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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IN welcoming back Mrs. Sarojini Naidu from her extended African tour, we would offer her our sincerest congratulations on the success of her mission and the gratitude every Indian must feel for having had his status raised in the eyes of the world. That Mrs. Naidu has achieved the latter, there can be no reasonable doubt. Unfortunately it is only too true that the proportion of highly cultured and public spirited Indians among our fellow-countrymen abroad is pitifully small: small wonder then that in the Colonies India should be deemed a Coolie Nation. For a highly cultured Indian of international accomplishments, and an Indian lady at that, to go to these Colonies, into the very citadel of White prejudice, and to give these people an ocular demonstration that Indians can beat them at their own game, is a great feat and one for which every praise is due to the fair exponent. Equally praiseworthy has been the powerful plea addressed by Mrs. Naidu to Indians in Africa that rights involve duties, and that amongst the latter, to put the native first, must always be the prime consideration. No doubt she has achieved much; no doubt the estimation of many Whites has radically changed: but to imply, as she seems to do in her interviews, that the whole White antagonism is really and truly but economic and not a bit racial, is, we are afraid, a grievous misjudgment of a fact. That fact is, that the White in Africa has got the ascendancy and means to keep it. But to admit that the differences between coloured and White are merely adventitious, would be to admit the potential equality of both: and with that admission the sole pretext for White ascendancy goes. If only Mrs. Naidu was right! We demand

nothing better: but it is this very demand which the Whites deny us.

* * *

WELCOME
OUTSPOKENNESS,

HAVING criticised the timorousness of Mr. Jayakar, the Swarajist leader in Bombay, in Indian States affairs, it is due to the party to acknowledge that another Swarajist member, Mr. Bhopatkar, took a very bold stand against the oppression practised in these States at a meeting held in Poona last week to protest against the Nizam's attempt to get back Berar. "We speak often enough," said Mr. Bhopatkar "of the injustice and oppression prevalent in British India, but this must not blind us to the fact that in Indian States we suffer these things in a much more intensive form. In British India there are some safeguards provided, however inadequate they may prove in some circumstances; but in States there is no kind of safeguards and there is no limit to the arbitrary character of the rule of Princes. No self-respecting man will consequently remain in Indian States for five minutes if he can help it. There is also a larger aspect of this question which must not be lost sight of. Indian States are meant to be, and in any case will be, the last strongholds of autocracy in waging a campaign against the rising democracy. If we win self-government, we shall not be able to retain it until these strongholds are destroyed. Every lover of self-government must therefore long to see all these States—whether Hindu or Mahomedan—blotted off the face of the Indian map."

* * *

SIR BASIL BLACKETT has done well in meeting the Indian Merchants' Chamber face to face and in frankly discussing the important issues between the Chamber and the Government which have been causing an amount of misunderstanding and mutual mistrust. We are glad that Mr. Manmohandas Ramji the President of the Chamber has explained that the Chamber did not intend to impute any motives to Government but merely offered a *bona fide* criticism of the Government's currency and exchange policy which the Chamber believes to be detrimental to the interests of Indian commerce. Nothing is more harmful than the suspicion of motives in a controversy between the State and the exponents of commercial opinion which is proverbially sensitive and panicky. We hope the good feeling thus created

Sir Basil Blackett
in Bombay.

will last for a good while to come. With regard to the question of stabilization of the exchange the Finance Member has nothing new to offer and he still persists in regarding any measure to fix the rupee-sterling exchange as premature. We believe, judging from the evidence he has given, that he is correct in his appreciation of the problem. The Indian Merchants' Chamber would have the old ratio restored but in actual practice the ratio would be changing in accordance with the daily—oscillating—dollar-sterling exchange. So long as the world prices and world currencies are unstable, the nominal stability of our own exchange would be illusory. Still we think that Sir Basil Blackett has not made out a case for retaining on the statute-book the fictitious ratio of £1 = Rs. 10. We can pertinently ask: if the ratio is fictitious, why not expunge it from the statute book?

* * *

Managing The Currency.

THE long discourse on "managed currencies" given by the Finance Member, however, is not very convincing. It is true that every currency is managed by somebody and that even a gold-standard has to be managed to a certain extent. But what is meant by a managed currency when the term is used as a term of reproach is that the machinery of its management is too intricate and artificial and capable of being manipulated by the State for purposes not connected with trade and commerce. In this sense the present Indian currency is a managed currency, and nothing is gained by glossing over the fact. The retort of the Finance member, however, is quite telling as against the Chamber's view of fixing the exchange at 1s. 4d. (gold) when he points out that this can only be achieved by a further contraction of currency. The Chamber cannot have it both ways: if they want stabilization they must consent to have 'right money', while if they want more currency, stabilization is impossible. It is a pity that things are still in that quandary.

* * *

The Vaikom Struggle.

THE report of the District Magistrate of Kottayam on the acts of violence committed by the police and orthodox hooligans on the Satyagrahis at Vaikom does not convince one that the police did their duty conscientiously. While admitting non-violence in action on the part of the Satyagrahis, the report emphasises the provocation caused by their charkas and songs on the police and the caste Hindus. Without a special report one can very well understand that the movement itself is a provocation to the police and the orthodox people. What one would want to know from the report is whether the police used only the minimum force necessary in dealing with the Satyagrahis and whether they took all steps to prevent violence from the orthodox. On the latter point the report is eloquently silent, while it makes light of the "pushing back or so" by the police in taking away the charkas. Violence was reported to have

been practised by orthodox hooligans in the presence of the police, and the latter know very well the feelings of the orthodox towards the processions of Satyagrahis. Yet they gave no protection to the latter. We are told that enquiries are hampered by the Satyagrahis not complaining to the police and not giving them the assistance that lies in their power. There is force in this contention so far as subsequent enquiries are concerned, but it does not free the police from blame for neglecting preventive steps. At the same time we hold the satyagrahis to blame in not complaining to the police and not co-operating with them at all. They have proclaimed that the Vaikom struggle is not a part of the general non-co-operation movement. Then why not utilise all the constitutional means open to them? Their object in the present case is to get an unconscionable civic disability removed. They will gain nothing by unnecessarily antagonising the State and its officials. They need not yield on any matter of principle, but they should also take care not to court suffering for its own sake and merely adopt poses of martyrdom.

* * *

The Sukkur Barrage.

THE "Times of India" has published the summary of a scheme for the development of agricultural research in Sind in connection with the Sukkur Barrage. This is likely to be brought before the forthcoming session of the Bombay Legislative Council for its approval and sanction, and without committing ourselves to the technical and financial questions involved, we may express our cordial support of the general principles underlying the scheme. We, however, urge that the scheme should be managed entirely by Indians from top to bottom, in saying which we have no racial prejudice against Europeans. We ask for it solely with a view to giving Indians an opportunity to handle a scheme of this magnitude and display their initiative and capacity. Indianisation of the higher posts, administrative and technical, has been of very recent origin and quite naturally very few Indians in the services have attained, by seniority, the rank and status to be in independent and responsible charge of big schemes of development. If Indians are to run the country in the near future, no time should be lost to give Indians opportunities to initiate and carry out large development schemes. Where opportunities were open, Indians have not failed even in such technical departments as Railways and Irrigation. For instance, in Mysore, the Kannambadi Dam, and the Mysore-Arsekere Railway were conceived, planned and constructed by Indians, unaided by Europeans. It is only in British India that such opportunities were largely denied in the past. Even to day we fear the feeling that Indians are unequal to great responsibilities has not much abated in high government circles, in spite of the fact that two Executive Councillors and three Mi-

nisters are Indians. The large element of Europeans in the Bombay Development Department is a case in point, though the creation of this new department left the government more elbow-room to put Indians in responsible posts without having to run counter to the vested interests of Europeans.

* * *

A great Opportunity. WE do not fear there will be much recruitment of fresh Europeans for the agricultural scheme under contemplation. Agriculture is a "transferred" department, under the control of the Minister and the legislature. And even the Lee Commission has recommended that there should be no fresh recruitment of Europeans for the transferred departments. There is, however, a possibility that in the name of efficiency some of the senior European members in service may be drafted on to Sind on similar or higher salaries, and their present places filled by Indians. That is welcome in its own way. But what we wish to stress is, that such schemes, as that of agricultural development under the Sukkar Barrage scheme calling for initiative and courage, do not crop up every day, and when one such does come, Indians should be given the chance to show their calibre. In this connection we welcome the proposal to create a separate agricultural department, as it were, for Sind. That would leave the Minister and Council comparatively free to fix the cadre and scales of salaries with a view to meet both economy and Indianisation. We have always held that we could secure Indians of an efficiency equal to Europeans on smaller salaries and have repeatedly urged the consequent economy as a strong reason for Indianisation. We, therefore, suggest that a lower Indian scale of salaries may be fixed for the new posts to be created. Indian Ministers have cheerfully accepted lower salaries than their colleagues on the Executive Councils receive and we have faith in the patriotism and devotion of Indians that they will cheerfully work with equal zeal, particularly when they are compensated by the fact that they are being given opportunities, free from the leading strings of Europeans, to display their energy and talents in the service of their mother-land.

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The City of Dreadful Night. WE are obliged to Mr. F. E. James, its Secretary, for the Annual Report of the Calcutta Vigilance Association for 1923. The year in question was memorable for the passing of the Calcutta Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, but the very fact of the enacting of these new legal provisions has only emphasized the more poignantly the need for that vigilance and co-operation with the Police authorities, which the Association exists to provide and without which the Act must remain a dead letter. The first point that strikes one is the appalling backwardness of public opinion in the matter: that four out of every 100 women

above 10 years of age in Calcutta should be prostitutes proves the almost incredible demand there must exist for them or at least the widespread connivance at a state of affairs that, one sincerely hopes, must be unparalleled anywhere. To stir up the drugged conscience of Calcutta should be the first duty of all public-spirited citizens: yet it would seem that out of the 13,00,000 of inhabitants of Calcutta, only 54 (1) so far have actually joined this Association—and half of them foreigners from that "materialistic West" one hears so much about. Meanwhile the new Act has empowered the Police, as a first step, to remove from the brothels of Calcutta all the girls under 13 years of age, of whom it seems that there are no less than two thousand! Yet now that in theory legal power exists to remove these pitiful victims of vice from their slave-drivers, apparently nothing can be done in practice, because there is no place to take them to. And so the Calcutta Vigilance Association goes now about begging a paltry lakh of rupees, to promote a "Rescue and Training Home for Indian Girls": Indian girls, mind you; not Eurasians or non-Indians. Indian Girls—our own sisters, who have no other race, no other nation responsible for them. Yet what are the Hindus of Calcutta doing about it? What does their Lord Mayor, Mr. C. R. Das, mean to do about it?

* * *

Bombay Landlords in Revolt. THE landlords of Bombay are in revolt against the extension of the Rent Act which expires on the 31st August 1924 in so far as it concerns the business premises. Many a speaker in the landlords' meeting held last week in Bombay, especially its president Mr. J. B. Petit, waxed eloquent over the alleged hardships under which the "poor" landlords in Bombay City are suffering and entered their "most emphatic protest" against the extension of "that iniquitous piece of legislation" beyond the period provided by it. Mr. Petit's woeful tale of the depreciation of the properties and of the vacancies of numerous buildings in the Fort and on the Ballard Estate is, we feel, due directly to the world-wide trade depression and the consequent reluctance on the part of the people to indulge in new commercial transactions. To connect it with the existence of the Rent Act may be a useful device to deceive the ignorant public; but it is hardly a correct statement of facts. Mr. Petit's other argument that "the artificial lowering of the rents very largely retards the erection of new buildings", is again almost a travesty of facts. Any one conversant with the development of Bombay City cannot fail to see the innumerable huge buildings built in every part of the City, especially in the Fort and on the Ballard Estate, during the continuance of the Rent Act. To compare this progress with the pre-war progress as is done in the memorandum submitted by the landlords' Association to the Bombay Government, is absurd in as much as it fails to take into account, first, the abnormal war conditions and secondly the trade depression. The abolition of the Rent Act will neither increase the value of the properties nor help the occupation of the vacant premises. Its only effect will be that rack-renting will prevail.

EMIGRATION FROM HYDERABAD.

AT a time when the retrocession of Berar is engaging public attention, one naturally turns to the latest census report of Hyderabad to ascertain to what extent the hopes and fears of those interested in the question are borne out by the carefully compiled facts and figures contained in the report. From that point of view the fair, full and well written report of Mr. Mohamed Rahimatulla amply repays perusal.

The outstanding fact of the Hyderabad census of 1921 is that between that year and 1911 the population of the State decreased by 6.8 per cent. which is a higher reduction than is to be found in any census area, whether British province, Indian State or groups of States, for which separate figures are given in the census report for India, except Sikkim and Baluchistan States. This reduction, shared by 16 out of 19 districts is naturally not uniform. Of the two great practically equal natural divisions, Marathwada and Telingana, consisting mainly of Marathi and Telugu speaking people respectively, the former has suffered a reduction of 8.8 against 4.5 of the latter. In physical and ethnic characteristics Marathwada is identical with the Deccan districts of Bombay Presidency, which also lost 6 per cent. of their population in the intercensal decade. A comparison of the contiguous districts shows how little depopulation has respected political boundaries. The figures below denote percentages of reduction in population:—

| Bombay Districts. | | Hyderabad Districts. | |
|-------------------|----|----------------------|------|
| Ahmednagar | 23 | { Aurangabad | 17.9 |
| | | { Bhir | 24.9 |
| Sholapur | 3 | Osmanabad | 4.0 |
| Bijapur | 8 | { Gulburga | 7.6 |
| | | { Raichur | 7.4 |

The main causes of this depopulation are a scanty and uncertain rain-fall, causing scarcity of food and drinking water, the prevalence of plague and heavy mortality due to influenza, and emigration on a large scale. It is a region which is bound to be sparsely populated, but neither the Bombay Government nor the Nizam can claim to have exhausted all the possibilities of irrigation. It is noteworthy that while within the last forty years the population of Telingana has risen by 45.4 per cent, that of Marathwada has risen by only 11.5 per cent. During the earlier half of that period the density of population in Telingana was considerably less than in Marathwada, but in the latter half the tables have been turned and the disparity between the two divisions is increasing. The difference is partly due to the presence of tanks in Telingana which enable 14 per cent. of its cultivated area to be irrigated as against 3 p. c. in Marathwada.

A striking feature of this reduction of population in Marathwada is that it has affected the Hindus much more than the Muhammadans, the

former having lost 11.5 p. c. against 3.7 p. c. of the latter. In several districts, while the total population and the Hindu population show a fall, the Muhammadan population shows a considerable gain. A comparison of contiguous British and Hyderabad districts is instructive. We shall take the districts which we have already compared.

| | Total population | Hindu | Muham- madan. | | Total population | Hindu | Muham. |
|------------|------------------|-------|------------------|------------|------------------|-------|--------|
| Ahmednagar | -23 | -22.2 | -21.5 | Aurangabad | -17.9 | -18.2 | -15.4 |
| | | | | Bhir | -24.8 | -26.3 | -20.5 |
| Sholapur | -3 | -4.2 | +6 | Osmanabad | -4.0 | -1.4 | +4.8 |
| | | | | Gulburga | -7.9 | -9.8 | +0.7 |
| Bijapur | -8 | -8 | -5 | Raichur | -7.4 | -0.6 | -0.7 |

In Ahmednagar there is practically no difference between Hindus and Muhammadans, while in Bijapur there is some but not much difference in favour of Muhammadans. The case of Sholapur district is peculiar on account of the phenomenal growth of the city of Sholapur during the decade, whose population rose from 61,000 to 120,000. It attracted immigrants, Hindu and Muhammadan, from the surrounding country, and quite a good proportion of them from Hyderabad. If the figures of the City of Sholapur are excluded then the Muhammadans show a fall of 10 per cent. against 7 p. c. of the Hindus. But owing to the growth of the city, the former show a gain of 6 per cent and the latter a loss of only 4.2 per cent. The marked difference which is observable in the contiguous Hyderabad districts between Hindu and Muhammadan rates of decrease cannot be explained, as in the case of Sholapur district, by the growth of an urban population. For during the last decade the urban population of Hyderabad decreased by just the same percentage as the rural population, and the towns of Marathwada were by no means exceptionally prosperous or free from epidemics. The chief reason for this difference between the two communities is that the Hindus are emigrating into the surrounding British districts. The figures of immigration and emigration are not given by religion, but one may confidently say that few Muhammadans leave Hyderabad territory. During the decade the excess of emigrants over immigrants into Bombay Presidency was more than 146,000 and into Central Provinces and Berar more than 65,000. All this migration is from Marathwada. So far as Telingana is concerned the balance was in favour of Hyderabad by more than 40,000.

This migration seems to be more on the part of intelligent and literate Hindus than on the part of others. During the decade literacy among Hindus was stationary at 23 per mille while that of Muhammadans increased from 59 to 79. Separate figures indicating the progress of the two communities in different districts and natural divisions are not given, but since literacy in Marathwada as a whole has fallen from 27 to 24, and the

literacy of Muhammadans has considerably increased, there is no escaping the conclusion that literacy among Marathwada Hindus has fallen by more than 3 per mille and if we take only the male population, it will be more than 6 per mille. An interesting fact in this connection is that while the number of literate males aged 20 and over per mille has progressively increased during the last twenty years in Telingana, it has most remarkably decreased in Marathwada.

| | 1901 | 1911 | 1921 |
|------------|------|------|------|
| Telingana | 76 | 83 | 91 |
| Marathwada | 66 | 62 | 47 |

Here again, we have to bear in mind that the figures are for the whole population and the figures for Hindus alone would be more disadvantageous in the case of Marathwada. Another astounding fact, one that makes irresistible the conclusion that intelligent and literate Hindus in the prime of life are emigrating from Hyderabad to an alarming extent, is that literacy has decreased during the decade among the most advanced Hindu castes. The following table gives the number of literate males per mile aged 5 and over in such castes.

| | 1911 | 1921 |
|-----------|------|------|
| Brahmins | 578 | 492 |
| Komatis | 396 | 307 |
| Satanis | 262 | 187 |
| Rajputs | 154 | 142 |
| Lingayats | 99 | 89 |

Needless to say nowhere else is such retrogression to be seen.

How little the Hindus of Marathwada look to Hyderabad and how much more they rely on the surrounding British districts, is also revealed by the language composition of Hyderabad City. In the whole State those who speak Urdu form about 10 p. c., but they form nearly 50 p. c. of the City population. The Telugus are 48 p. c. in the State and nearly 40 p. c. in the City. Marathi and Kanarese speaking people form 26 and 12 p. c. respectively, but the former do not form even 3 p. c. of the City population, while the latter form only 1 per cent. There are indeed more Tamilians in the City than Marathi-speaking people. When these remarkable facts are borne in mind the opposition of the Marathi-speaking Berar Hindus to go under the Nizam becomes quite intelligible.

Can there be no remedy to this emigration of the best Hindus from Marathwada? Is the lure of growing towns and cities in Bombay and Berar irresistible? The growth of towns there is due to the cotton industry for which Hyderabad has nearly as great facilities as the neighbouring British territory. Why are not towns growing up in Hyderabad as in Bombay and Berar? Does His Exalted Highness think he has done everything he could for the Hindus of Marathwada? If so, why are fewer of them found in the capital than the foreign Tamilians, and why is literacy decreasing among them? It is clear that they are finding life increasingly insupportable in Hyderabad. With-

out cultivating the affection of the Marathi-speaking Hyderabadis, the Nizam cannot get the consent of their kinsmen in Berar to come back under his rule. The starting of irrigation works and taking other steps for the economic development of Marathwada, giving the Marathi-speaking people special educational facilities and a due share of appointments in the State, and above all, inaugurating liberal constitutional reforms in the State: these will pay the Nizam better—from a merely business point of view—in the matter of the retrocession of Berar, than however lavishly supported propaganda.

INDIAN LABOUR ORGANISATION—I

IN the first place we will consider the position in regard to the Trade Union Organisation as it affects the initiation, conduct and conclusion of a strike. The statistics of trade unions for the whole country are as yet wanting and those published for the Bombay Presidency are rendered useless by the caveat that with the exception of a few well organised unions like the Railway and Postmen's unions at Bombay and the elaborate unions at Ahmedabad, all the rest are mere remnants of a strike committee. During the time of prosperity when a successful strike leads to an enhancement of wages the membership of the Trade Union increases and for a time the members evince their interest by paying their monthly subscription and by taking part in the periodical meetings but when they have settled down to the new wage their impatience prompts them to question the usefulness of paying their subscription. As already stated most of them go back to their villages at least once in a year. Some do not return at all. Others return and take employment in some other factory. They cannot therefore feel that sense of security and interest of the union of any one industrial group. They are dismembered by default of payment and in this way a union which was prosperous in days of a successful strike is reduced to a small knot of the leading labour men. When the vicissitudes of industry lead on to a fresh strike this nucleus forms itself into the representatives of the labour side; but cases are known when it has been superseded by a spontaneous organisation of the most voluble of the workers. These latter are naturally looked upon by the employers with some suspicion. As they have secured the confidence of their fellow workers not by steady devotion to their interest, but by the impetuosity of their language, these are not likely to help a calm and dispassionate discussion of the question at issue. Their hold upon the temporary following is also extremely slippery and a decision arrived at with them is almost certain of being rejected by the workers.

* It is this weakness of the trade union organisation that makes the outside friend of labour a necessity in all disputes between masters and men. At a time of general movement for national development it is easy to point out that those public

spirited men who take a prominent part in such a purely economic fact as a labour dispute, are persons who are primarily lawyers and politicians. And as it is impossible to parcel out their individuality into social, economic, and political, it is also easy to accuse them of bringing their political bias into the relations between masters and their men. Unfortunately, it must be admitted, that there have been instances, like the prolonged strike on the East Indian Railway, where the fact or the nature of the strike could be traced to the political colour of the outside leaders of labour. But such cases have been rare and on the whole the sympathisers of labour, among whom it must be noted are men like the late Sir Narayan Chandawarkar and more than one Governor of a Presidency, have been justly mindful of the legitimate interests of the employers and the community. With the best intentions in the world, however, these outside men cannot be expected to appreciate the true difficulties of the situation as a worker will himself do, nor can they watch the everyday consequences of their advice and action as a leader drawn from the ranks of labour could do. During the time when no such labour leaders are forthcoming in larger numbers, the outside man must be accepted by the workers, the employers and the community as a necessary stage. But his presence is a drawback and must steadily be dispensed with.

As we shall suggest presently, the Trade Union to be of true service to its members must be much more than a fighting organisation. It is the beneficent activities of the Union that bind the members really and permanently together. But the most obvious function of the Trade Union is to unite the workers in an industry for common bargaining with the employers. The bargain does not ordinarily take place in an employment on fixed wages through a trade union. It is only a few highly organised industries in some places in the West that have to resort to this practice and even there the benefit of the arrangement from the industrial point of view is questionable. The bargaining takes the form of periodical revisions, when the actual wage conditions have departed from the just claims of labour. For this common bargaining struggle the action of the workers must also be common. Hence the need of all workers in an industry standing by their union even in peaceful times, and contributing to its funds which have to be used as a war chest at the time of the possible contest. Given a greater steadiness in the working class population of our industrial centres, it should not be impossible to convince them of this obvious usefulness of a continuous organisation. If efforts are made to persuade them in this way, if also the conductors of the union-affairs show themselves men of moderation and prudence, who will not enter a struggle of the justice of which they had the least doubt, and until other means of settlement by negotiation, enquiry or arbitration were exhausted, it is but human that the confidence and interest of

the workers will be placed in the union. It is here that the need of a *bona fide* union movement presents itself to our mind. These outside friends who often take the lead in industrial disputes, are good men in their own way. Some of them are loved and revered even by persons outside the labouring classes. But the workers do not feel that sense of constant touch with their position and interests as they would certainly feel for leaders and office-bearers drawn from their own ranks. The essence of the Trade Union movement is self-help. In depending upon outside help it starts at a wrong point and may never reach the goal in consequence. It is on this ground that a greater and greater dependence upon the *bona fide* labour leaders is to be advocated.

It has been suggested that a compulsory registration should be undertaken by the State. An essential requirement of that step will be the presence of labour office-holders for the Unions, at least men who have given the whole of their time to the business of the office. The objection of the employers and of some disinterested people to any conferring of special privileges must also be given due weight and even behind the scenes the presence and influence of the outside man must be rendered more and more unnecessary. This task is as difficult as many other public questions in the country. But if a genuine Trade Union movement is to develop in this country, the workers and as many of their friends as are willing and able to give the whole of their time to the service of labour, must gird up their loins to face the situation. An optimistic faith leads one to believe that an adequate number of such persons will not be wanting to take the places vacated by the outside man, and the many others created by new unions.

Before indicating the possibilities of beneficent action that lie before the nascent trade unions in the country, we must refer in brief to their connection, present and future, with the general political life. As has been said in our introductory remarks, labour organisations are a very dominant force in the politics of many advanced nations. This fact has given rise to different feelings in different sections of the people. The possessing classes generally in all countries have abhorred this and have been doing their level best to check the successful march of political labour. Countries like India, which are at present in a subordinate state, have hailed with delight the accession of labour to political power at the centre of the British Empire. But almost all those who have welcomed the advent of labour to power in another place will change to the contrary mood if they are made to feel the possibility of a similar consummation in their own country. The extreme bitterness which has surrounded the origin and progress of the movement of Western workers is in a great measure responsible for the extreme and even revolutionary character of all their professions, and a few of their actions. Various circumstances make it almost a certainty that in this

country at least; revolutionary extremism of labour will have no place. In the first place, the proportion that industrial labour—the main source of labour unrest—bears to the total population of the country will ever be very small. At present the proportion is as low as one per cent. and its increase to anything above ten per cent. is almost an impossibility. This will mean a great balancing influence that the rest of the community will always wield upon the sectional extremism of Trade Unions. In the second place, the intensive organisation of this labour force has only recently begun and will take a fairly considerable period before it reaches anything like perfection. In the meanwhile timely action on the part of the State and the employers will perhaps make for that absence of class-hatred and bitterness which is responsible for the peculiarly ferocious form of advanced labour action. The outside influence of an international character will also count for much and the assertion of the Labour party as the predominant element in the British politics will also work for easy and peaceful concession to the legitimate claims of Indian labour. To these forces of an economic and political nature, working both from within and without, must be added the peaceful mentality of the Indian. It is true that circumstances and opportunities exert a decisive influence upon human mentality, but a radical and extensive change in this direction is not likely to take place. All these considerations lead us to expect that it will be a pretty long time before labour comes to yield a considerable part in politics, apart from such representation as is granted to it in the legislatures. When in course of time internal strength will move its organisation to take a greater and greater part in politics, the need for doing so will have been reduced by voluntary action. And in any case the large mass of agricultural proprietors will ever help to keep industrial labour in its proper place in the political and economic life of the country.

D. G. KARVE.

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER-IV.

There is another reason why a legislative council with autonomous powers should not be established in the Frontier Province. The argument that the majority in the Bray Committee advances for the establishment of a legislative council in the Frontier Province is that it is expedient to grant to the Pathans an opportunity for self development in a separate province of their own. Had they proposed the establishment of a legislative council for the entire province, Tribal area as well as settled districts, I would have felt some sympathy for the doctrine of self-determination so nicely put forward and advocated by them. But we must remember that the tribal area consisting almost entirely of Pathans is not under the proposals of the majority to get the benefit of a legislative council. This power of self-

development is to be granted only to the settled districts in the Frontier Province. These settled districts contain a Pathan population of only 8 lacs. The total population of the settled districts, however, is 20,62,786. The Pathan population in the settled districts is less than 39 per cent of the total population. But it must be admitted they own most of the agricultural land. If for the new proposed autonomous legislative council a high and restricted franchise is suggested, then it is clear, the people who will get representation will be mainly the Pathans. In that case the Pathans who are a minority in the settled districts will have the political power placed in their hands, Quite 60 per cent of the population will be placed at the mercy of 40 per cent. Is that the kind of self-determination the majority in the Bray Committee propose to establish in the Settled Districts of the Frontier Province? If on the other hand it is suggested to have a very low franchise for the proposed legislative council in these districts, then the creation of a legislative council will not give to the Pathans an "opportunity for self-development in a separate province of their own". The proposed hush money to the Pathans could not, therefore, possibly be given. The very object for the creation of this legislative council will be defeated.

And what about the Tribal areas in the Frontier Province? The majority in the Bray Committee do not propose to give to these areas the benefit of a legislative council. And yet these areas are inhabited almost entirely by Pathans. It is really the Tribal Areas that are the Home of the Pathans. But the Bray Committee, with all their ideas of "self-determination" and "self-development" for the Pathans, still want these areas to be under the control of irresponsible Political Officers. The only people who require reconciliation are the Pathans in the Tribal Areas. The people "whom Providence has interposed between India and foreign aggression" are really the Pathans of the Tribal Areas. The Bray Committee admits that there is a danger of the Pathans turning Westwards. This danger, I would venture to submit, is greater in the case of the Pathans of the Tribal Areas. And yet what do the Majority in the Bray Committee propose to do for the Pathans in the Tribal Areas? The policy of Government at present is to establish new cantonments and military stations in the Tribal Area, to build military roads in that area, to keep a larger number of aeroplanes in that area, and to keep the entire area under the complete control and personal direction of the Foreign Department. Are these the steps in the direction of grant of self-determination to the Pathans of the Tribal Areas? I would venture to say the entire scheme of the majority in the Bray Committee is a bundle of contradictions. The Frontier Province, as it exists to-day, is utterly unfit for a Parliamentary system of Government. If it is introduced in the settled districts of that province, the non-Pathans, who form more

than 60 per cent of the total population in the province, will be placed at the mercy of the Pathans. It cannot be introduced in the Tribal areas, since the people living therein have never so far been accustomed to live under a settled form of Government, and they do not know what is a "reign of law." But even if both these tracts, settled districts as well as Tribal areas, were fit for a parliamentary system of Government, even then it would not be safe to grant opportunities for self-development to the Pathans so long as a portion of their race are a ruling race in a neighbouring kingdom and they have the aspiration of bringing all Pathans under the common rule of a Pathan king. Creation of a legislative council for the settled districts of the Frontier Province is out of the question. In order to turn the 8 lacs of Pathans India-wards what we require is not a legislative council for them, but the incorporation of the settled districts, wherein they live, with a major province like that of the Punjab. I venture to submit that 8 lacs of Pathans are too small a unit to whom self-determination can be granted. In the Punjab the Jats alone number about 50 lacs. In the last great war the Jats of the Punjab fought the battles of the British Empire in three Continents. The Jats and the Rajputs of the Punjab are the real gatekeepers of India; and yet no claim is made on their behalf by any one for a separate province for them. No one has ever claimed that the Jats of the Punjab will only have opportunities for self-development if they are given a separate province. The same can be said about the Baluch in South-Western Punjab, Bahawalpur State, and the sub-province of Sindh. The Majority in the Bray Committee seems to have become enthusiastic supporters of the principle of Self-Determination. Do they contemplate the application of the same principle to the Jats and the Baluch? The Baluch race has also been interposed by Providence between India and foreign aggression. The Baluch race also occupies lands in between British Indian Territory and Middle Eastern countries. The poor Baluch people are at present split up into four groups, and they are forced to live under four separate governments: viz. of Punjab, Bahawalpur, Sindh and Baluchistan. Why is it not proposed to put all the Baluch people into one province and to give them an autonomous legislative council? There can be no international danger in giving effect to such a proposal. And yet no one has proposed it. The idea of dividing India into provinces on a linguistic basis is as yet only in an academic stage of discussion. There is a responsible section of the Indian politically minded class, who consider it not advisable to divide India into provinces on a linguistic basis, for such a proposal in their opinion would accentuate provincial differences, and would stand in the way of Indian solidarity. From that point of view it would be better to keep the Baluch people split up, and let them remain mixed up with the Punjabis in Punjab, the Sindhis in Sindh and the Bruhis in

Baluchistan. The same reasons should induce us to let the Pathans live in company with the Punjabis. We should not create for them a separate province, and thus help to create and foster among them separatist feelings.

The Majority in the Bray Committee propose the creation of a separate legislative council for the Frontier Province, because in their opinion it is impossible to re-amalgamate the 5 settled districts of the Frontier with the Punjab. They think "in existing conditions it is not merely inexpedient, for all practical purposes it is impossible to separate the districts and tracts". This is the main point on which the majority and the minority in the Bray Committee differ. Let us see what are the arguments of the majority. The Punjab was annexed to the British Dominions in India on the 29th of March 1849. By the proclamation of annexation the territory annexed went up to the foot of the hills. By this annexation the Waziristan, the Tochi Valley, the Kurrum Valley, the Khaiber Pass, and the territories of Bajaur, Dir, Swat, and Chitral remained outside the British influence. It was in the Second Afghan War in 1879 that a British Agency was first established in the Khaiber. It was not till after Sir Mortimer Durrand demarcated the Indo-Afghan boundary line in pursuance of the agreement signed in 1893, that British agencies were established in Waziristan, Tochi, Kurrum, and Malakand. It was in 1896, after British agencies were established on the heights of the hills, and after they had advanced much beyond the Sikh positions of 1849, at the foot of the hills, that the All-India aspect of the Trans-Frontier question deepened. Before the inauguration of the Forward Policy, which resulted in the extension of British influence to the heights of the Suleman Range, the district officials of the Punjab Government were well able to manage the trans-border affairs. By the establishment of new political agencies in Waziristan, Tochi, and Kurrum too much work of a political nature was put on the Punjab Government. The Forward Policy of the Central Government had inflamed the minds of the Tribal people living in the valleys of the Suleman Range. This led to the general rising on the entire border in 1897. It was the Forward Policy of the Central Government and not the indifferent administration in political affairs of the Punjab Government that was responsible for this general rising. The Punjab Government was responsible for the efficient administration of the districts, and that duty it admittedly discharged most satisfactorily. There was no complaint against the Punjab Government so long as the affairs of only the adjoining tribal tracts were under her control; and I am sure there would have been no complaint if, in the administration of the new political agencies put under her control, her actions had not been too much interfered with by the Central Government. It is true the administration of Foreign and Political Affairs is

properly the function of the Central Government. It is true the constant interference of the Central Government in the administration of political affairs of the agencies by the Punjab Government cannot justly be resented. But the real mistake lay in this, that when as a result of the Forward Policy of Government, additional tracts of land, in between the foot and heights of the Suleman Range, came under British influence, they were placed in charge of the Punjab Government. When the Punjab was conquered, it was placed in charge of a separate Board of Administration. When by the treaty of Gandamak, May 1879, Amir Yaqub Khan of Kabul ceded to the British Government the districts of Pishin and Sibi, they were constituted into a separate administration of British Baluchistan. By the same treaty Amir Yaqub Khan had renounced his claim to authority over the Khaiber and Mohmand Passes, and the Kurrum and the Gomal Valleys. Why were these districts not constituted into a separate administration under the direct charge of the Central Government? From the moment Chitral, Dir, and Swat came under British influence, their affairs were controlled directly by the Central Government. The same could have been done in the case of Khaiber Pass, Kurrum, Tochi, and Waziristan.

GULSHAN RAI.

OPIMUM POLICY V.

INDIAN PUBLIC OPINION MUST EXPRESS ITSELF.

We saw last week how little there was of pronounced public opinion on opium in India and how the Government was free, not without reason, to claim that it had the support, implied, if not affirmed, of public opinion in India for its current opium policy. We will refer to this policy in some detail later on, but here it is sufficient to point out that one of the contentions of the Government of India is that opium-eating is a "legitimate" use of opium in India.

The representatives of the Government of India quite naturally stood up for this view at the successive sessions of the League of Nations. In so doing, they had also to stand out in unenviable and singular isolation against the unanimous opinion of every one of the other nations represented in the League. Under any circumstances it calls for very strong justification for any nation to be in a minority of one in such a comprehensive assemblage. It would be a matter of some legitimate consolation, even of heroic pride, if a nation found itself in such isolation in some intrinsically righteous cause, say, the suppression of slavery or even the fight against opium consumption. But it is an unenviable and uneasy singularity for India to be reduced to that position in defence of such an uncanny thing as opium-eating. India is proud of her place in the League and it would greatly hurt her self-esteem if, instead of giving a helping hand, she was accused of standing in the way of the moral progress of the world.

Preserving her self-respect, her *izzet*, is not the only interest India has in the League. Her membership in the League is one of the most valuable levers she has for improving her political status and striving for racial equality both in the British Commonwealth and among the nations of the world. It is therefore of the utmost value that India should cultivate and retain the active good-will and sympathy of the nations of the world or, at any rate, do little to antagonise them.

Now, the opium policy of the Government of India does antagonise world public opinion, and there are not propagandists wanting who discredit the Government of India and, as a corollary, the people of India, whose support the Government claims to have for its policy, as a *pariah* among the nations. This ill-defined and uneasy situation must be cleared up. Indian opinion must declare itself on the subject, no longer by implication, but by reiterated affirmation. It must either approve of the Government policy, stand by it cheerfully in the League of Nations and share the odium resulting therefrom; or emphatically dissociate itself from the Government policy and let the world know of it. Even if, as compared with the magnitude of the *liquor* problem, which is however a purely domestic question, the opium evil in India does not evoke prominent attention, the League's notice of opium invests it with an *international* significance, which we can ignore only to our disadvantage.

It is for this reason that we whole-heartedly welcome the notice the All-India Congress Committee took of the question at its recent meeting in Ahmedabad. It is significant that at a meeting where party feeling was running high and his own ascendancy admittedly broke down, Mahatma Gandhi secured the passing of a resolution on opium.

We hope that other organised public bodies, and in view of Lord Hardinge's statement in the League of Nations, the provincial legislatures in particular, and we may add, the central legislature as well, will give serious consideration to this question and express themselves in unmistakable terms.

Indian opinion may consider the problem from two points of view. Firstly, whether on its merits the present policy of the country calls for a change, and secondly, even if no such change is called for, whether there are any adequate reasons why India should not come into line with the League of Nations.

THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS CRITICS.

Let us state the problem as viewed by the Government of India and its critics, who include the League of Nations and the all too few anti-opium reformers. The Government case may be briefly summarised as follows:—

(1) The Government of India "does not encourage the cultivation and use of opium either for foreign or domestic purposes; on the contrary, it hedges them round with every conceivable restriction." As a result of which, the opium trade

both external and internal " is surely if slowly disappearing."

(2) Export opium is sold only to governments or such private merchants as produce import certificates prescribed by the League of Nations, and the Government of India " steadily fosters the practice of dealing with governments rather than with individuals."

(3) Opium smoking has been prohibited in India.

(4) Excise opium is eaten in India and opium eating is a " legitimate " use of opium in India, the suppression of which is not called for by the Hague Convention. All the same, a " gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture and consumption of opium " is being brought about by fencing the trade with every practicable restriction and steadily increasing the price to the consumers.

The only point of difference the League has with India is that the latter contends that opium-eating in India is legitimate, while the former contends that any use other than medicinal or scientific is illegitimate and has, therefore, to be put down.

The anti-opium reformers condemn the whole policy, root and branch. The relevant part of the All-India Congress Committee resolution runs as follows: "In the opinion of the A. I. C. C. the opium policy of the Government of India is altogether contrary to the moral welfare of the people of India and other countries. The A. I. C. C. is further of opinion that the people of India would welcome the total abolition of the opium traffic for purposes of revenue and is also of opinion that the production of opium is out of all proportion to the medical requirements in India."

Miss La Motte's criticism puts every other criticism completely in the shade by its ruthlessness and, besides, imputes motives to the Government. The Government " encourages " the production and consumption of opium; for the sake of the revenue from the monopoly it exports opium to " waste " human life; provides Indians with " pills and pipes to turn their minds off politics " and imposes restrictions which are illusory. And Mr. Badrul Hassan feels constrained to observe in his interesting book, " The Drink and Drug Evil in India " (1922) that "for the sake of this (opium monopoly) revenue, the Government has adopted policies and methods that would put Judas to shame." In the next article, we shall consider the merits of the case for the Government and against.

P. KODANDA RAO.

REVIEWS.

INDIAN EMIGRATION: By "EMIGRANT." *India of To-Day Series*, Volume V. Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp. 134. Rs. 2.

EXCEPTING self-government no question is more deeply agitating the Indian mind than the position

of Indians in the British Colonies. The Imperial significance of the problem does not appear to have been sufficiently recognised in England, but there is no doubt whatever in the Indian's mind that if he cannot attain to a position of equality with other races in the Empire, if to him is only to be meted out a second class citizenship, then he cannot, consistently with self-respect, remain in the Empire an instant longer than he can help it. It is the main object of this little book to bring home to the British public this imperial character of the problem and the need for solving it immediately. In the concluding chapter the writer says: "But from the imperial point of view it cannot be repeated too often that the problem is urgent and calls for an immediate solution. The longer it is left alone, the more difficult it will become. It is always so with issues in which deep national sentiments are involved. Each day that passes intensifies passion and hardens prejudice. To the Indian the attainment of equality of civic and political rights everywhere, and in every Crown Colony too the opportunity to settle, is the goal of citizenship. For the white citizen of the Empire, the concession of that equality should be the supreme gift of his imperial patriotism. Equality is the key of imperial unity. It should not be impossible of attainment with the exercise of magnanimity, tolerance and mutual understanding." This passage illustrates the writer's persuasive tone, and while the Indian reader will feel that his case should have been put with greater vigour, moderation may facilitate the achievement of the writer's object. While it is primarily meant for the British public, the Indian reader also will welcome the little volume and find it of immense use. He has been familiar with pamphlets dealing with Indian emigration to particular colonies, notably to South Africa, Fiji and Kenya. But a review of the whole question giving the latest available statistics for each colony and summarising the present position, was a great desideratum. Within the limits of space prescribed for the writer it is impossible to deal with the whole subject to the satisfaction of Indian readers, but he cannot well be blamed for it. The tone of the book too leaves very much to be desired from the Indian point of view. It is distinctly apologetic in dealing with the policy of the Government of India towards the indenture system, probably due to the fact that the book was edited by a Government servant, and perhaps the writer himself is a Government servant. Nevertheless, the information so admirably compressed into its pages makes the book indispensable to every Indian student of public affairs.

Indian emigrants have been mainly either labourers or traders, the former being drawn chiefly from Madras and the United Provinces and the latter from Gujarat. Most of the labourers went under indenture, a system devised for the benefit of colonial planters after the abolition of slavery and in character not far removed from it. Indians of to-day may wonder how this system was at all permitted by the

Government of India. It was permitted frankly in the interests of British capital invested in plantations, and as against them the interests of Indians, particularly of labourers, received very little recognition. There was no lack of vigilance on the part of anti-slavery champions in Parliament, but their voice was drowned by the clamour of capital. Moreover, there was the dogma of freedom of contract which influenced the Indian Law Commission (1840-45) to recommend, when asked for its opinion about a law for protecting Indians leaving the country by sea, "that no legislation was advisable except what may be required for the purpose of supporting precautionary arrangements to prevent advantage being taken of the simplicity and ignorance" of emigrants. One can, however, more easily excuse the introduction of indenture than its continuance until very recent times. All the evil effects of the system became quite apparent within a few years of its inauguration and even so early as 1856 the Government of India passed a law which "enabled the Governor-General in Council by notification in the Gazette to suspend emigration to any British colony when he had reason to believe that proper measures had not been taken to protect emigrants immediately upon their arrival in the colony, or during their residence there, or for their safe return to India, or to provide a return passage at or about the same time when they were entitled to it". Yet during more than half a century when abuses were plentiful this power was rarely used for securing satisfactory conditions of life for the Indian labourers, on account of the "imperial sense" of the Government of India. The anti-Indian feeling in South Africa declared itself quite unmistakably even as early as 1887. Yet it was only in 1911, a year after Mr. Gokhale's resolution was accepted, that indentured emigration to Natal was stopped. In 1912, Mr. Gokhale moved a resolution for the prohibition of indenture altogether, and though every Indian in the Council voted for it, the Government refused to accept it. The writer of the book under review has attempted a defence of the Government's attitude on this occasion, but his own admissions prove it clearly to be special pleading. Even when in 1915 Lord Hardinge urged its abolition, the Secretary of State could only agree to the proposal "subject to the safeguard that abolition would not be enforced before time had been given to the colonies to adjust their policy of recruitment to the altered situation which abolition was likely to create." Lord Hardinge, however, scored over His Majesty's Government by pressing the Defence of India Act into service. Indenture, it is true, is now a thing of the past, but it is impossible for any Indian to review its history without strongly condemning the Government of India for having placed the interests of colonial planters over those of its own subjects.

The political, economic and other difficulties of Indians in the different colonies are conveniently sum-

marised in the book under review. It is unnecessary to mention them in any detail. In the crown colonies, except in Kenya, there are no political disabilities; but owing to ignorance and lack of organisation and ambition they are not taking as much interest in politics as they ought to. That they are mostly drawn from the labouring classes and either have been indentured labourers or are their descendants is a great disadvantage both socially and economically. "The types representative of India's higher civilisation, culture and physique seldom migrate to the colonies and form an infinitesimal portion of the Indian communities overseas. To their absence and the consequent lack of leadership among the domiciled populations must be attributed their backward and unsatisfactory condition." It is educated India's duty to supply this great want. An organised attempt should be made to send to each important colony a few public-spirited and capable Indians who will be teachers, organisers of public life and leaders of the community. Unless that is done the social status of the Indians cannot improve. The crux of the Indian question, however, is in the self-governing colonies and in Kenya where racial and economic considerations are mixed up. Now that the right of each self-governing colony to control its immigration is generally recognised, the economic fears of the white colonials are no longer valid. The only remaining question is whether they are willing to be just to the Indians that are lawfully settled in the Dominions and treat them as their equals or whether they are resolved to maintain racial dominance. In the latter case, India cannot be a willing member of the Empire. It will be its duty to seek independence. To generate that attitude in Indians can do no good to the Empire. That is the message of the book though it is very mildly given, but we hope it will not be lost on the British public.

S.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BOMBAY.

EVERYONE of us has heard a good deal about the great Bombay Development scheme, but few of us can claim to possess an accurate or adequate idea of all that is comprehended in it—what a great human venture and romance in engineering it is and how much accommodation and nature's good things it proposes to provide for industrial labour. Indeed some of us are so absorbed in the minor controversies arising out of it that we fail to see the wood for the trees. It is a scheme of which India may well be proud, and we are glad that the Director of Information has brought out a well-written (by Mr. St. Nihal Singh) and artistically printed (at the Times Press, Bombay) illustrated booklet that will suit the general reader admirably. It is priced at only 8 annas and can be had at the principal booksellers' and at the Government Book Depot, Poona.

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Proclamation under Order V Rule 20.

Case No: 16 of 1924.

Messrs. J. Bliss, Quetta (through K. C. Thomas
General Attorney,

Versus

Major J. Nelson Turner, I. M. D. (British
Station Hospital, Poona)
2, ALEXANDER ROAD, POONA.

Claim for Rs. 188-0-0 and Costs

In the above Case Major J. Nelson Turner, Defendant, can not be served in the ordinary way. The case has been fixed for hearing for 29th July 1924, and if the Defendant does not appear on that date proceedings will be exparte against him.

Given under my hand and seal of the Court this 4th July 1924.

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