

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Retrocession  
of the Berars.

THE rumour that the Berars will be restored to Hydrabad is gathering strength and there is reason to believe that it is well-founded. If the population affected have no objection we do not propose to enter a protest, however repugnant such a measure may appear to the conscience of the country at large. But it is a matter which should be left entirely to the wishes of the people. The world is now too advanced, particularly after so much blood has been shed in the name of self-determination, for a population to be handed over from one Government to another as if they were only a herd of cattle. The people of the Berars should therefore lose no time in expressing their wishes in the matter. It is to be hoped that under no circumstances will H. R. H. the Prince of Wales be made the mouthpiece for a declaration on this subject as it is one which is sure to stir the feelings of the country deeply.

Separation of  
Judicial and Exe-  
cutive Functions.

IT is gratifying that the legislative councils of most provinces have accepted the principle of the separation of judicial and executive functions and have appointed committees to formulate schemes for giving effect to it, though the councils of Bombay and Madras have acquired an unenviable distinction by not doing so. But the case of Bombay is different from that of Madras. Its Government have accepted the principle and have only deferred the appointment of a committee because they are themselves considering how best to give effect to it. Madras, however, was definitely hostile, and its opposition was due to an accidental cause, viz. the fact that the Madras High Court, which has administrative control over the judiciary, happened at that time not to possess an adequate Non-Brahman element in its personnel. But now

that two Non-Brahman judges have been appointed, we hope the council will take the earliest opportunity to come into line with the other provinces, and carry out a principle which must be equally dear to all communities, but which for a communal reason was for the moment repudiated in Madras.

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WE congratulate His Highness  
Constitutional Reform in Travancore. Maharaja of Travancore and his  
Dewan, Mr. T. Raghavayya, on having passed a measure of constitutional reform which has given to Travancore the foremost place among the progressive Indian States. The new legislative council will consist of 50 members of whom 28 will be elected and 22 nominated, not more than 15 of whom may be officials. The Dewan will be president ex-officio and there will be a deputy president appointed by the Government. The members are given power to ask questions and supplementary questions, to move resolutions, to move an adjournment of the council for discussing a matter of urgent public importance and to vote on the budget. Following the British Indian precedent, the Dewan is given power to over-ride the opinion of the council by certification in the matter of legislation where it affects in his opinion the safety or tranquillity of the State, and in the matter of a refused budget demand which he holds essential for discharging his responsibilities. Owing to the peculiar traditions of Travancore, 'State Charities' and 'Devaswoms belonging to or under the control of' the State are among the subjects excluded from the purview of the legislative council. This is no doubt a liberal measure of reform for an Indian State. But the people of Travancore who in education and other respects are more advanced than the people of any part of British India can not be long content with anything less than responsible government. It is the special privilege of Travancore, Mysore and a few other States to show that their subjects are not a whit inferior in political status to British Indian subjects.

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High-handedness  
in Bikanir.

IN painful contrast to Travancore's liberalism is the high-handedness of Bikanir officials in their treatment of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and other Congressmen who entered the precincts of the State for doing propaganda work regarding swadeshi, the *charka* and temperance. Not only were their meetings prohibited but the party were asked by

the police to leave the State immediately. These were oral orders, written ones being refused when asked for. It seems the authorities went so far as to order that the party should not use the J. B. Railway, which foolish injunction was not heeded by them. They were forcibly prevented at intermediate stations from seeing or speaking to people who had come for them and were thus removed beyond the boundaries of the State. That this should take place in the territory of one of the most cultured of Indian princes, who was India's representative at the Imperial Conference and who has been urging constitutional reform in the States is most humiliating. Non-co-operators do not look upon Native States as 'santanic' and their policy is not inimical to them. Moreover, Mr. Bajaj and others did not propose to hold any political meetings. But what is most objectionable is that the police officials should refuse to give written orders or follow a constitutional procedure but have recourse to mere brute force. This despotism has unfortunately been traditional with the States but it is certainly time that constitutionalism took its place. We hope that for the sake of his personal reputation, if for nothing else, His Highness will enquire into the matter and make honourable amends.

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IT is feared that the Mulshi Peta trouble will begin again this week. In this affair it is difficult to support the position of either party in its entirety. That it is a public purpose (we are not using here a legal phrase) for which the lands are being acquired no fair-minded person can deny; and for that reason we cannot lend our moral support to the contention of the owners, that on no account will they part with their lands. Unable to go with them the whole length, we, however, deeply sympathise with them in their many just complaints against the Bombay Government which, we must say, have not been sufficiently considerate to these expropriated persons. To dismiss them with a small money compensation, which anyone with a sympathetic imagination will perceive will be squandered away by them, if they are not again settled on suitable land in a different locality, is not only unjust, but inhuman. The Government are behaving altogether in a cavalier fashion in this matter and are guilty, according to popular belief, of barefaced partiality for a commercial concern. We do not believe that the failure on the part of Government to show tender regard to the feelings and interests of the Mulshi Peta people is owing to a desire to help the Tatas, but the suspicion cannot be entirely dispelled until the State takes over the whole business itself and conducts it under the control of the legislature. Such a measure is to be warmly commended on other grounds also. It will perhaps not provide an immediate escape out of the *impasse* that has arisen, for the satyagraha may still continue; but in that case the world will know that right is on the side of Government instead of the satyagrahis. As matters stand, however, the Government will lack

the moral force which is needed to beat down the Satyagrah movement.

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"Their Best Friends."

ONE of the preposterous claims of the zamindars of Oudh is that they are the best friends of the tenants.

This claim, however, has not even the merit of novelty, for slave-owners ere now have claimed to be the best friends of slaves and exploiters of every kind have advanced a similar claim. Hereditary rights, a zamindar explained at a conference of his class recently, were very bad for the tenants, just as, we suppose, money is very bad for poor men.

"He asked the conference to consider the question purely in the interests of the tenants and not in their own interests. If it was in the interests of the tenants, if it was in the interests of the country and if it would bring about an early achievement of Swaraj, he was not only prepared to grant hereditary rights or occupancy rights but more than that, even under-proprietary rights. But he did not think it was in anybody's interests."

That was the misfortune of the tenants and, we may add, of the country which has thus been deprived of a splendid exhibition of patriotism. How could such friends of tenants continue to be members of the Liberal League who, because they are pressing for hereditary rights for tenants, must be enemies of the latter? They have therefore asked all zamindars, their relatives, friends etc. to withdraw from the Liberal League and encourage the spinning-wheel instead! Of course better late than never and we congratulate both the zamindars and non-co-operators on this new bond of sympathy. Whatever the zamindars may possess with they certainly do not possess a sense of humour.

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Small and Great.

HOW great can be the effect of a small event in human affairs was forcibly illustrated by the way in which the recent Madras mill strike was brought to an end. This strike which for four months had created the bitterest communal animosities, had led to murder, arson, frequent shooting by police and even the use of bombs, and which had established a virtual anarchy under the very eyes of the Governor—was brought to a speedy end by the removal from the scene of a few police officials who had made themselves hateful to the strikers and their sympathisers. It proves conclusively the allegations that were made regarding the partizan spirit of these officials. Soon after a new Inspector took charge of the mill-area there was a complete cessation of the fights between caste-Hindus and Adi-Dravidas. Being a sympathetic and tactful officer, he got together groups of strikers and spoke to them about the advisability of ending the strike. His advice was adopted by the Labour Union at its general meeting. When this Inspector went on his rounds he was given ovations at several places on the day on which the strike ended. How different from being greeted with stones or bombs! No doubt there were other influences which made for peace, but none of them was so effective as this simple transfer of local police officials.

### THE OUDH RENT BILL.

THE proceedings of the U. P. Legislative Council in connection with the Oudh Rent Bill are of extraordinary interest and importance. Deep political principles are at issue, the fight being between conservatism and liberalism, between the interests of landlords and of tenants. Additional keenness is lent to it by the representatives of the local Government taking the side of the landlords. The Liberals, though in a small minority, are putting up a magnificent fight, contesting every inch of ground and displaying parliamentary qualities of which any legislature may well be proud. Some interesting points of order also were raised to which a passing reference may be made here. The present session opened with a speech from the Governor. A point of order was raised whether a discussion on it would be allowed, as discussions are allowed in Parliament on the Speech from the Throne. The President who had not thought over the matter tentatively ruled against a discussion, as the Governor's speech was not written by the Ministers or the Executive Councillors. But it is a point of great importance and we should very much like to see the convention established in every province of a regular debate on the Governor's speech. A point relating to breach of privilege was raised on account of the Finance Member having divulged to the public the proceedings of the select committee on the Bill before they were communicated to the council. The President held it was a breach of the council's privilege and the Finance Member tendered an unqualified apology. Of greater importance was the question whether the dissenting members of the select committee were in order in withdrawing from it as a protest against the attitude of the official members. The President ruled that as the select committee was appointed by the council they were to be considered as servants of the council until they had discharged their duty, and that the action of the dissenting members was therefore not in order. The ruling was accepted for the time being, but the dissenting members urged its reconsideration on the ground that, whatever the theory, their action was supported by precedents both in England and India. Though the new Indian legislatures have every right to determine their own procedure, we do not think they will depart widely from the traditions of the British Parliament.

But the main constitutional issue raised by the Bill is the extent to which the Government should consider itself bound by an undertaking given by it to the taluqdars of Oudh soon after the Mutiny, that it would not create any occupancy rights for the tenants. Sir Harcourt Butler feels rigidly bound by this undertaking and hence the weight of the Government is thrown entirely on the side of the taluqdars. However much he may sympathise with the tenants' demand for the conferment of hereditary occupancy rights, he holds that his Government cannot help the tenants to a greater extent than the taluqdars permit. This view, however, is

opposed by a considerable opinion, including, it would appear, the Government of India and the highest revenue officers of the province, who cannot in any way be supposed to be less mindful of the Government's pledge to the taluqdars. It has been rightly pointed out that no sovereign body can constitutionally limit the sovereignty of itself or of its successors. An individual who has written a will has the right to change it and no one can question the right of a State to change its laws or policies notwithstanding any previous undertakings. Suppose the Government's pledge to the taluqdars had been given in the form of a statute instead of *sanads*. Would the Government not have the right to change the statute if the circumstances of the country necessitated it? The taluqdars speak of their 'indefeasible proprietary rights.' But property is a right created by the State and does not exist independently of its decisions as expressed in law or otherwise. The State can create, modify or destroy property and other rights as it thinks desirable in public interests. It is therefore not a question of the constitution, but one of policy or expediency. There is thus no valid ground for the position taken up either by Sir Harcourt Butler or the taluqdars.

The question of the constitutional difficulty being thus disposed of, is it expedient or not that hereditary rights should be conferred on the tenants? The present legislation is admittedly undertaken in order to allay agrarian unrest in the province, which assumed a dangerous character some time ago. The U. P. Board of Revenue and the Commissioner of the Fyzabad Division, where the unrest was most pronounced, strongly hold that unless hereditary rights are conceded there will be no lasting peace. Sir Harcourt Butler seems to think that the present Bill will satisfy most of the tenants. This view was not accepted by the champions of the tenants; in any case there is no hope of it now, after the taluqdars have carried an amendment regarding future *Sir* rights even against the Government vote. The main grievances of the tenants which the Government wanted to remove were ejection and *Nazrana*, a system of compulsory presents to be made by the tenant to the zamindar. The Governor bargained with the taluqdars for the conferment of life-tenancy, hoping thereby that arbitrary ejection of the present tenants at least would be put an end to. By carrying the *Sir* amendment the taluqdars have destroyed that hope. It enables a zamindar to reserve, after the passing of this Bill, for cultivation by himself, one-tenth of the whole cultivable area of his estate, so that he will be constantly tempted to eject his tenants and reserve all the best land for himself. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru well described the passing of this amendment as tearing up the Bill. Agrarian peace therefore is an impossibility. What has the local Government then gained by their alliance with the taluqdars? When this question was put by Mr. Kunzru, the Finance Member replied that as the landlords were in a majority in

the council they could carry anything they liked even against the Government and the wiser course therefore was to get concessions from them in a friendly way. Mr. Kunzru rightly retorted that if they had chosen to be in a minority on the side of right, they could have faced the world with a clear conscience knowing they had done their best.

If from the beginning Sir Harcourt Butler had insisted on the concession of hereditary rights we have no doubt that even the taluqdars would have agreed to it. But seeing his helplessness when the *mantra* of the pledge was uttered, they soon stiffened their backs and carried the Sir amendment against the Government. This victory for the zamindars, however, cannot be enduring, even if the Bill be not vetoed by the Governor-General after passing through the council. The landlords are in a majority in the present council owing to the unfortunate non-co-operation attitude of the extremists. They will not have that advantage in the next council. They should have had the common sense to see that any day the Liberals would be better friends to them than the extremists, and that their passing a resolution in favour of the spinning-wheel will not deceive the extremists. At the earliest opportunity the victory they have now obtained will be wrested from their hands and at that time the Government will not allow itself to be frightened by the utterance of a formula. Meanwhile, there will be a harvest of troubles, richer than what was gathered in the early part of this year, when the zamindars repeatedly sought Government help against the attentions of their own tenants. They are still living in an old world and have apparently not been following recent events in European countries. Very soon experience will teach them a lesson, but let us hope they will not be made to pay too high a price.

#### THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, AND AFTER.—V.\*

I HAVE omitted in my previous article to answer the argument raised by the European settlers in East Africa against the Indians, stating that their conduct is immoral and that they contaminate the Africans.

This argument needs but little refutation. I gave some time ago in the Press the documents I had received, and I will give them here again, as they are both brief and convincing. The first is the testimony of Dr. Albert Cook, of Uganda, who is regarded in Central Africa as the greatest living authority concerning that appalling scourge of Central and East Africa which is produced by vicious living. He writes as follows :—

"Having been in charge of the largest Hospital in Uganda for over twenty years, I give it as my deliberate opinion, that there is less venereal disease among the Indians, resident in Kampala, than in any other section of the community. This Hospital has over 200 beds and we have a large in-patient and out-patient practice among the Indians.

ALBERT R. COOK, O. B. E., M. D., etc.

\* Previous articles in this series appeared in the issues of October 6, 13, 20 and 27.

I received, at the same time, a document from the Lukiko, or Parliament, of Uganda :—

"With reference to our meeting with you in our Parliament this morning, we beg to confirm in writing the opinion we then expressed on the two following points :—

(a) We do want the Indians to remain in our country, as we consider that their being here would improve our country and do us a lot of good and would do no harm to the country. Besides, we find them a moral people. We would, of course, like better Indians.

(b) We do not want our country to be united to any other Protectorate.

APOLO KAGWA, Prime Minister.  
STASLOS ENGANYA, Chief Justice.

As the resident Indian population in Uganda is considerable, and the people of Uganda are by far the most intelligent in Central Africa, the opinion formed by them about the Indians must be regarded as of far greater importance than the testimony of those Europeans who have already shown their anti-Indian bias in a thousand ways. I would only add here, that I made very careful enquiries in Nairobi and at other centres in East Africa, and also all down the African coast at the ports where Indians resided, and though I found evidence of immorality, I found nothing whatever in excess of any other community. On the contrary, the name of Indian stood high in this respect in comparison with that of other races.

In this article, which concludes the series, I wish to consider as far as it is possible to do so the possibilities of Indian settlement in East Africa on a large scale in the immediate future. In a letter, from which I have already quoted one sentence in my last paper, the following passage occurs, which appears to me to be of a very striking character :—

"A few months ago the prospects of a change of policy in Eastern Africa, with regard to forced labour had got much brighter. Public opinion was growing fast. . . . But suddenly the whole situation was transformed by the political agitation in Kenya Colony. In a sense the outcome is easy to predict: the chief Indian claims must be granted (the franchise equally with Europeans, and equal rights to own land). Local Europeans will resist. The authorities will stumble from one compromise to another. But the revolution,—for revolution it will be,—is as good as certain, unless anything untoward happens. What remains in doubt, and is really much more important, is what *we* Indians will make of the privileges they are about to seize from the Europeans in Africa. Will they fall into the usual temptation, that liberty is a very fine thing for themselves only, not for Africans? In short, will they follow our bad European example in East Africa, when they get the power? Remember, that since slavery was abolished, our East African policy, in Rhodesia and in Kenya Colony, provides the blackest page in our Imperial history. In India, we never stole the whole of the land, nor tried to make the able-bodied population work on it for the profit of our countrymen. . . . Now I want to get into touch, as soon as possible, with the men who will give Indian colonial policy its first form and character. In five or ten years, at the most, all Eastern Africa will be flooded with Indian immigrants,—and there is room for millions of them,—farmers, shop-keepers, merchants, lawyers, doctors, artisans, mechanics,—all who can give their service to a community. But the functionless exploiter,—whatever his country of origin,—will the leaders of Indian opinion help to protect the Africans from him and the poorer Indians also? . . . It is all, of course, a fragment of the central task of our age. But it looks as if

Indians were soon to have their first test of national character in East Africa, that is to say, the exercise of authority over a race of lesser development than themselves. If you think it would be of any use, would you send this letter to some one who would help me to make contact between the groups in this country who work for the liberation of the Africans and men of similar mind in India?"

We have become used to numberless disappointments and vexations in this country and it is still uncertain whether the anticipation of events, which is here made, will come true in so short a time as the writer imagines. But there can be little doubt, that the trend of recent events is in this direction, rather than in the direction of still further Indian exclusion from Africa. One very remarkable fact, which has been passed over almost without notice in the public Press is this, that nearly all the property which has recently been sold at public auction in Dar-es-Salam, has been purchased by Indians. There is, indeed, every indication that, under the terms of the new Mandate for Tanganyika, Indians will soon obtain a leading position among the different nationals.

Furthermore, it is a well known fact, that a large number of European settlers in Kenya Colony itself are now in a precarious financial position and would sell out most gladly if they could do so. Indeed, what is feared by the European Community is this, that if once land purchases to Indians are allowed, the temptation to sell out will be so great that a very large part of the Kenya Uplands will fall into Indian hands. This, indeed, is the one pressing reason why land-purchase rights for Indians in the Uplands are being so strenuously resisted.

But when once permission to purchase has been given to Indians, the end of the European domination of the Uplands will not be far distant. For, among the Europeans, who have come from South Africa,—and they are numerous,—the race prejudice is so strong, that they will not live side by side with Indians as their neighbours. They will leave for other parts of the British Empire, where they can be certain that "Asiatics" will never be permitted to enter.

It must not be forgotten, that Great Britain, which is the vital nerve-centre of the British Commonwealth, has been stripped bare (owing to the European War) of hundreds of thousands of her most adventurous younger men. There are also very large gaps to be filled up, in the purely British Dominions of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. South Africa, also, is crying out for new settlers from Great Britain. In Canada itself, whose area is immense, and whose modern railway development has been very rapid, great discoveries have recently been made in minerals and oil, which are likely to attract many thousands from the home country. Thus, the number of Englishmen, who are likely in the near future to desire to come out to the Tropics, will be limited, for lack of younger men. Already there are abundant signs of this shortage beginning to take place.

If once it becomes clear to Englishmen, that they cannot expect to hold the same position of special privilege which they enjoyed before, in India, and in the Tropics, they will certainly cease coming to these less healthy parts of the world. They will go to the colder North, which is more suited to their blood and constitution. Canada and Australia will probably absorb most of the overflow from Great Britain. The hot countries, where life is unnatural for an Englishman, and where the breaking up of family life is inevitable, will no longer attract as heretofore.

When once the new economic and scientific methods of the West have been mastered by the Eastern countries, then the Eastern peoples themselves will be able to utilise them at far less expense than specialists from the West, who have to be imported at a prohibitive cost. It is only a matter of time, when India will be able to manufacture for its own needs, and even to export, cotton goods instead of buying them from Lancashire as heretofore. Iron and steel plant also will be made on the spot from iron ore of Indian extraction. Steadily, but surely, the current is turning against the West in these matters. In Bombay, the English merchants and manufacturers stand much less chance of success than they did a generation ago. In the legal profession, it is now impossible in India, except in very special cases, for an Englishman to come out from England to practise at the Indian bar with the hope of making a fortune. It cannot be done. Very soon, the teaching profession will be well nigh closed also,—not so much by political exigencies as on account of economic necessities.

If this is happening in India, is it at all likely that sufficient Englishmen, of all types, will come out to East Africa, so as to fill up the gaps there in every station of life and every profession? If, once for all, equal rights all round are given to Indians, then the Englishman has no chance. A constant supply of men from India, which is so close to Africa, might soon overtake the heavy demand that will be made for educated men, but not the supply from England. The very same cause which operates in Australia and South Africa, making the Colonials exclude all Indians from those countries, for fear of being undersold in every profession by cheaper labour, is operating in East Africa to-day. That is why the European is so desperately anxious to close the door. That is why he is crying out in despair for ultimate Indian exclusion. That is why he is ready to bolster up any feeble argument, in order to try to strengthen his own weak case against the Indian.

Let us then suppose, as the writer of this letter does, that the barriers of inequality are removed, and that the flood of farmers, merchants, shop-keepers, lawyers, doctors, artisans, mechanics from India has begun. Can we, in India to-day, who have the welfare of humanity at heart and are not seeking merely to gain a selfish national advantage, and a new field for national exploita-

tion, can we really look forward with enthusiasm to that prospect of rapid Indian settlement? Can we be altogether certain of ourselves? Is India quite ready for the task?

If I try to answer these questions out of my own heart, I can hear there a voice which is saying very loudly and insistently,—“No. Not until we have achieved our own political freedom! Not till we can hold our heads erect among the free peoples of the world, as free men and not subjects merely.” The poet, Rabindranath Tagore, has given to us, as the very first line of his great heaven of freedom, into which his country is to awake,—

“Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high.”

We all know, full well, how political subjection has bowed down our heads to the dust and made us timid and fearful of new enterprise and adventure. This thought has weighed with me and I have pondered over it and wondered if I were right after all in leaving India at such a critical time in the history of the new national movement. Yet the more I have thought over these things, the more I have felt compelled to go away from India, and the less satisfying the political answer has been to me. It has not met my own questionings.

For the East African problem to-day is to me nothing less than tragical. The claim upon India of those vast, vacant spaces in East Africa, with a scanty population just emerging from savagery, is becoming more and more insistent each year. India *ought* to be able to go out from her own borders, as she did once before, in her own spiritual strength as a humane and civilising influence in God's earth, bringing friendly help to the ignorant and the oppressed. It has been an altogether unnatural thing that men should have been brought from the colder regions bordering on the North Sea, thousands of miles away from their own homes, in order to accomplish this civilising work; while, all the time, the great ancient civilisation of India, rich in the wisdom of the ages and filled with the hard-won experiences of humane life, is only a very short distance away, across a single intervening sea. It is the same on the South Eastern border of India also. In that region are huge islands, such as Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, New Guinea, the greater portion of which has lapsed into savagery. Head-hunting, cannibalism and other abominations are rampant, as they are in Central Africa to-day, and yet India sits there, with all her treasures of wisdom and humanity, nursing her own wounds. Nay, within the Indian borders themselves, there are millions upon millions of “untouchables,” who have never during all these centuries been lifted out of their inhuman degradation.

And yet, there was no tragedy like this, in the days gone by. There was no such blame then to be attached to the people of India, for refusing to help the human races of the world who had never been able to rise. In those great historic days India was a world influence in the East not by the supremacy of military power, but by the supremacy

of the power of the spirit. The great flood-tide of Buddhist expansion, with its sacrifice, its compassion, its daring courage of adventure, its surpassing endurance of suffering, spread over continents and islands, not by military aggression or cunning commercial exploitation, but by infinite life-spending in service of man and beast.

It was in this way, in that great age, that the cannibal races in India herself were made amenable to the humaner life. It was in this way that Ceylon was bound to India by chains of affection which have never yet been broken; it was thus that Burma and Siam and Cambodia were brought within the range of India's religious spirit; that Java and the Malay Archipelago laid aside their savagery and built up from within a wonderful civilisation whose ruins remain to this day. China, Korea, Japan, complete the circle of India's humane victories in the Further East. To the North of India, across the Himalayan passes, the tireless devotion of the Buddhist monks urged them on through incredible difficulties to still greater achievements. The whole of Central Asia was raised to a new spiritual level. The seeds also of new ethical and religious culture were dropped in the further West of Asia,—in Syria and even in Egypt,—destined to bear fruit in Christianity. The recent discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein and others, in the regions to the north of the Himalayas and the Hindukush, have revealed to us some faint traces of the vast extent of this altogether peaceful dominion.

But across the Western Sea, facing the Gujerat Coast, this mission of Greater India, with its compassion for humanity, never found a passage, though the distance does not appear formidable in our own day. It may be, that the time for such a long open sea-voyage had not yet arrived, just as the Atlantic passage waited till the end of the Fifteenth Century in Europe until Columbus discovered it at last. It may be that the hugging of the inhospitable and hostile Arabian Coast was not a feasible voyage for peace-loving people, in those early days. We can hardly tell. All we know from ancient history is this, that the work of Indian civilisation, in that great age of spiritual adventure, was left incomplete in the West.

It has been a dream with me and a constant waking thought, which I have brooded over in many a long tropical night upon the Indian Ocean and in the Uplands of Central Africa itself,—a dream that has often come back to memory during travels in Africa at those times at early dawn, when the sun was rising from the East, bearing its greeting to me from India across the sea, a dream that in our own present day and generation, the world's great civilising and humanising tides might change once more the direction of their ebb and flow; and as the strong Western current, which had swept so far forward over the East, ebbed back again, the Eastern tide, which had once been at the full, might rise once more, sending its purifying waters, in this modern age of history, not, perhaps, Eastward to the

Further East as in the days of old, but Westward across the Indian Ocean till they touched the tropical lands of the Dark Continent of Africa, which still so sorely need the compassion of human kindness to take the place of the tyranny of racial aloofness.

And, if I am confronted again with the tragic problem I have mentioned,—“How can a people that is enslaved set others free?”—then, in such a mood, I can speak no longer positively and say as before—“Not until political freedom in India itself has been attained.” For my thoughts pass rapidly forward to another conquered people in Judea, two thousand years ago, which in the midst of the darkest hour of its own political subjection, gave birth to a Saviour of humanity. And it was this same Jesus Christ, who then was born as a Saviour, who declared the eternal law of human life for peoples as well as for individuals,—

“He that saveth his own life shall lose it, and he that loseth his own life shall save it.”

May it not be the paradox of the Indian situation, which is yet the highest truth, that, in the service rendered to her own untouchables, and to the backward races of the world that are close to her own shores, India may win that spiritual deliverance of her own soul, which will give her, in the end, political freedom itself?

(Concluded.)

C. F. ANDREWS.

Shantiniketan.

## THE OLD DIPLOMACY AND THE NEW RUSSIA.

REFERENCE was made in these columns (issue of Sept. 15th) to the “sharp note,” said to have been sent by Poland to Russia, about the non-fulfilment of some stipulations in the Russo-Polish Peace Treaty, ratified earlier in the year; and attention drawn to this bare-faced attempt at “doing in” Russia just when the latter was helplessly in the throes of her gigantic famine. Even with only a meagre Reuter cable to go upon, it was not difficult to discern the French Jacob behind the Polish front of Esau and the mail papers since to hand have amply borne out this suspicion. But the part played by France surpasses in downright malignity one’s worst fears. For it now appears that the Polish note was in itself neither, “sharp” nor in any way an ultimatum, much as the French desired it to be such. As a matter of fact its tone was rather deprecating—in fact, relations between Poland and its neighbours, whether Russian or German, have of late been without any of that constant swash-buckling so dear to the French Ally and been characterized by what might almost be called commonsense, not to say even neighbourliness. It is for that very reason that the Polish note was deprecating: for if there has been failure on Russia’s part to pay up certain indemnities mutually agreed upon, it remains true that Poland

on her part has not yet fulfilled her part of the bargain, viz. to prevent Polish territory from being utilized for any anti-Soviet activities. The latter are mainly carried on by one Savinkoff, the last of the long line of Kolchaks, Denikins, Yudeniches, Wrangels &c.; and the notorious Petliura whose previous raids and progroms in the Ukraine have contributed not a little to the devastation of this granary of Russia and the present famine. It has now come out that Poland was quite ready to get rid of these troublesome guests and anxious to settle down in real peace with its Russian neighbour—but Savinkoff & Co. appealed to Paris when their expulsion from Poland was threatened and—well, they are in Warsaw still.

For all that, as we have said, the Note—no doubt sent at the instigation of France to begin with—was couched in conciliatory terms and, being therefore quite useless for French purposes, the Quai d’Orsay had no scruples to organize a press news propaganda, making the innocuous note appear as a “stiff demand” and a stern ultimatum in fact, a regular imitation of Bismarck’s “Ems Telegram” tactics—with the one purpose of embittering Russians against Poles and of keeping the old wound open and festering, if only France may thus remain sure of Poland’s complete dependence on her.

After this preparation by the plentiful discharge of the poison gas “misrepresentations,” the attack of French diplomacy developed by pressure being brought to bear both on Rumania and Poland, calling on both to conform their Russian policies more strictly to that of France; promising military and financial aid, should war with Russia ensue; and—according to a *Manchester Guardian* correspondent—demanding “a *coup d’etat* at Warsaw, a violent dissolution of the Diet, and the establishment of a military dictatorship”!

You wince at the mean cunning and callous brutality, which calls itself Diplomacy? What will you—*c’est la guerre*; France has never yet in any shape recognized the present Russian Government. We might leave the matter there, if England was not very nearly involved in this sorry performance. For remember, just when the whole of this offensive was in full swing, who must enter the anti-soviet arena, but George Nathaniel Curzon—brandishing his highly coloured fulmination against the Russian Government for not observing the Anglo-Russian trade agreement—an “indictment” which, needless to say, Reuter sedulously distributed far and wide. The coincidence of these *demarches* against the hated Bolshevik is certainly curious; it is remarkable to a degree that Lord Curzon should have mastered his rising indignation at the vile duplicity and detestable deception of these Muscovite Monsters until the very moment when his outburst was able to add fuel to the inflaming and poisoning of European public opinion by his fellow diplomats and allies on the Seine.

What was the British Foreign Secretary doing in that galley of French frightfulness? Is that the

meaning of the Anglo-French "Entente"—which we had thought dead as mutton by this time—that the British Empire must dance attendance, every-time there is to be a bout of Gallic cock-crowing? That would be pretty serious—if Lord Curzon had the run of the Cabinet. As a matter of fact the Curzoesque harangue, though no doubt elicited by the Quai d'Orsay, bears on its face another explanation, that of bad temper and exasperation at being foiled again and again at his own diplomatic game by such rank outsiders and horrible cads, as these detestable Commissars are.

As a diplomatic document emanating from the British Foreign Office, the Curzon note is poor stuff. To begin with, the Russian Government is *not* accused of any breach of the Trade Agreement in London, England, the British Empire or any other part of the world readily accessible to the British Government. This silence on such a point is truly significant. On the other hand, breaches are alleged to have occurred only in such foreign countries, where the British Foreign Office must needs depend on "agents"—of sorts. On the face of it, the "facts" furnished by such questionable persons do not seem unobjectionable and Mr. Litvinoff was in fact able to show up a number of palpable inaccuracies and inconsistencies straight away.

The main charge centred round Afghanistan and one can well understand the exasperation of Lord Curzon with Mr. Chicherin for the complete ruin to which Russian diplomacy has reduced traditional British policy with Afghanistan. Until there was this pestilential Soviet, the diplomatic game with Afghanistan went on according to its time-honoured rules: both Russia and England were on the grab and all that was needed was to go on manœuvring against each other with Afghanistan as one of many pawns. Now suddenly, one player in the game throws it all up and refuses to go on. "I have got enough to look after at home," says this new Russia, "I don't want any more. I am not out for grab any more. You can have back all that the old regime took from you. I want nothing; absolutely nothing." What are you to do with opponents like that? Now Afghanistan is not close to Russia, and if it was, Soviet Russia would not care. They would rather like these people to come and get some Marxism knocked into them. But Afghanistan and India? Obviously the position is altogether different. Russia began by relinquishing all claims and offering friendly help as a neighbour. "Will you do the same to our friend Briton?" India was naturally asked. "Will you acknowledge my independence and sovereignty? Russia does, you know. Will you pay me a subsidy without quid pro quo? Russia does, you know. May I have my consuls anywhere I like in India? Russia lets me send them there, you know." and so on. The fact is of course that Afghans find no community of interests amongst Russians of to-day, but plenty among the Moslems of India. Russia

is in a position to make a gesture, by lighting a fuse which ends in a pool of water, knowing that the corresponding fuse India is expected to light ends in a pool of nitro-glycerine. We sympathize with Lord Curzon and Sir Henry Dobbs in their endeavour to make a treaty with Afghanistan after the one made by Afghanistan with such a Russia as this. But what in all this offends against the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement?

The fact that should be recognized is that there is no need for any duplicity on the part of the Russian Government. They can observe their treaties to the letter and yet do the utmost harm. They do not become close friends, of course. But then has England ever tried to be real friends with Soviet Russia? All it has ever done is to stop a state of war and to permit business. It has refused to have any real Peace Treaty with Russia. Does anybody expect that Russia will offer the other cheek? Russia helps Kemalist Turkey and supplies arms: has no British money and ammunition found its way to Greece? Russia can make herself disagreeable in many ways—that goes without saying, and she does it: but there is no need for her to transgress a single stipulation in the Trade Agreement for all that. Would it not be more dignified to recognize the fact and to acknowledge that England has helped to put Russia in the diplomatically unassailable position she is now in—rather than lose one's temper because one is losing the game and call one's opponent names?

Mr. Lloyd George came in for a very fair amount of opprobrium by entering into the Trade Agreement with Russia: what would happen, one wonders, if he grasped the Russian nettle and entered into a real treaty of Peace and Amity with Russia? And yet—is there any other way out of it? One can be another's friend or his enemy, but how in the name of commonsense can one expect to be both at the same time? It is time that England let go the Curzon policy of pomposity and prestige. England herself is vitally concerned—now more than ever—to supply the million industrial needs of Russia and thus find an outlet for the productivity of her unemployed millions. India is vitally concerned—since she cannot contemplate with equanimity the formation of a hostile *bloc* against her of Afghans, Persians and Turks, braced up by the weight of that young Russian giant.

Everything calls loudly for frankness and friendship, for a dropping of the old make-believes and the mutual calling of bluff. To enter now, first of the Great Powers, into a relationship of friendship with Russia, would be England's master stroke.

Will England rise to her opportunity?

Z.



**A LETTER FROM LONDON.**

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, OCTOBER 13.

**UNEMPLOYMENT.**

PAINFUL scenes are being witnessed in London to-day. Great processions of unemployed are passing through the streets. They are quite orderly and cheerful. But they are unemployed. There are hardly any women among them; whether this is an indication that few women are unemployed or that the organizers of these processions have deemed it wise to exclude women from participation in them I cannot say. The processions appear to be in the main composed of young men and lads between sixteen and twenty. Some of them just walk along in a happy-go-lucky fashion, to the music of the accompanying bands, but others swing along with a military step that clearly suggests Army training. That is the worst of the whole thing. These ex-Army men are the heroes for whom England after the war was to be made a country fit to live in, and they are unemployed, not because they do not wish to work and even to do a good day's work for a day's pay, but because there is not at present enough work to go round. People cannot afford to buy at all or at the prices at which commodities can be made, and so we have something like a million workers unemployed. Things are much worse in America, where, it is stated, the unemployed figures have mounted to some six millions. So it is not a question of the poorest nations suffering in this way or those that have suffered most from the War. France has suffered more than we, but I do not think her unemployment problem is so acute as ours. And certainly America has not suffered nearly so much as we have. Then, too, both America and Great Britain are the wealthiest countries in the world, their financial credit standing highest among the nations that call themselves Great Powers. At present the unemployed are cheerful, and engage in harmless asides which do not in the least disturb the police, who accompany various sections of the processions. But the weather is mild for the time of the year and this is only the commencement. If we pass through the winter as easily and with as little discomfort as these unemployed processions pass through the streets of London just now, we shall have the greatest cause for self-congratulation. But shall we? That is what we are all asking ourselves. The Cabinet is not to be envied in its task to find a satisfactory solution—one that will not make the problem even more acute for the winter of 1922. It is daily engaged in the work of consulting experts, and it obviously has not formulated any policy of its own yet. In fact, people are not merely thinking, but openly saying, that the Government ought to have anticipated a great deal of what has occurred to produce unemployment, and it should have taken the necessary precautions to alleviate the certain distress. Of all the errors of omission and commission for which in due course the Government will have to answer to public opinion, the least forgivable will undoubtedly

be its remissness in this matter and its lack of foresight. The average man will not readily pardon the lack of statesmanship that may bring very close to our doors the revolt and revolution that are common phenomena abroad. The extremist is in the smallest minority in this country in normal times. But to-day, with many thousands of homes suffering from hunger, his chance may have come. An empty stomach is a bad counsellor, and men do many outrageous things when they feel its pinch and observe the effects of slow starvation upon the women and children. It is this grim ogre that we must face during the coming months, and it is earnestly to be hoped that means will be found to cope adequately with the danger.

**LORD GREY'S RE-ENTRY INTO PUBLIC LIFE.**

Lord Grey has emerged once again into public life, and has signalled his re-entry into the political arena by putting into forceful words the indictment that an increasing number of citizens in this country would like to hurl at the Coalition Government. I believe that the only reason for its security is the belief that the only alternative is a Labour Government, which John Bull fears like the very devil. Lord Grey has sought to destroy this belief and has summoned all those who are of opinion that the Government has lost public confidence by its lack of a settled policy to come together under one banner, regardless of party, with the determination to put principle before expediency and to make an end of irreconcilable ideas of which the Coalition's constant shiftings of policy are the evidence. Lord Robert Cecil has hastened to take Lord Grey at his word, and has to-day announced his adherence to the cause that Lord Grey is leading. Some such attitude on the part of Lord Robert Cecil is by no means unexpected, since his recent crossing of the floor of the House, together with that other political puritan, his brother, Lord Hugh. By himself, Lord Robert Cecil is not regarded as of big enough calibre to lead a party, but that is not the case with Lord Grey, who has retained the public confidence that has been denied to Mr. Asquith. It is almost certain that the latter will never again be Prime Minister of England. He is regarded too much as a party man, probably owing to no special fault of his own. But Lord Grey has remained above party considerations, and his advent into the political arena is a formidable retort to Lord Derby, who has advised his followers to support the Coalition, notwithstanding the fact that it contains a number of Liberals.

**THE IRISH CONFERENCE.**

So the Irish Conference has already opened at Downing Street, and has not immediately broken up. This is a happy augury, and from the slight reports that are current, it seems that the earliest proceedings passed off with the good temper that one had hoped for them. Meanwhile, it is generally recognised that, if the negotiations progress at all, they are likely to be prolonged, and it would be wisest that they should take place behind closed doors, so that the extremists on either side may have

the smallest chance of wrecking them. Mr. de Valera does not think apparently that all will be plain sailing, and has duly warned his followers not to be too optimistic, but to be united behind their leaders, and leave them a free hand to do their best for Ireland. On the whole, it is not bad advice.

#### CHRISTIAN SPIRIT.

The Church Congress Exhibition opened at Birmingham this week, and was signalled by a special sermon preached by the Bishop of Cheltenham, who spent most of his time in demonstrating how little Christian were the Christian people of this country from his own point of view, of course. Turning from domestic problems, he dwelt upon the grave international problems awaiting solution urgently. "I am not a pessimist," he declared consolingly, "but in a few years you will have an Asia full of Germanies China, Japan, India. What is going to be the result? God only knows. Another war, and between the yellow and the white races? The horror of the last war will pale into insignificance if you get a war of colour. There is nothing to prevent it save one thing, and that is the spirit of Jesus Christ, the principles of Christ underlying international and national life. If you do not give your money and your sons and daughters to proclaim those principles, I venture to predict that your grandchildren will have to fight. Only Christ can cement the nations of the world together." If the Bishop was using merely missionary language, then there will be a multitude of witnesses against his thesis that Christ only is the cement of the world. But if he uses the expression "the spirit of Jesus Christ" in this sense of "the spirit of brotherly love," then he will have a wide following. Indeed, in a remarkable letter to the press this week, Lord Hugh Cecil has said the same thing in other words. He denounces what passes for nationalism in Europe in unmeasured terms. He describes it as the curse of Europe, and declares that it is the love of country and not the love of money that is at the root of all evil. If he should eliminate our patriots, he thinks, the millenium would have been reached. Perhaps this is putting the matter too high, but it is certain, as he says, that unrestrained patriotism, on a non-moral basis, is as fierce a danger to humanity as any other unrestrained human passion. He does not believe that any nationality is worth a single political murder, and he thinks that much that passes for nationalism is a spurious and malignant growth that ought to be cut out of the body politic if it is to be restored to health and the nations are ever to come together in a true fraternal spirit.

#### IGNORANCE OF THE PRESS.

The ignorance of some of our interpreters in the Press is sometimes astonishing. In filling out a telegram from its Bombay correspondent, summarising Mr. Gandhi's letter to the *Bombay Chronicle*, in which he anticipated his early arrest, Reuter's agency explains Mr. Gandhi's use of the term "swadeshi" as meaning "Home Rule", and that of the word "Swaraj" as "full independence."

Such commentaries as this are calculated to do a great deal of quite unnecessary harm, and they are too foolish in the extreme. They remind one of the silly explanations in the English Press, some years ago, during the Swadeshi campaign in Bengal, of the simple garlanding of Babu Surendranath Banerjea, which was described as his "coronation" as ruler of Eastern Bengal.

Commenting upon the present anxious situation in India, the *Manchester Guardian* remarks:—"For the sake of India and of Britain, it is deeply to be regretted that matters should have come to this pass; and the more so as there is reason to believe that, with a free hand, Lord Reading would have been able to find a reasonable way out. The repeal of the obnoxious Rowlatt Act six months ago would have destroyed the appeal of non-cooperation. In the interval the movement has been carried through India and the arrest of its extraordinary leader cannot fail to have momentous consequences."

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### THE LATE PROF. W. B. PATWARDHAN,

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

Sir,—I hope you will kindly lend a little space of your columns to these humble lines, as they attempt to embody in words a grateful tribute of burning hot tears from one of his many devoted disciples to the memory of the dear departed Professor Patwardhan. Being deep read in the philosophy of the East and the West, he lived and moved as the very image of equanimity and contentment. His study of Marathi poetry was both scholarly and prodigious. His cheerful yet austere look was always a huge source of encouragement to his students. While teaching Wordsworth or Shakespeare, his poetic soul soared high and enjoyed the divine delight of that same fancy which inspired those great authors to compose their noble works of art. At such a time the students were so completely transported with joy, that they forgot all about their annotations and examinations for the time being! He was full of innocent wit and good humour, and so, was never tedious, as is the case even with some best scholars. He was a most sincere teacher, a warm friend, a stubborn social reformer, and a sturdy patriot of the Liberal school. He was as erect in mind as in body and therein just Heaven blessed him with an iron constitution even to his last! His was a living example of 'plain living and high thinking.' The honourable and even tenor of his enviable life was a proof of the fact that virtue is its own reward! He dedicated his life-long labour to one of the very few illustrious institutions of India and the history of the noble work of the Deccan Education Society will be an eternal monument of that dedication! If it is true, as the poet has said, that 'Even from the tomb the voice of Nature cries, even in our ashes live their wonted fires,' then his memory shall always hearten his colleagues and inspire his numerous pupils. May God rest his soul!—  
Yours etc.

S. G. BHAT, B. A. LL. B.

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### TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE programme of "non-co-operation" now in the field was subjected to adverse criticism recently from two opposite points of view, both the critics, however, agreeing that there is anything but non-co-

Anything but  
Non-Co-operation.

operation in the present programme. Moulana Hasrat Mohani, as President of the U. P. Provincial Conference, deplored, on the one hand the practical abandonment of the items of non-co-operation pressed on the attention of the country till the other day and the refusal, on the other, to take up the other items yet untried. "Is it not a matter of the deepest regret," he asked, "that although the vakils and the students were so strongly urged to give up the courts and the schools—there was for some time no other talk besides—now our indifference has gone so far that the national (educational) institutions and courts of justice then established are all now in the worst condition and weary of their existence?" While the first steps are thus being retraced, no new steps are being taken. For instance, in regard to the boycott of police and military services, the Working Committee of the Congress has decided in spite of the challenge thrown out by the Government, to content itself "with a mere expression of opinion and postpone direct action for a future indefinite time." Civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes are to be put off till the programme of Swadeshi is completed. Thus, according to the Moulana, there is not a vestige of non-co-operation in the so-called "non-co-operation programme" now placed before the country by Mahatma Gandhi. The present programme consists of Swadeshi in the very limited sense, of spinning *charkhas*, with temperance and removal of untouchability occasionally thrown in. Whatever the merits of these social and economic movements, they have not the remotest connexion with a movement of protest against the Government. Mr. Jinnah, the other critic of the Gandhian policy, brought out this point clearly in a recent speech in Bombay which is thus given in *New India* :—

"To collect money to the extent of one crore was not non-co-operation. To put on Khadi and swadeshi cloths did not constitute non-co-operation. To use spinning wheels did not fall under non-co-operation. To stop people from drinking liquors did not come under non-co-operation. In fact, Mr. Gandhi had wrongly put all these activities under non-co-operation."

WHAT a reign of terror the Moplahs have succeeded in establishing in Malabar may be gathered from the following extract from a letter recently received by Mr. G. K. Devadhar.

"The fact is that, after your departure, things have become much worse. Within a mile of M—(his town) seven brutal murders have taken place of people who had given written statements to the Police about the plunder and outrages committed by the Moplahs. If I go about and take statements from people who have suffered, the Moplah rebels may pay me a nocturnal visit and cut my throat. The Chembrasseri Thangal, or High Priest, has sentenced people to be flayed alive for siding with the Government, and you will see that with such an object-lesson before us we have to be very careful about what we do."

The letter goes on to say that a rich Nambudiri landlord of Nageri

"was barbarously butchered by the Moplahs and for the last five days his corpse has been rotting and his poor

son, who begged an escort of a few soldiers to help him in cremating his poor dead father, could not get it. All Hindus who do not live within a few yards of the Military quarters are in danger and we people are patiently waiting either for more soldiers to come and save us or for a Moplah gang to hack us to pieces. Melakkam is deserted, all Brahmin families have gone away."

This state of things is a perfect disgrace to all—the people, the Government and the Military. We do not understand why an escort could not be spared for disposing of the remains of the butchered Nambudiri landlord. The lack of morale of the Hindu population in Malabar is most distressing and it is the first duty of the Military to put heart into them. It has been suggested in several quarters that Hindu volunteers should be enrolled for patrolling villages under police and military officers. We should very much like to know what steps have been taken in this direction. The situation demands that the public should be taken much more into confidence by the authorities than has been the case hitherto.

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