

THE Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE

Office : KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY.

VOL. VI, No. 29.]

POONA—THURSDAY, AUGUST 16, 1923.

{ INLAND SUBS. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN " " 10.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	337
ARTICLES:—	
" In the Interest of the Native "	339
The Right of the People	340
CONTINENTAL LETTER. By Prof. Levin L. Schücking ...	342
REVIEW:—	
Malaya. By Z.	344
CORRESPONDENCE:—	
Rendition of Berar. By B. Ramakrishna	
Rao, B. A.	346
MISCELLANEA:—	
Programme of the Liberal Party	347
BOOKS RECEIVED	347

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

Mr. Baldwin leads.

SO another act in the Versailles drama has at last begun. The British note of the 12th inst. to France and Belgium marks an altogether new policy, well emphasized by the fact that, from the first word to the last, it not once contains the word "Entente", nor any of the other "soft soap" without which hitherto no inter-Allied communication seemed possible. To the policies of Georgian make-believe and of Lavian benevolent impotence there seems actually to be succeeding one of "Realpolitik"—of calling a spade a spade and of refusing to be a French satellite any longer. M. Poincaré replies "that the French are not only sure of their rights, but of the means at their disposal"—which is just as near to a declaration of war as any Prime Minister's utterance eango. Britain in these days of war-weariness however is not likely to take up the threat in that way. She very adroitly instead is preparing to refer the subject matter of her difference of opinion with France to international arbitrament and we shall no doubt very soon hear of her submitting to the Permanent Court of International Justice the question, as to whether France has under the Versailles Treaty the legal right of occupying the Ruhr. Now the Hague is a place, where neither her legions nor her vassals will avail France anything: and what is more, she knows that, for all the bluster of Monsieur Poincaré. She may of course refuse to appear before the Court, but in either case, whether she does or not, it is fairly certain that she will lose her case. But in that case, no French Government will be in a position to work up the French

nation for a *levée en masse* against a "perfidious Albion": the only chance—and that an ephemeral one—which French militarists have for the time being. With a whole world against her, France's hope of disposing of England single-handedly goes; with the legality of the Ruhr occupation internationally disposed of, the Reparations question is bound to be disposed of internationally too. But once disposed of, Germany will regain her strength, however slowly, and once in normal health, Germany, as a potential ally of England, will more than counter-balance the French menace of England in the air and below the sea. The key to the whole problem is how first to manoeuvre it into an international forum: and in this connection it is significant to remember that the first public utterance of President Coolidge has been in favour of America's participation in the Hague Court. Undoubtedly the honours of the duel so far are with Mr. Baldwin.

* * *

Retailatory Measures.

ON the Kenya question it is no use blowing sentimental soap bubbles into the air, but it behoves all serious-minded patriots to consider practical measures of manifesting national resentment and extorting justice at the hand of the Imperial Government. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer has, therefore rendered a useful service to the country by subjecting, as he has done, all current proposals in this behalf to a searching examination in the columns of the *Times of India*. The Reciprocity Bill is, he thinks, quite inapplicable to Kenya. It may be so, but the application of the principle underlying the Bill to the Colonies cannot but have a moral effect upon their Governments and upon the Government of Great Britain, assuming that it cannot inflict much material loss on them. As to withdrawal from the Imperial Exhibition, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer is disinclined to support it. Here also he seems to us to attach too little weight to the moral side of the matter. But there is another factor to be taken into consideration. In several instances support was afforded to the Imperial Exhibition, not so much because of the gain that it would bring to India, but because it was an Imperial enterprise in which all parts of the Empire should participate. To the extent to which our support of the Exhibition was influenced by the latter consideration, we are now entitled to withdraw, and if the sentiment of Empire out-

weighed a hope of tangible advantage in promoting it, we should not lose much by such withdrawal.

No one of course suggests that India's representatives should abstain from the Imperial Conference if they are in a position to raise the question of Indians abroad there. But if this all-important question does not come up, we have no concern with the Conference. The League of Nations no one has proposed to boycott. All that has been proposed is that Indian delegates should insist upon their being allowed to speak and vote for India, independently of Great Britain. This international forum is of use to India only if India can speak in her own right and not as part of the Empire. A heavy import duty on South African coal was really proposed before the Kenya decision was taken and solely in the interest of indigenous collieries. Justifiable in itself, the imposition of such a duty cannot fail to make an impression upon the Union Government. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer is doubtful of the efficacy of several of the proposals recently made, but he makes the suggestion that we should ask the Imperial Government that neither in the civil nor in the military services of the crown should any colonial be employed who is the subject of a colony which does not treat settlers fairly. Such a measure, he thinks, is both legitimate and expedient. Even this remedy would be more valuable, we believe, for the moral effect it is likely to produce than for its substantial results, particularly if such a retaliatory measure is to be directed not against all the British Colonies, but only against the particular Colony which ill-treats Indians. Kenya has never been regarded as a recruiting ground for the services, and the closing of that avenue for employment in India will be hardly felt in Kenya. And, so far as moral effect is concerned, some of the suggestions examined by Sir Sivaswamy are quite as useful as the one he has put forward.

The Special Congress.

THE Dasites are doing everything in their power to bring the Congress into contempt. When, at Nagpur, the special session was decided upon, Mr. Das had declared that his party would still go into the Councils even if the Congress were to reaffirm its resolution on their boycott. After such a declaration they need not have worried about this special session at all, but, in order to put a spoke in the wheel of the Gandhian non-co-operators, they called for another meeting of the All-India Committee a few days after and had suspended the preparations that were going forward in Bombay for the holding of the special session. Not content with these obstructive tactics, the Dasites reduced the whole Congress proceedings to an absurdity by arranging that the requisitionists themselves should not attend the meeting. Their cause was not however allowed to suffer in the slightest degree, thanks to the good offices of Mrs.

Sarojini Naidu, who, seeing that the Dasites would be at their strongest in Delhi, made it impossible for the President of the A. I. C. C. to have any other venue. She is now rightly regarded by the Dasites, as having gone over completely to the Swarajya party (*vide* the *Tribune* of last week). Having secured a position of vantage, the leaders of the Swaraj party have now abandoned their former designs of boycotting the special Congress, but are making a great push to capture it, if possible, and, sanguine of their ultimate victory, they have discovered that the Congress verdict must naturally carry great weight with the country. Mr. Das has issued another manifesto, urging entry into the Councils for the purpose (i) of proving that the Reform Act of 1919 was intended "not to confer but impede Self-Government" and (ii) of preparing for civil disobedience which, according to Mr. Das, must be the objective of every Congressman.

Nagpur Flag Satyagraha.

ALMOST the first business transacted by the Legislative Council of the Central Provinces and Berar consisted in the passing of three resolutions, asking for the reversal of the Government's present policy in regard to the "national flag" in Nagpur and the release of prisoners. The Home Member of the C. P. Government, Sir M. V. Joshi, promised not to renew the prohibition order, which will expire to-morrow, if there is no danger of the breach of the peace, and said that, if the permission of the police authorities is taken, the flag procession might be taken even through the civil lines, which is now the proclaimed area. Perhaps even more important and, to us, more hope-inspiring than this announcement is the reported readiness of the Satyagrahis to accept the offer of Government. The Swaraj party's organs are no doubt making very caustic comments against the non-co-operators and representing them as having made an abject surrender. If so much spirit of accommodation had been shown earlier, they say, there need have been no conflict at all and there need not have been more than 1,500 men sent to gaol. All this sacrifice of valuable human material is indeed very deplorable, but just when the Satyagrahis are reverting to the path of sanity, none of us that are opposed to them are called upon to twit them with failure and to insinuate, as the Swaraj party is doing, that the change of attitude is inspired by faintness of heart. The national flag incidents have a moral both for the Government and the non-co-operators, and if each party profits by the experience we shall advance very much towards a quiet life in India.

Dr. Paranjpye's Candidature.

Dr. R. P. PARANJPYA has just published his second election manifesto consisting of a straightforward record of work done by him as Education Minister in times of great financial stringency. When it is remembered that the whole of

the money available for normal growth was in the first year absorbed by long-delayed increments in the salaries of primary school teachers, it is wonderful how much he has been able to do by way of expansion of education. The Compulsory Education Act, intended to bring within the next ten years nearly 80% of the children of school age under compulsion, is of course his greatest achievement. The Act is subjected to much hostile criticism, but most of the criticism proceeds from ignorance. Having made the way open to all and sundry to receive primary education, he is also arranging by a system of scholarships to make secondary and higher education accessible to all students of backward and depressed classes who are now likely to come forward to avail themselves of it. To give primary education compulsorily to all and to bring higher education within the reach of backward classes, is an achievement of which anyone may be proud. We trust that the University constituency will give Mr. Paranjpye a chance to carry his beneficent policy to complete fruition. Of course it is open to anyone to say that he would have done better in the same position, but the voters will require far stronger evidence than a bare assertion of his superior qualities and a petty fogging criticism of Mr. Paranjpye's achievements to convince them of the desirability of transferring their suffrages to him.

* * *

Purchase of Stores.

ALTHOUGH 95% of the railway and other material required by India is purchased in Great Britain, still periodical attempts are made in Parliament to impose a statutory condition upon India whenever loans are floated in England, that the present method of buying stores in the cheapest market should be abandoned and that a large percentage of the purchases should be made in the English market. It is very curious that among the men who advocated this on occasion of the third reading of the East India Loans Bill on 17th July were Mr. Austen Chamberlain, at one time Secretary of State for India, and Mr. Lloyd George, under whose premiership the new policy of buying in the cheapest market was definitely laid down; and among the opponents were such die-hards as Sir F. Banbury. It may be that countries like France and the U. S. A. make it obligatory upon debtor-countries to purchase materials in the American &c. market, but it should be remembered that loans are subscribed in England not to oblige India and other countries, but because they are regarded as better investments than others; and if only English money is borrowed without purchasing English goods, even then it is a profitable business for England. This men like Sir F. Banbury recognise, and the only result of altering the present state of things would be "to force up prices and to put the Indian Government and the Indian people in a false position." Messrs. Chamberlain and George failed to carry their point, but a statement made by Mr. Pringle will only confirm the suspicions widely entertained in India that, in spite of the Government's declaration to the contrary, a preference is somehow being shown to England. "I have information," Mr. Pringle said, "that in one case at least India bought here at a higher price, when she could have got the same thing at a lower price in Belgium." Mr. Pringle thinks that in this case it was India's free-will offering to England. It was not; it was either inefficiency or delinquency on the part of the High Commissioner.

"IN THE INTEREST OF THE NATIVE."

THERE could not be a more blatant falsehood than the one uttered by Sir Robert Coryndon, Governor of Kenya, in justifying the inferior status assigned to Indians in the new Kenya "settlement," that the refusal of several of their claims became necessary by reason of the fact that the interests of the native had to be regarded as paramount. We have often said before that there would be no objection whatever in India to such adjustments in their position as are required by a regard for the welfare of the native. He is the rightful owner of all the territory and to him all immigrant races are bound to give way. But, for the present, the supremacy of the native interests which the Imperial Government have clearly enunciated in the White Paper seems only to serve as a cover for denying the Indians' rights and at the same time placing the European settlers in a position of predominance. No part of the decisions now taken appears to have had reference to the idea of British trusteeship for the African. We can take *seriatim* all the points on which the judgment of the Cabinet has gone against us and show how the native interests had little or nothing to do with the decision.

Let us take, first, the reservation of the highlands for Europeans. It is not even alleged that desire to protect the native made it necessary for the Imperial Government to prevent not only original grants, but successive alienations, of land in this tract to Indians. The only ground that is put forward in taking this decision is that, whatever may be the words of Lord Elgin's pledge on which the reservation policy is based, this pledge has been understood in a wider sense by the whites who have taken up land there, and it would be unfair to them if now Indians are let in by any means. The solemn pledge of equality given to Indians is to be set aside in favour of another pledge given to Europeans which does not mean, but is merely taken to mean by an interested party, that all the agricultural land in the uplands should for all time be kept white. In the Wood-Winterton report this question was at least left open, and if now it is definitively settled to the prejudice of Indians, is it because it was thought that the interests of the natives would be better served if all the best land in Kenya, amounting to one-sixth of the whole, is exclusively under the occupation of Europeans? An equivalent privilege of the reservation of land in the lowlands is promised to Indians, as was done by Lord Milner, by way of a sop, and here the interests of the native first dawn upon the consciousness of our Imperial statesmen. Land is to be reserved for Indians only if it can be done "without infringing on native reserves and without conflicting with native requirements"; and "after the expiration of a limited period, the reservation of this area in the lowlands will be reconsidered in the light of the experience so gained." Of course no such safeguards are needed in the case of the uplands: they are to remain absolutely white for all time to come.

Then take the case of Indian representation on the Legislative Council. The Wood-Winterton report had proposed that there should be seven Europeans and four Indians on the Council. It has now been decided that European representatives should be 11 and Indian 5. This reduction of the Indian proportion is not surely claimed to be in the interest of the native, who indeed is to be represented by a Christian Missionary nominated by the Government of Kenya. Again the common voters' list is discarded in favour of the communal one: here, indeed, it is sought to be shown that the latter will work in favour of the natives, but the reasoning adopted is curious. If, it is said, owing to the Indian agitation franchise has to be granted prematurely to the African, a communal system "would involve less risk of harm to him than a common roll" (vide the June *Round Table*, the writer in which has clearly very much to do with the drafting of the White Paper). But why not prevent any harm coming to the African by refusing a franchise to all communities till the African can safely exercise it? That of course is admitted in theory to be the best course. For instance, the *Round Table* says: "With conditions such as exist in Kenya, a nominated Council would, in our opinion, have been preferable. There could then have been no question of fairness. As, however, a vote has been granted to the Europeans, it is too late to go back." Why is it too late to go back? It was only three years ago that the franchise was conferred upon the whites. Sufficient time has not yet passed for vested interests to grow. But if the franchise was extended at a time when the natives were not thought of and if now it is found that the franchise is prejudicial to the interests of the natives, whose welfare is now held to come first, why not take away the vote from those who enjoy it? It is not a visionary idea impossible to carry into effect. The *New Statesman*, not entirely favourable to the Indian claims, has suggested the disfranchisement of Europeans as a practical measure and so has Dr. Gilbert Slater. But the Cabinet, in putting the native interests first, have made no bones of their inability to touch the privileges already conferred. They say, "There will be no drastic action or reversal of measures already introduced, such as may have been contemplated in some quarters." The Cabinet has thus been unable not only to deprive the whites of the franchise as should have been done in the interest of the native, but at the same time to lessen the number of seats from eleven to seven, as had been originally proposed. The retention of the altogether disproportionate number of seats allotted to the whites is defended on the ground that, if the official are in any case to outnumber the unofficials put together, it is immaterial how the votes are divided among the latter. But the answer to this is, if excessive representation given to the whites can do no harm because they will be in a perpetual minority, surely a fair representation

could have been allowed to Indians without conflicting with the native interests, and at least the natives could have had a larger share of the representation. It is thus clear that, in the matter of the franchise and representation, the inferior position in which Indians are placed has no relation whatever to the interests of the natives.

In regard to immigration, nothing has been definitely settled, but it is too much to hope that the restrictions will be applied to both races equally. In fact it appears to be the intention of the British Government to begin by controlling Indian immigration; since the regulations seem to aim at men "in mechanical and subordinate clerical work and in small trade." The *Round Table* puts it quite clearly when it says, "On the Indians' side some work would no doubt for a time have still to be done by them, but it should be made clear that those who find posts are there to cover a transition period till the African can qualify himself for the work." We agree that both Indians and Europeans can be in Kenya only to cover a transitional period, but while this is being enforced upon the former, no restrictions seem to be in contemplation upon the immigration of the latter. And it will somehow be found that for the purpose of meeting the special needs of the Colony, Europeans will be required in a larger proportion than Indians. What we fear will happen is that Indian immigration will be strictly controlled and the natives made to depend upon the whites whose attitude is anything but sympathetic to them. All of which will be entirely in keeping with the way the interests of the natives are already being studied by the Kenya Government, with the tacit consent of the British Cabinet.

THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE.

IN a question involving the transference of territory from one government to another, are the wishes of the people to be the deciding factor or no? We are emphatically of opinion that they should be, and expressed it recently while writing about the retrocession of Berar. On the other hand, it is maintained by some that the people's wishes should not only not be the deciding factor, but should not count at all. They think it is but an irrelevant issue in the adjustment of claims to a territory. As this is a very important point we shall deal with it at some length.

We make a fundamental distinction between an estate and a State. The latter is not property in the sense that the former is. A State is not the property of its ruler or his dynasty and cannot be sold or mortgaged by him as if it were merely an estate. A State is a social institution which can exist only with the expressed or implied consent of the people. Where the people demand a change in the constitution of the State, it is effected. When a government becomes thoroughly unacceptable to the people they rebel and no one questions, now-a-days at any rate, their right to rebel. The rebellion might be put down and a government unacceptable to them might be imposed on them by force; but their right to rebel again is there and

will be enforced whenever they feel strong enough to do so. International jurisprudence has not denied the right of the people of Turkey to depose their Sultan or of the people of Russia to depose the Czar or of the French or German people to effect a revolution in their country. The right of a people to choose their own government is thus conceded. In modern phraseology this is expressed in the terms "self-determination" and "self-government". The people of Berar or of any other province or State are no exception to this natural law; and no moral authority—from which mere force is excluded—can deprive them of this inherent right. Suppose the people of Berar are strongly opposed to being placed under the Nizam and in spite of that opposition they are transferred under his government, they might in the last resort rebel. In that event would the British Government send an army to subjugate them and force them to remain under the Nizam? And would enlightened public opinion support such action on the part of British Government, should the latter deem fit to take such a course? What in all probability would happen is that a rebellion, violent or non-violent, or even a very strong agitation, would be considered a sufficient reason for cancelling the transfer. The partition of Bengal was a much less serious affair than the transfer of Berar would be. Yet the untoward events which followed that very unpopular step compelled a formidable Government to overcome considerations of prestige and annul the partition. So important a part the wishes of the people play in administrative matters. And when there are means of ascertaining the wishes of the people concerned no sensible Government will neglect to employ them and prefer cure to prevention, inverting the natural order of things.

But the wishes of the people were not taken into consideration, it will be objected, when the British Government took over the administration of Berar, which event took place in 1853 and not in Lord Curzon's time as erroneously supposed by the *Indian Social Reformer*. Granted; but that is no reason why they should not be consulted now. Great changes have taken place in the politics not only of India but of the whole world since then and what went unchallenged then would not go unchallenged now. But it is not true that in the days of the East India Company the wishes of the people did not count. Coorg was annexed in 1832 by the British, on the deposition of its Raja for oppressive misrule, *at the request of the people*, though the dynasty could have been continued. About the same time the administration of Mysore was taken over by the British because the people had rebelled against the Raja's misrule and if it was restored to his adopted son it was because the people were not opposed to the step. But, as we have already said, the omission to consult the wishes of the people formerly is no justification for not consulting them now and such a course, while absolutely indefensible in theory, would be dangerous in practice.

It is said that justice requires that the question should be decided on purely legal merits without any reference to the wishes of the people. If it were an estate, a matter of mere property, that position could be accepted but not in regard to the governance of a province. In former days, it is true, people did not distinguish between a State and an estate. The shareholders of the East India Company could enjoy dividends out of the revenues of India. Before the administration of Berar was taken over by the British, the Nizam had leased out its revenues

to successive moneylenders. But we believe such things cannot be thought of now. The requirements of justice are not understood once and for all time. They change as public opinion is better informed. Slavery which was once considered just is not so considered now. In certain directions advancing public opinion takes the form of legislation and fixes law accordingly from time to time. In other directions legislation is not possible: for it is public opinion that in the last instance determines what is to be law. In the case of Berar it is our contention that legal justice is dependant not only on the facts of history—the questionable means by which the British came to administer the province—but also on the standard of law on the subject, tolerated by public opinion. In other words, it is today unjust to transfer the province to the Nizam against the wishes of the people even if no such injustice was felt in the analogous case of 1853.

This reference to history is a very questionable expedient. Not only have the British acquired territory by unjust means but Hindu and Muhammadan powers also did so when they could. The British Government has confirmed many Indian princes in their unjust possessions. We do not now think of restoring them. When the doctrine of lapse ruled, Nagpur, Satara and other Indian States were absorbed in British territory. Now that that policy has been abandoned, is it open to the descendants of the late Raja's relatives to ask for the rendition of those territories? If such a fantastic contingency arose we should certainly think the people of those territories should have the deciding voice. The people of Berar have been under British rule for nearly three-quarters of a century. Their political status has improved with that of the people of the rest of British India. They are having the full benefit of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms which, whatever their defects, are incomparably superior to Hyderabad rule. They have the early prospect of full responsible government. If in view of these advantages they do not want to go back under the Nizam's government, whatever arguments there may be on the other side, we think the Government of India have no business to transfer them. If on the other hand the people of Berar believe that their material and moral progress under the Nizam is quite assured and do not object to the transfer, we of course have nothing to say—except that we shall not admire their wisdom.

In this connection one is naturally reminded of a wider question. Is the British Government in any way responsible for the material and normal progress of the people of Indian States? Many of these States are too small to be efficient units. They owe their separate existence to British policy. In the ordinary course of things most of them would have been absorbed in bigger States, but Britain has made them permanent as they were found in the most unsettled period of Indian history. Very often it is only accident that accounts for one village being in British territory and its neighbour in an Indian State. But this accident has resulted in the people of one village enjoying parliamentary institutions, and their relatives in the other being under unmitigated personal autocracy. The suzerain power has guaranteed to the rulers of the States security from external or internal danger. But all that it has guaranteed to the subjects is protection from gross oppression and flagrant misrule. So long as British India and Indian States were alike under autocratic rule and the people nowhere possessed

political rights, it did not very much matter whether one was here or there. But with the grant of representative-government to the people of British India, the subjects of Indian States have begun to feel a legitimate grievance at their being consigned to an inferior political status. They cannot improve their position by agitation and organisation like their brethren in British India, as in most States there is no such thing as freedom of opinion or association. Is it not fair that the people of the States should be guaranteed something more than the negative benefit of protection from gross oppression—which often they have no facilities for bringing before the suzerain power? We think a minimum of self-government should be guaranteed to the people of all States in the form of elective institutions and freedom of opinion and association. These institutions should not lag very much behind similar institutions in British India. The goal of British rule in India is declared to be the conferment in a few stages of responsible government on the people. The aim of British policy towards the Indian States should, we think, likewise be the attainment of popular government by the people of those States. Hitherto in its relations with Indian States the British Government has thought more of the Princes and their prerogatives than of the rights of the people. But as it is the people much more than the Princes who form the State, it is time that the policy of the British Government was changed.

It is true that years ago Indian opinion was very jealous of the dignity and integrity of Indian States. That was at a time when British India was governed, not in the interest of its people, but in the interest of the British, when there was more scope for the exercise of Indian talent in the States than in British India and no political power was vested in the people of British India. Indian opinion respecting the States has considerably changed since then. We are not sure that the abolition of a number of small States would not now be welcome not only to the people of British India but to the people of the States themselves—indeed more welcome to the latter than to the former. The presence of a large number of States is now felt as a hinderance to the growth of national solidarity. Unfortunately our Princes are not capable of the patriotic self-sacrifice of the Japanese princes who in order to possess a strong national government and help their country to become great like advanced European countries, resigned their powers in the middle of the last century and became private citizens. Our Princes, on the other hand, want to conserve their power and prerogatives by means of association. They are generally ill-disposed to the growth of popular power in British India as it has an inevitable reflex influence on their own people. The people of the States, barring a few exceptions, have to grow in citizenship in spite of their rulers, not with their help. If the India of the future is to be a federation of autonomous provinces and States, the latter cannot be as they now are—too numerous and in most cases too small and consisting of people possessing no political status. The British Government, if it has a vision for the future, should therefore alter its policy towards the people of the States, being as much the trustee of their future as of that of British subjects.

CONTINENTAL LETTER.

BRESLAU, 24th JULY.

THE French have introduced a new species of political method into European politics lately: the punitive expedition. Hitherto this sort of measure was only in use in the intercourse with colonial races. Even there it did not always find favour, it is true, in all quarters of society, there still being left a set of humanitarians, ultra-liberals, pacifists and other "cranks" who considered this way of using force towards the unarmed as unworthy of human civilisation. Their opposition, however, has so little been able to stop this time-honoured usage of the "advanced European nations", that in a form which is adapted to the circumstances it is going to play a role now in the political life of Europe itself. The two great German twin-towns, Elberfeld and Barmen, have been the first to experience it. There had been some row on the frontiers of the newly invaded district between smugglers and French custom officials in which, according to French opinion, the dignity of their countrymen, which it is unfortunately extremely easy to hurt, had not been sufficiently respected. So a small army consisting of artillery, a great many tanks, mounted troops and infantry, suddenly broke into these towns, arrested the burgomaster, stopped the traffic, invaded all public buildings, disarmed the police and made a prisoner of the director of the state bank and several other people. Then the archives of the local administration were searched. For in Elberfeld the heads of the banished officials from the occupied district have taken refuge and it must be evident to everybody that to get hold of their documents on an occasion like this is much easier—and cheaper too—than to increase the great and unreliable army of spies that has to be kept already for similar purposes out of the scanty proceeds of the Ruhr enterprise. After some hours the whole manœuvre was at an end; the military left the towns with the pleasant feeling to have been able to strike terror into their enemies' breasts, taking with them as trophies of their victory some of the desired documents and a number of prisoners who only a few hours ago had still been perfectly unaware of the fact that such a thing as frontiers in the old sense of the word exist no longer, at least as regards France and Germany. Ten years ago an occurrence like this would have alarmed the world. To-day it is registered with a very slight amount of interest only. Perhaps it is not sufficiently recognised, however, how capable of development the idea of this sort of punitive expedition is. Why remain so near to the frontiers? Are there not gigantic numbers of aeroplanes in France? Why not fly into the heart of the enemy's country, why not descend upon Berlin from time to time and, e. g., punish a minister for a disrespectful speech by carrying him through the air into a prison of the occupied district? Up to now, it is true, French aeroplanes are not used for this purpose. On the contrary, on the day

after the attempt upon Barmen-Elberfeld, which happened to be the day of the great French national holiday, they were used to let a rain of leaves drop upon the towns of the occupied district, in which France was being commended to the population as "the sun from whom emanates the true warmth of the reconciliation of the nations". The population however is of the opinion that the sun is a bit too hot!!

The expedition to Elberfeld may not have been intended as an answer to Mr. Baldwin's speech, but to a certain extent it has the effect of such. It shows most distinctly to Central Europe that its sufferings are very far from being over and that the threatening complete shipwreck may well come to pass although there is somebody busy with the life-line on a distant shore, who up to now preferred to let the demoniacal powers of the depth have their way. The difficult situation of the British Premier is perfectly appreciated in Central Europe. French politics have a double face. One is turned to the western states, to England and America. It bears the traits of suffering: devastated provinces, a difficult financial situation, a callous creditor beyond the ocean, a recalcitrant debtor beyond the Rhine. Millions of people see this face and this face only. They pity the deep scars of France, the wounds that have not yet closed. Their heart goes out to the noble pathos of her sorrows, they sympathise with every means that seems fit to shorten her affliction, be it in strict accordance with the paragraph of the Treaty of Versailles or not. The other face is turned to Central Europe. It shows the old insatiable imperialist greed that has characterised French politics since the days of Louis XIV. The leader of British politics sees both faces, but he speaks to many people who do not yet see them. That is why he is compelled to take their attitude into consideration and to try to win them over to his opinion by letting them see with their own eyes and by way of experiment so to speak that the mentality of present France makes her deaf to the voice of reason, no matter whether he uses the most obliging and indulgent words or proposes the most incontestably fair methods. That is why he couches his proposals in the most compliant terms imaginable. At the same time he tries to build golden bridges for French imperialism. But M. Poincaré seems to think that there is no bridge that leads back from the Ruhr district into France. In proclaiming that he means to remain in Essen until the last penny of the German debts is paid and in refusing to abate his impossible demands, he pronounces with cynical openness his intention to remain in the Ruhr district till doomsday and his demand of unconditional surrender of passive resistance in the Ruhr district before any negotiations are to take place is a further proof of his conviction of being absolutely sure of his prey. To wrench it from him is a force French militarism to listen to reason, is a gigantic task. New methods will have to be found to perform it, for a war-like attempt at

a solution of the problem would mean the end of the civilisation of Europe.

These methods, however, be they ever so excellent, require time. The question is if there is time enough left for them. It is scarcely imaginable how heavy the yoke of the French invaders weighs upon the unfortunate population. No doubt they are complete virtuosos in annoying and playing tricks upon harmless people in order to curb their spirits. Personal liberty, life itself, are constantly endangered. You go into your office or your business in the morning and a few hours later you hear from a friend that your wife and your children are being turned into the street and a French railway employee will sleep in your bed to-night. Or you come home by train in the night and somebody tells you at the last moment in the station that it has been suddenly forbidden to pass the streets after eight o'clock at night and that you run the risk of being shot if you dare to go home. Recently an excellent measure of torturing the population has been found in hermetically sealing the frontiers of the occupied district. These ordinances have been issued so suddenly too that many thousands have been unable to reach their homes from their working places, millions are unable to get in touch with their nearest relatives, with their business partners or others with whom they needs must remain in contact. All this is done to make the population pliable and to induce them to agree to the idea of a Rhenish republic under the protection of France for which a number of disreputable persons are working night and day in the different parts of the invaded country. At the same time the financial situation of Germany grows worse from day to day. In these circumstances the position of the government in Germany deteriorates constantly. How could it be otherwise? It belongs to the stock in trade of the French governmental press that in Germany no real government exists any longer, but that Germany is in fact governed by the great industrials of the Stinnes type. There is some truth in this statement, although the real state of things is not quite as bad as this. But who has brought about this situation? Who aims at it? It is the French government, which supplies millions of francs to all movements in Germany which tend to the weakening of the unity of the Reich because its utter decay is the great end of its politics. So its endeavour must needs be to make the government feeble and impotent. Now a government which is constantly insulted and humiliated must needs become weak. Only a government that scores successes keeps its authority. It is all very well to say that misfortune which hits you, together with your family, must lock you closer together. That may be psychologically correct for a short space of time, but if your family is large and there are very different temperaments represented, in it the case is quite otherwise. Misfortune, sudden poverty and continual humiliations do not bring you nearer together then; quite the reverse.

That is a great difficulty for Germany at the present moment on which the French government speculate. Especially the pacifist and the anti-pacifist parts of the population are becoming more antagonistic from day to day. The unheard of oppressions in the Ruhr district produce a feeling of furious hatred against the French which is difficult to describe. As it cannot turn itself against the French themselves, at present it directs itself against those whose political opinion threatens to deprive the "patriots" of the ultimate gratification of their burning desire for revenge because it stands by its pacifism in spite of everything that happens. Fortunately the great masses are still pacifist and as chauvinism and revenge schemes go unfailingly together with anti-republicanism all adherents of the present state form are on their guard against the preachers of revenge. But it is not to be wondered at that with many politically uneducated people he is considered the best patriot who expresses the greatest hatred against the oppressor. Thus does a great part of the nation look favourably upon the members of the secret societies who under the shield of patriotism promote the cause of the very worst reaction with more or less criminal means. There can be no doubt that these societies are excellently organised and led by old officers who know their business. However, as so many doubtful elements in the interest and so many desperadoes the interest of the belong to them, there was which are in their ranks, the absolute secrecy to which they are bound by the most solemn oaths is fortunately not always kept, and although diffidence as to this point has already cost many a member's life still the police is able to get a glimpse now and then of what is going on in these societies and thus to aid the authorities to maintain public safety. However the air is full of electricity. Especially during the last weeks the nervousness in many circles was very great; "Putsch" plans of the organisations of the extreme right seemed to hover in the air. It is of course quite impossible that they should lead to anything like a resurrection of the monarchy or end in anything but a chaotic condition of things, but that is the very state of affairs towards which the French work. It would mean the political dissolution of Germany. The same danger lurks of course on the extreme left side, the aim of the Communists being an absolute reversal of the prevailing political conditions. So the politics of French militarism have driven the leaky German state ship between the Scylla of the red danger and the Charybdis of the chauvinist threat and the great question is if the policy of Mr. Baldwin will be able to allow it to pass into smoother and less dangerous waters before it has fulfilled the French hopes in falling a victim to one of them.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

REVIEW.

MALAYA

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND THE FEDERATED AND UNFEDERATED MALAY STATES. EDITED BY R. O. WINSTEDT. Illustrated. London. 1923. 8½ x 5½. pp. xii & 283. (Constable & Co.) 12s.

THE volume before us is prima facie a semi-official handbook of the Malay Peninsula, intended apparently for the general reader, written by half a dozen members of the Malayan Civil Service and edited by the present Director of Education, whose Malay grammars and dictionaries are already well known to students. One quarter of the book deals with the physical features, the flora and fauna of the Peninsula; another with the population considered both ethnologically and historically; whilst the latter half of the book is devoted to an economic and political survey of British Malaya, as it is to-day. The whole book is printed on art paper and contains 91 illustrations—all interesting, though hardly well chosen and often only indirectly bearing on the text. The map at the end of the volume is, cartographically considered, a poor feature.

The book reads very unevenly. At times it is beautifully written, as when (p. 20) it describes in the Langkawi Islands "Telok Tasek, a quiet bay girt by castellated masses of limestone. Land here and a short walk through cool forest brings one to the gem of these islands, a little lake of fresh water clear as glass and so still it reflects like a mirror the bushes and trees that hide the rocky cliffs encircling it." Elsewhere one often gets the jargon of the guide book, as in the chapter "Communications," where is given a tedious enumeration of roads to places, of which one is told nothing but the name—a description at once too detailed for a general reader, and too scanty for, say, a motorist.

The book is a perfect mine for those who delight in the curious: who will not be surprised to hear that "the Kera monkey, though a powerful swimmer, in crossing narrow creeks sinks and walks along the bottom" and that "the stomach of a fine male tiger shot near Kuala Lumpur contained nothing but frogs" (p. 49)? Or who is aware that "the number of tree species recorded from the Peninsula is greater than that from a India and Burma" (p. 35); that more species of birds occur there than are "found in Sumatra and Iruo, though both those islands have more than double the area and a much greater range of altitude" (p. 56); that "no region, except tropical America, offers such a variety of butterflies as Malaysia" (p. 70; or that the first, and still the only, iron mine in Malaya has lately been opened by Japanese (p. 2)?

On the other hand the student will sadly disappoint, if he goes to this volume in the expectation of finding light on any modern problems, be they cultural, political or economic. The Japanese, just mentioned by us, though the most important factor in Malayan foreign politics, are hardly referred to; yet their "pacific penetration" as photographers, rubber growers and procurers, their solid occupation of Southern Johore, their utterly reckless commercial onslaught on Singapore during the war—all these, to mention only a few, are facts which deserve serious treatment in any serious book on Malaya. Again the role played by the Chinese community of Malaya in the Chinese Revolution, which dethroned the Manchus, is not as far as referred

to, and though amongst the 31 "Celebrities of Malaya" there are enumerated such obscure nonentities as a Mr. John Dickens or Sir E. M. Merewether, not a word is said of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who during one of the stormiest periods of his life found shelter in the Peninsula. Again, it is almost incredible that a book, which considers worthy of mention the most piffling "industries" of making flower pots or lime juice, has not a word to say on Malaria or Beri-Beri—the importance of which is considered neither in their effects on the population at large nor in the wonderful medical discoveries made in combating them. But for neither the Institute for Medical Research nor the labours of such men of international repute as Dr. Malcolm Watson is any space found in this volume. Not a word is said on the hospital system, private and public, on the medical service, on lady doctors, child welfare work, orphanages, crèches; not a word on the magnificent pioneer work in so many of these branches done by Roman Catholic Convents and Anglican Medical Missions. The services rendered by the Churches in fact are altogether ignored: and is it perhaps, because education in Malaya is so overwhelmingly indebted to missionary bodies, that Education itself is altogether kept out of this book?

What indeed is the book about? Half of it reads as if intended for investors, half as if for specialists. The former sections might well form an appendix to the Annual Report of one of the major rubber or tin companies or be issued with the prospectus for a new Straits loan: the other are written with the scientific myopia of the enthusiast who has made some little corner of knowledge his close preserve—but neither for one moment consider Malaya as what it really is: a mere background for the human beings who live there. These men, women and children of many races are never considered as ends in themselves, but only as means, as pawns in the hands of "administrators" and "investors"; all these estimable gentlemen who contribute to this bloodless book never seem once to feel that human touch, which makes all mankind kin but are satisfied to describe their fellows as if they were stuffed museum specimens or ciphers in a Profit and Loss Account.

But more repellent still is the air of smug complacency at the "achievements" of British imperial power, which permeates the whole book, with its blatant idolatry of the "Union Jack" and its narrow insularity of Albion abroad. The historical section for instance ends thus: "At last the whole of the Malay Peninsula, south of Siamese territory, was sheltered under the flag of Great Britain" (p. 162); whilst the whole volume is made to end on a reference to a Malay princeling, "who proposed the gift to the British Empire of the battleship H. M. S. Malaya, which took part in the battle of Jutland in the Great War." (p. 272). For whom, one wonders, is all this patriotic flapdoodle intended?

Our author himself is forced to admit that (p. 121) "without the energy and brains of the Chinese population [which forms half of the total] British Malaya would not have become what it is to-day" and that (p. 187) "rough though the methods of Chinese mining be and much though it owe to tuition from white miners, yet there are places where these Chinese activities succeed, after modern plants have failed to pay." And be it remembered that it was the discovery of the Larut

tin fields by the Chinese in the middle of the 19th century that led eventually to the British occupation of the whole country; that it was the lakhs of lives, laid down by the Chinese in the construction of the 1000 miles of railway and 3000 miles of roads, of waterworks and wharves and public works of every description, which have made at all possible that material prosperity which is all that the superficial see in Malaya to-day. But where is the memorial to these "unknown soldiers" who laid down their lives, that others might reap, where they had sown? Where is the gratitude shown to them and to their survivors to-day? Mr. Pountney, C. B. E., has plenty of figures in his chapter on "Revenue and Expenditure": but where is there a suggestion that the revenue of the F. M. S. until quite recent years depended on a monopoly in opium and public gambling? How one wonders would many of these alleged "Celebrities" of Malaya meet the thousand times thousand victims of their "forward" policy, if an Eternal Judge charged them to justify in human values their un-human ends and their inhuman means?

The connection of India with Malaya starts with the fact that our Mundas of Chota Nagpur are a Western branch of the Protomalay race which from its home in Indo-China spread mainly south to Sumatra, displacing in the Peninsula the autochthonous Negritos (allied to the Andamanese) and its own forerunners, the Sakais, who seem also to belong to this Mon-Khmer race, which takes its name from the Mon or Talaing of Burma and Siam and the Khmer of Cambodia. The whole race was undoubtedly of a primitive culture and its subsequent relation to India can aptly be summed up as that "from India there came to Malaya Hinduism, Buddhism, and last of all Islam" (p. 97). "In Kedah and Prov. Wellesley there have been found Sanskrit inscriptions in a S. Indian script going back to A. D. 400, and so coeval with the earliest monuments in Java; and again inscribed clay tablets in a cave in Kedah, written in the N. Indian script of the 10th century." (p. 127). "The earliest known specimen of the Malay language is an inscription in the Venggi script of S. India, dated A. D. 686, recording an attack on Java by the forces of Sri Vijaya" (p. 126), the Palembang Kingdom of Sumatra, whose Maharaja in 1225 (the date of the chronicles of the Chinese traveller Chao Ju Kua) still claimed suzerainty over the Malay Peninsula. Shortly after, the growing power of Siam became paramount in the Peninsula, until in 1414 the hitherto Hindu Kingdom of the Permeisura of Malacca became Moslem, owing "to the presence of many rich Indian Muslim traders, who converted the Malays and induced them to throw off the yoke of Siam, whereupon Malacca became the centre of Malayan trade and Muhammadanism" (p. 131). Its new ruler assumed sway over the Peninsula until, a hundred years later, the Portuguese came, and it is interesting to learn that, when in 1509 the first Portuguese landed at Malacca, the Malays called them "white Bengalis" and that when two years later Albuquerque finally captured the place, he did so with the help of 600 Indian soldiers from Goa (p. 134).

Thus begins the last chapter of India's connection with Malaya, when Indians no longer came in their own name and on their own behalf, civilizing, as they went, as of yore; but were reduced to be servants and camp followers of European conquerors, a mere bye-product of Western civil-

zation. British writers on British Malaya usually write as if the tin deposits and the climate and soil of the country had been manufactured in Britain and philanthropically exported to Malaya: none of them apparently consider, how, in view of the surpassing mineral and agricultural wealth, less could have been achieved even materially. Consider, for instance, that in a country two-thirds of which are covered by forests (35,000 sq. miles of it!) already the new growth is very much less than the timber that is actually being consumed (p. 42)—quite apart from the 50 million tons of timber burnt during the last twenty years, to make room for rubber plantations. Consider that in the whole of British Malaya, except in those three States which until a decade ago were under Siamese suzerainty, deaths are invariably and largely in excess of births (p. 73); that "British Malaya is not self-supporting and that imports of foodstuffs form nearly half the total imports in value" (p. 180); that in 1897, after the federation of the Malay States, there was an adverse balance of £25,000 of expenditure over revenue, whilst in 1920 the F.M.S. budget showed a deficit of no less than three and a half million sterling (p. 175); and that the currency is one of paper and copper (even three anna bits are represented by banknotes!) (p. 176). Is it not really time one began to enquire, as to what exactly the material achievements are, of which these British writers are so inordinately proud? If added to this one views a vandalism, which could blow up the venerable old Portuguese fort in Malacca, when "Malacca lost its glory like a woman whose husband is dead" (p. 166) or the large rock at the mouth of the Singapore River covered with writing in a script used in Java a thousand years ago (p. 158) and which can still cover the land with hideous sham-Saracenic buildings in brick and stucco, as if the whole of Malaya was but a "White City" (cf. picture of "The Mosque", Kuala Lumpur, on p. 239): one really must be pardoned for feeling at times, as if one could shake such purblind self-satisfied persons who consider that "they are no doubt the people and that with them wisdom will die."

When the British succeeded in the Malay Peninsula the Dutch, who previously had succeeded the Portuguese, the country became part of British India and was used by them as a place of deportation. "In 1857 there were 2139 convicts from India, Ceylon and Burma in the Singapore gaol and St. Andrew's Cathedral, Government House and many roads, &c. were constructed by Indian convict labour" (p. 123) but "the mercantile community of Singapore petitioned in that year the House of Commons to be released from the control of the Indian Government, with its autocratic rule, its indifference to local affairs, and its heavy exactions for military, marine and convict establishments" (p. 186).

Alas! for the one time civilizational and colonizing mission of India! So low are the mighty fallen today. Clearly, the price exacted for "shelter under the flag of Great Britain" (*pace* Mr. Winstedt) is not a small one—whether for India or for Malaya.

Z.

CORRESPONDENCE.

RENDITION OF BERAR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—I was surprised to see that you were "glad to learn" that Sir Ali Imam, who has gone to England for obtaining support for the retrocession of Berar to H. E. H. the Nizam, is meeting with little sympathy." Whatever one may say about your calm assumption that the people of Berar are not 'enamoured' of going back under the 'Moghals' rule, one who has personal acquaintance with Hyderabad affairs can only sympathise with you in your utter ignorance of conditions in that State and with the exaggerated feeling of horror with which you seem to regard the prospect of a return of 'Moghals' rule in Berar. The associations with which the so-called 'Moghals' rule is attended in your imagination, are one hundred years old if not more, and are directly derived from the systematic disparagement and vilification of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government indulged in by some interested British statesmen with a view to cover their own iniquitous treatment of 'the most faithful friend and ally' of the British Empire.

The Nizam is not certainly putting forward his claims 'as if merely for an estate'; but he understands the responsibilities attaching to the administration of his territories as well as any other Indian Prince. The remarkable changes which have been effected by him in the ways of administration will indicate, if you have cared to follow them, that he is an enlightened ruler. To mention merely one of the beneficial measures recently undertaken, I shall draw your attention to H. E. H. the Nizam's firman prohibiting the system of Begar in his dominions. Have your Liberal friends in the Councils been successful in persuading the British Government to pass such a measure? And what have they done with regard to other grievances except getting the appointment of costly commissions and the tawdry sanction of half-hearted measures? The Nizam's administration may be 'autocratic', but you are not justified in calling it 'misrule' unless you are in possession of reliable information and sufficient grounds. If the plea of 'autocratic misrule' can be a sufficient excuse for the paramount power to retain unjustly vast territories of an allied Prince, it can very easily extend to the territories in his own possessions. Why not all his territories be annexed and also the territories of other Princes? If you do not doubt the justice and impartiality of the findings of Mr. Justice Stuart in the Nabha-Patiala affair, as you have said, why do you not suggest the annexation of the Nabha State on the ground of 'autocratic misrule'? This novel method of stopping of misrule by Indian Princes must seem to be justifiable according to your notions of inter-state relations of the British Government and the Princes.

I do not wish so dispute your dictum that 'Berar cannot go back to the Nizam without the consent of its people', because it is premature to discuss it; but I do believe that the British Government will not be acting justly by the Nizam in treating the people of Berar 'as a herd of cattle' when it was beneficial to themselves to do so, and consult their wishes on principles of democracy when it suits their purpose to do so. The people of Berar may demand their right of self-determination and the British Government may try to avoid the just settlement of the Nizam's claims under that pretext, but that will not alter the verdict of impartial students of History as to the dishonest nature of the transaction and will not blot out the stigma on British justice. The history of the sequestration of those districts will always be read with deep indignation by every student who will learn to believe less in the moral basis of the British Empire than some of the politicians of your school whose only virtue seems to be a constantly exaggerated view of British character and an as constantly exaggerated under-valuation of our own.

I do not know how far your remark that there is an 'early prospect' of 'responsible government' for the people of Berar under the British, is borne out by the present political

situation in British India; but the recent utterances of your own chief, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri after the Kenya betrayal, seem to throw a lurid light on much-vaunted British justice, and definitely belie all expectations of an early prospect of responsible government for India. However, I agree with your conclusion that the only way for H. E. H. the Nizam to alleviate the misgivings of the people of Berar is to liberalize his own administrative institutions and guarantee to the latter the maintenance and development of self-governing institutions such as they exist. I would even go so far as say that H. E. H. the Nizam might at once offer full powers of autonomy and self-government which under the existing government they will get only by occasional ten-yearly dolos from a grudging British Parliament. But I strongly protest against your raising these irrelevant issues when the question to be decided is the relative claim of the two states to the governance of the districts and not the relative merits of the two administrations and their efficiency. I hope you will change your opinion on this subject at any rate, after a deeper study of the historical aspect of the question and will uphold the right of the Nizam to the retrocession of Berar, albeit with strict safeguards for the preservation and improvement of democratic institutions.—Yours, etc.,

B. RAMAKRISHNA RAO.

70, Jumma Sheriff Building,
Byculla, Bombay,
August 7.

[With the main point, the right of the people of Berar to have their wishes consulted in this matter, we have dealt at length in an article. Mr. Rao takes an inconsistent position when he contends that the form of Government has nothing to do with the question and yet suggests that a guarantee may be taken from the Nizam for the preservation and improvement of democratic institutions. If the wishes of the people are irrelevant to the question there is no reason for demanding a guarantee. The guarantee is suggested for meeting the wishes of the people to some extent at least. Mr. Rao's naive suggestion that the Nizam might confer full responsible government by a firman instead of Berar being left to tread weary stages under British rule is indeed very interesting, but if Berar can thus obtain self-government *per saltum*, there is no need to impose the sort of condition which the correspondent suggests. Why does not the Nizam silence this controversy by conferring full self-government at once on the home population of Hyderabad?—Ed.]

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRAMME OF THE LIBERAL PARTY.

THE Western India National Liberal Association has issued a manifesto of the Liberal Party with special reference to the Bombay Presidency. After explaining and justifying the policy of the Party, the manifesto summarises the main items of its future programme as follows:—

1. Securing of complete Dominion status for India as quickly as possible.
2. Immediate full responsibility in the Provinces so as to bring to an early end the transition period of diarchy.
3. Immediate inauguration of responsibility in the Central Government.
4. Curtailment of the powers of the Viceroy to override the decision of the Legislature specially with regard to finance Bills.
5. Curtailment of the powers of interference of the Secretary of State with the Government of India and the Indian Legislature.
6. Steady reduction of the Military and Civil expenditure at least to the extent recommended by the Inchcape Committee.
7. A genuine and effective attempt at early Indianisation of the Army.

8. Rapid Indianisation of the Services while maintaining a proper standard of efficiency.

9. Provincialising the Services as far as possible and vesting the control of all such Indian Services as may be found necessary to maintain in the Government of India, instead of the Secretary of State

10. A genuine attempt to make the Territorial Force a success by making effective recruitment and incurring the necessary expenditure for those purposes and otherwise making the force attractive.

11. Independence of the Government of India and the Indian Legislature in fiscal matters.

12. Rights of equal citizenship for Indians in all parts of the British Empire.

13. Rapid extension of sanitation as well as education of all grades—Primary, Secondary and Higher—and immediate introduction of free and compulsory education throughout the country.

14. Strong support of the claims of the Maratha and other educationally backward communities to a proper share in the Services and administration.

15. Provision of special facilities for education of all kinds for the students of the backward communities and depressed classes.

16. Amelioration of the conditions of labour and securing to labour their proper rights.

17. Gradual curtailment of the consumption of liquor and other drugs so as to attain total prohibition within a reasonable time.

18. Revision of the financial settlement with a view to secure just treatment to the Bombay Presidency by securing to it a due share of the rapid growth in revenue brought about by its own enterprise and industries.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

From Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

BOSE, PHANINDRANATH: INDIAN TEACHERS OF BUDDHIST UNIVERSITIES. (The Asian Library.) 1923. pp. 162. Cloth Rs. 2-8, Boards Rs. 2.

From Superintendent Government Printing, India.

WYATT H. G.: RURAL SCHOOL TEACHERS IN THE U. S. A.—Their Preparation and Supervision. (Bureau of Education, India. Occasional Reports, No. 11.) Calcutta. 1923. 9½ x 7½. pp. 74. As. 8.

From Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

HADLEY, ARTHUR TWINING: ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY. 1923. 7½ x 5. pp. 160. 6s.

From Burns Oates & Washbourne, Ltd., London.

O'BRIEN, GEORGE: AN ESSAY ON THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE REFORMATION. 1923. 8 x 5½. pp. 194. 7s. 6d.

From Longmans, Green & Co., London.

HAWTREY, R. G.: MONETARY RECONSTRUCTION. 1923. 8½ x 5½. pp. 147. 9s.

From MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London.

MARSHALL, ALFRED: MONEY, CREDIT AND COMMERCE. 1923. 8½ x 5½. pp. 369. 10s.

From Constable & Co., Ltd., London.

WINSTEDT, R. O.: MALAYA—THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND THE FEDERATED AND UNFEDERATED MALAY STATES. (Illustrated.) 1923. 8½ x 5½. pp. 283. 12s.

From H. M.'s Stationery Office, London.

IMPERIAL SHIPPING COMMITTEE: FINAL REPORT ON THE DEFERRED REBATE SYSTEM. 9½ x 6. pp. 56. 1s.

From Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., London.

CHATTERTON, E. KEBLE: THE MERCANTILE MARINE. 1923. 8½ x 5½. pp. 254. 18s.

From Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., London.

BOTHSTEIN, ANDREW (Editor): THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION. 1923. 7 x 4¾. pp. 142. 2s. 6d.

Interesting for Young People.

- | | Rs. as. p. |
|--|------------|
| 1. My ideal of marriage , By Larson. The author discusses the powers and possibilities in man, and presents practical suggestions | 2 15 0 |
| 2. Youth and Sex , By Mary Scharlieb, M. D., M. S., and F. Arthur Sibley, M. A., LL. D. Dangers and safeguards for boys and girls. | 0 13 0 |
| 2. The Mother's Guide . By Mary Scharlieb, M. D., M. S. The Health and Care of Children. | 1 4 0 |
| 4. The Philosophy of Citizenship . By E. M. White. An introduction to civics; topics, such as the fundamentals of citizenship, social ideas, and spheres of reorganization are discussed, and illustrated by original diagrams. | 3 11 0 |
| 5. Wireless for all . By John Scott Taggart. A Simple Explanation of Wireless for the Public. | 0 7 0 |

The Theosophical Publishing House,
Adyar. Madras.

INDIAN BOOK SHOP
George Town, Madras.

The Book For You !!

If you want a treatise noted for clearness and conciseness, a treatise that within a limited space will teach you the principles of clinical medicine, better than most books of *double the size and double the price*; then buy

An Introduction to Clinical Medicine

PART I

BY

DR. A. J. NORONHA, M. D.

The book is illustrated most profusely with actual photographs from Indian experience. You have the very example, the actual typical clinical picture before your very eyes. Purchase the book to-day and it will bring it home to you that we are speaking the truth !!

To convince you still further we need only mention that the book is recommended to all the Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries all over the Bombay Presidency, Aden and the Persian Gulf by the Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay. Besides it is spoken of in the highest terms by leading teachers of Medicine in India. *It is the book for the Student.*

The book for the Practitioner.

Price Rs. 12-8. Postage Extra.

For Copies Apply to :-

THE ARYABHUSHAN PRESS POONA CITY.

CUT ME OUT

and mail me, with your name and address, to

Good Luck Co., Benares City.

I will bring you, per V. P. P., one **CUSST SILK SUN** length for Rs. 12 only. These pieces are economical, hard wear and handsome ever made.

Test them any way you please—Why not give it a trial.

Name.....
Address.....

THE LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY JOURNAL.

A high class University Journal for the promotion of original research.

Four issues will be published during each academic year, viz., in September, December, February, and May.

Editor—C. J. Brown, M. A.,—supported by a strong Consultative Board representative of all the Departments in the University.

Special Features.

The Journal will contain original contributions from members of the Lucknow University and will also publish Vernacular contributions in Hindi or Urdu of a suitable character. It will contain portraits and illustrations from time to time. It will also publish Reviews and Notices of all important Books and Reports coming out in the educational world. Another important feature of the Journal will be the publication of the latest news about University affairs and other interesting informations about educational matters.

Annual Subscription.

	Town.	Mofussil.	Foreign.
For Students of the University,	Rs. 2 0	2 8	} 10s.
For all others	Rs. 4 0	4 8	

Matters for publication should be sent to the EDITOR. All business communications relating to subscriptions and advertisements should be sent to the Business Manager.

The Journal is an excellent medium for advertisement. For advertisement rates and other particulars apply to—

B. MUKHERJEE,

Business Manager,

Lucknow University Journal

LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY, {
LUCKNOW, }

LUCKNOW: UPPER INDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, Ltd., 4
Aminabad Park.

LONDON: P. S. KING & SONS, Orchard House, 2 & 4 Great
Smith Street, Westminster, Lond., S. W.

A Wonderful Discovery.

No medical expert could say that there was ever a guaranteed cure for diabetes in the world. Our cure for diabetes is a Heavenly Blessing which never fails to cure it. Accordingly instead of quoting excellent references we are ready to offer it gratis to all Provincial Governments and the Chiefs for trial on the condition that the results thereof are duly published for public information. We undertake conditional treatment on satisfactory terms. It restores also lost vitality and removes general debility of either sex. A sample for trial at Rs. 3 will give complete satisfaction and remove bias against advertisements in general.

Apply with 2 as. postage for further particulars to:—

G. E. KHORANA LYALLPUR.

Railways and the Budget

BY

"ECONOMY"

*A Collection of articles published in the
"Servant of India."*

(Crown 16mo. size. pp. 80)

Price As, 8 net:

The book exposes the happy-go-lucky system of the work of the Railway Board and the distribution and management of railway finance. It demonstrates how, instead of managing the Railways as a business and conserving and improving them as a valuable national asset, the Board and the Government of India have been only muddling through at the expense of the travelling public and the general tax-payer.

Books can be had from—

THE ARYABHUSHAN PRESS, BUDHWAR PETH,
POONA CITY