enable those who are recruited thereunder, by express words, to enter any branch but the Infantry branch of the Army. That I think is a capital defect—it goes to the very root of the matter and would justify opposition to the Bill in the later stages if not now.

Then you will observe at a glance when you look at clause 11 how ill developed this Bill is in comparison with the Bill we have just had under consideration. Under clause 11 the Governor-General in Council is empowered to make rules for various purposes, amongst others for the discipline of the Force, for the creation of offences and for the way in which they should be punished. At the end of the clause there is a sub-clause which reads "Rules made under this section may provide that any contravention thereof or of any order or notice issued under the authority of any such rule shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to two months, or with fine which may extend to Rs 200, or with both." This means that not merely the rules but orders and notices issued by subordinate officers may be such that any infraction thereof shall be visited with imprisonment.

What is the corresponding provision in the other Bill? There are two or three clauses which fully develop this point. Offences are specifically created in the Bill and acts that would constitute offences are all mentioned in clause 24 and they are divided into two clauses. The first class is punishable only with fine, the second is punishable with fine or imprisonment or with both, and it is not notices or orders issued by subordinate officers under these rules the infraction of which becomes an offence, but it is only the rules themselves. I will only read the relevant part. "Any person committing any of the offences specified in clauses (2), (3), (8) and 11 of section 24 shall be punishable with fine which may extend to two hundred rupees and any person committing any other offence specified in section 24 shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to two months or with fine which may extend to two hundred rupees or with both." The particular offences are themselves named in the Bill and it does not state what are the orders issued by such authority, any infraction whereof would also be visited with imprisonment. Then under clause 27 of the former Bill we have this provision "Provided further that no summary punishment shall be inflicted in any case in which the accused claims to be tried by a criminal court." But under the Bill we are now considering, there is no such option allowed to the offending party.

Then, Sir, I have only to make one further observation, having said so much by way of making good my general criticism that this Bill is much more restricted than the other Bill. The reception of this Bill in the country is to me a matter of the utmost consequence. The two Bills will be read together by people and compared in the most meticulous fashion, clause by clause, provision against provision. It seems to me a great pity that there should be so many points of difference between the two Bills. In the first place, the former is advanced by one stage so that, if all goes well, we shall be soon considering the final enactment of that measure before the Council expires. This Bill that we are considering is going to be deferred for further consideration in the new regime. That makes a great difference, the bad effect of which can only be mitigated if the public find that the two Bills run on parallel lines, that persons included in the Bill will work under the same conditions, that they will have the same advantages and be treated in almost the same way. Differences undoubtedly will have to be made, but I implore His Excellency, I implore the Government of India, to see that no more differences are made than are absolutely necessary. The creation of a Territorial Force is in itself, I grant, a very great principle conceded to the people of India and will reach the hearts of our people and commend itself to them with fulness in that measure which can only follow if the provisions of the Bill are clearly and obviously *pari passu* with the provisions of the other Bill. But, in spite of every desire to make allowances for differences, in spite of every desire to profit by the admonition which I have just received from H. E. the Commander-in-Chief, I cannot allow that the two Bills have been conceived in the same liberal spirit or that this Bill will convey to the people of India the satisfaction to which they are entitled, when, for the first time, a Bill giving them the benefits of a citizen army is being introduced.

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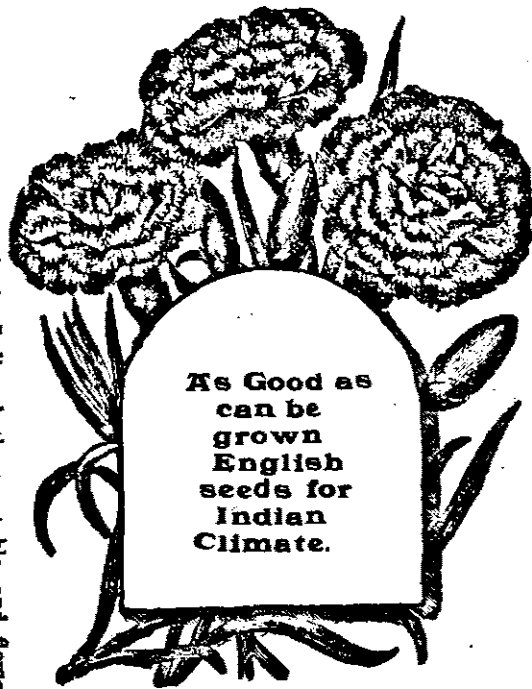
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