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CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	153
ARTICLES :—	
A Constitution for British Guiana	155
Studies in Recent Turkish History—III. By Raghunath Row	156
Labour Policy in South Africa—I. By A Student	158
Officers' Status in the U. T. C. By H. P. T.	158
Treaties and Political Practice.—IV. By Prof. G. R. Abhyankar, B.A., LL.B.	159
OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER	161
OUR PARLIAMENTARY LETTER	162
REVIEW SECTION :—	
Conflict or Consonance in India? By Principal M. Ruthnaswamy	164
Lenin and Gandhi. By M. R. Ramaswami, B.A., B.L.	165
A New Social Order. By P. G. Kanekar	166
Muslim Imperialism. By Madhavrao Patwardhan, M.A.	167
Remedy for Unemployment. By Prof. R. H. Kelkar, M.A.	167
SHORT NOTICES	168
BOOKS RECEIVED	168

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

THE proceedings of the Central Legislature continue to make melancholy reading to those who are not "last ditchers" and who would fain believe that the interests of India and of England are not irreconcilable. But if for that reason one has protested against Indian extremism ever since the Reforms were launched one cannot forbear to protest equally strongly against the British extremism which is uppermost in high places to-day. The most recent and perhaps most glaring example is the discussion which has taken place last week in the Council of State on the subject of Indian Delegation to the League of Nations. Sir Phiroze Sethna has year after year gallantly kept this question before the Legislature and the nation. It was in 1924 that he first moved a resolution urging that Government should recognise the principle that the Indian delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations should be led by an Indian. On that occasion he was prevailed upon by the then Law Member, Sir M. Shafi, to withdraw the resolution and the impression left in the public mind was that in fact Sir M. Shafi, who was then nearing the completion of the

term of his office as Law Member, had been selected to lead the next Indian delegation. However these expectations were not fulfilled; still, when a similar resolution was once more moved in 1926, the Government actually adopted it, thus certainly giving their assent to the principle involved, application of which could be but a question of time and opportunity. In the August session of the same year, however, the then Law Member, Mr. S. R. Das, laconically announced that "in the present circumstances it is thought unnecessary to depart from the existing arrangement;" whilst six months later (March 1927) Sir Phiroze's resolution was actually opposed by Government and in August of that year, as admitted by Mr. Graham in the Legislative Assembly's debate on the same question on the 13th inst., "it was decided after careful consideration that the leader of the Delegation must be an Englishman." Here is a plain and unvarnished account of the way in which the Government has gone back even during these last few years—not to say, gone back on its words.

* * *

AFTER the decision at which the Government of Mr. Baldwin have arrived on the subject of the Statutory Commission, their decision on the Skeen Committee's Report could not have been anything else than it was; or rather, correctly anticipating the decision of the Government on the Skeen Report, the Indian public had no difficulty in understanding the real inwardness of their decision on the Simon Commission. For, as Professor Beriedale Keith says in the current number of the *Journal of Comparative Legislation* under the heading which we have adopted for our Topic, "It is clear that any real progress in the question of Indianization of the Army must rest on the decision as to the future of constitutional developments. Any desire to accelerate responsible government in central matters must mean a determined effort to hasten the time when India can undertake her own frontier defence; delay of further extensions of responsible government would logically accord with great caution in any reform in the sense recommended by the Skeen Committee. One thing is clear on principle: no responsible government on an extended basis is possible so long as Indian defence rests essentially on the employment of British troops." Caution on the part of the Government of India in giving effect to the Skeen Committee's recommendations would indicate to Prof. Keith "delay of further extensions of responsible government" in central matters. But the Government of India have shown not caution in carrying out the recommendations but alacrity in turning them down, and we for our part shall not be surprised if there is not only delay in the introduction of responsible government into the sphere of the Central Government, but an appreciable and even drastic contraction in that of Provincial Governments. The

inter-relation of self-government with self-defence which Prof. Keith brings out so well justifies Indians, who knew what was coming in the matter of the Indianization of the Army, in the boycott of the Simon Commission.

A European View of the Situation.

THE wide review of topics of commercial interest taken by Sir Leslie Hudson, the retiring President of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce at its General Meeting, will certainly serve to clarify opinion on our economic situation. Sir Leslie admits that the Reserve Bank would have freed us from the leading strings of Whitehall and hopes that the Bill would be introduced again at no distant future. To the critics of the high charges of the Bombay port, he replied by reminding them that the capital cost of the building up of the port has been Rs. 23½ crores and that in addition the annual expenditure has been reduced by nearly Rs. 17 lakhs. We share Sir Leslie Hudson's strong objection to the proposed Terminal Tax in place of refundable duties, a certain result of which will be to drive the trade of Bombay to competing ports. As for the wail from the Bombay Textile Industry he advises internal reform and economies; apparently he thinks that no protection is needed for this industry which can easily look after itself. This presentation of the case is certainly one-sided. He rightly emphasized the importance of road extension which is capable of imparting a powerful stimulus to the economic development of India in future. Sir Leslie Hudson took the opportunity to acknowledge the generous response to the appeal for contributions to the Flood Relief Fund made by the commercial community. We are glad to find that he is in a chastened mood with regard to the Bombay Development Scheme and admits that it would entail a further heavy expenditure which requires very serious consideration. *A propos* of the Statutory Commission he quoted the opinion of Sir Walter Willson to the effect that Chambers of Commerce should exclude from their consideration all purely political questions, with which opinion he said he entirely agreed. With this caution he expressed the view that the Indians would repent of having rejected the olive branch held out by Sir John Simon.

His Excellency the Governor in his speech said he clearly saw the dawn of better days for the world as well as for India. He said he welcomed, with the President of the Chamber, the extinction of provincial contributions. His Excellency further said that the Bombay Government was particularly interested in Road Development, and recommended the imposition of an additional duty on petrol as security for the interest on the capital for road development.

Land Revenue Legislation.

TO those who have been attributing the inordinate delay that is taking place in carrying into effect the Joint Parliamentary Committee's recommendation about giving legislative shape to the existing practice about land revenue settlement to bureaucratic unwillingness, the proceedings of the recent land revenue debate in the Madras Legislative Council will come as an unexpected vindication. Since the Committee in its simplicity made this suggestion, it has been discovered by those to whose lot it fell to implement it that land revenue is a reserved subject, for whose administration the Governor acting with his Executive Councillors is responsible to Parliament, and not to the Indian people; and if the Government shared that responsibility, to howsoever slight an extent, with the legislature, as proposed by the Committee, to that extent it would suffer impairment. Thus it

is a constitutional difficulty that is really standing between the Committee's recommendation and its fulfilment. Indeed the Revenue Member described the position in the following words in the course of the debate:—"If the reserved half of the Government was not responsible to the House, he did not see how it could divest itself of the power of fixing the rates of assessment." Further light was shed on the same point by the Finance Member who observed:—"But there might be certain matters about which it might not be possible to give full responsibility to the legislatures and certain safeguards would be necessary. These matters were law and order and revenue." Apart from the fact that these observations furnish an explanation of the delay in carrying the Committee's recommendation into effect, they also show how the bureaucratic mind is working at the present moment in regard to the transfer of these subjects to popular control. And for aught one knows, in the evidence that may be laid before the Simon Commission by the different provincial Governments, a strong case will be made out against their being placed in charge of ministers responsible to the legislatures. If after all this these subjects are as a matter of fact transferred to popular control, it will be a miracle and a mercy, for which the country will be indebted to the inborn generosity of the Commission.

AFTER all Lord Goschen has succeeded in setting his ministry again on its feet, The New Madras though not without considerable damage to his reputation as a constitutional governor. For one thing

Dr. Subbaroyan's new colleagues do not, like himself, enjoy the confidence of the Legislative Council and do not apparently share his views on the most important political issue, viz. the Simon Commission. Both of them voted against the Commission in the debate that took place in the Council not long ago and unless their views have undergone a change in the meanwhile, must be supposed to be still opposed to the Commission. One of them moreover was returned on the Swarajist ticket which bound him to non-acceptance of office, and is clearly guilty of breach of his election pledges by consenting to be Dr. Subbaroyan's colleague. We daresay his constituency will not be slow to show its disapproval of his conduct; but whether it does so or not, there is no doubt that he has proved untrue to his election pledges. But the reconstitution of the ministry would have been an impossible task for the Governor, were it not for the support promised to it by the Justice party. In doing so the party has clearly gone back upon its own decision at the non-Brahman Conference held at Coimbatore by which it bound itself not to accept office until provincial autonomy was attained. The Law Membership rendered vacant owing to the exemplary spirit of self-respect shown by Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri was used as a pawn to win non-Brahman support to the Ministry. All things considered, the whole proceeding in connection with the formation of the Ministry in Madras is not such as to give ground for the hope that principle rather than opportunism will be the guiding star of the régime of the new Ministry. Moreover, it lacks common agreement on political issues which alone can encourage a sense of joint responsibility among the ministers.

Independence of the Judges.

THE figure given in our last issue of the proportion which the civil list settled on the King of Great Britain for his personal expenses to the revenue of the U. K. was in some impressions of the paper not clearly visible. This proportion is, roughly speaking, about

one-twentieth of one per cent, while in several Indian States it is over 10 to 15 per cent. The other resolution which, we understand, was passed by the Chamber of Princes related to the independence of the judiciary. This is a subject of the first importance and we trust that the Princes would immediately give effect to it. The accepted way of securing judicial independence is to provide a permanent tenure to the judges during good behaviour. In Great Britain judges cannot be removed except upon the address of both Houses of Parliament, and in the United States except upon impeachment. This means, to all intents and purposes, a life tenure for the judges, which makes them fearless and independent of either popular or executive favour. In addition the judges are guaranteed their full salaries and also secured in some cases from unwelcome transfers except through legal process. The latter is provided in the German Constitution and the former in the United States Constitution. The provision of non-reduction of financial remuneration assures judges of their means of subsistence and protects them from attacks or insidious influences through the control of salaries. As Hamilton says in *'the Federalist*, "A power over a man's subsistence amounts to a power over his will." In every Indian State the Prince would do well to divest himself of the final power of appeal and vest it in a bench of Judges. The non-suability of the State, which obtains in several States, must also be done away with.

THE province of Madras, otherwise quite solvent, has not escaped the general taint of a deficit which in its case amounts to Rs. 50 lakhs. The main sources of revenue are:—Land Revenue yielding Rs. 754 lakhs; Excise yielding Rs. 524 lakhs; Stamps Rs. 253 lakhs; and Forests Rs. 51 lakhs. The rise in the revenue from Stamps is not due to growth of business but to the enhancement of the rate which is equivalent to additional taxation. Madras follows a much more constitutional procedure in the matter of revised assessments by acting up to a resolution passed by the Legislative Council limiting the maximum enhancement at resettlement to 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. at one bound. The Government in Bombay is more irresponsible. Compared to Bombay the increase of expenditure on Transferred heads and its ratio to the increase on the Reserve have both been more satisfactory. Between 1920 and 1927 the latter showed an increase of Rs. 168 lakhs, while the former follow in the wake by an increase of Rs. 129 lakhs. It is surprising that the Excise revenue budgeted for 1928-29 is higher than the actual revenue realized in 1926-27 by some Rs. 14 lakhs. And this in spite of the declaration made by the late Excise Minister in March 1927 that the "idea of a dry presidency will be accepted and worked up to". In Public Health Madras compares favourably with Bombay, spending Rs. 47 lakhs as against Rs. 30 lakhs in Bombay. The total of Rs. 218 lakhs for Civil Works is far too extravagant; a part of it ought to be mulcted to make room for Primary Education. The complaint of the Madras Government that the general revenues do not offer a reasonable hope of expansion without any addition being made to the sources is the same as we are making in Bombay. Not only is there no item likely to extend but one or two items are sure to contract; under these circumstances the caveat given by Mr. Moir is worthy of attention. We should not allow our financial sense, he says, to be weakened by the temporarily affluent circumstances to which the remission of Provincial Contributions has given rise. Caution and a provision against the rainless day ought to be our watchwords in budget-making.

A CONSTITUTION FOR BRITISH GUIANA.

DURING the last few years there have been constant deadlocks owing to the divorce of power from responsibility in British Guiana, the latter being vested in the Governor while the former is vested in the Combined Court. This led the British Guiana Commission to recommend the appointment of a special Commission to advise upon the steps to make the constitution workable by effecting suitable improvements. The Report of this special Commission is now to hand and we must examine it with a view to decide whether the new constitution will give British Guiana a system of Government calculated to ensure a sound financial policy and prosperous agriculture and commerce. At present there is an Executive Council constituted by Letters Patent to advise the Governor. The present Council includes, besides the Colonial Secretary and the Attorney-General, two officials and two non-officials, which latter are not members of the Legislature. Except in matters that are too urgent the Governor is bound to consult the Executive Council in the exercise of his powers. The present Legislature consists of two bodies styled the Court of Policy and the Combined Court. The former consists of the Governor, seven officials, and eight elected non-official members and has full powers of legislation in matters *not fiscal*. The latter consists of the Court of Policy enlarged by the addition of six more elected members and has power to impose taxes and to control the appropriation of public moneys. In the Combined Court the elected members possess a majority and the only check to their financial powers is that they cannot increase any item of the estimates which are to be prepared by the Governor-in-Council.

The Report of the Constitution Commission recommends addition of nominated non-officials to the present Legislature. As for elected members the Commission are satisfied with the retention of the present number, viz. 14. They recommend the retention of the present ex-officio members, viz. the Colonial Secretary and the Attorney-General but suggest an addition of 13 nominated members of whom 8 should be officials and 5 non-official. The selection of nominated non-official members is left by the Commission to the discretion of the Governor, only stipulating that major commercial interests should receive special consideration if they have not already secured adequate representation by election. Of course, the Governor is left to be the sole judge as to which officers should be nominated. The total membership of the Legislature thus comes to 29. In order to bring the Executive Council into touch with the Legislature the Commission recommend that all Executive Councillors should be members of the Legislature. This is as it should be; but it is difficult to see what makes the Commission recommend a strength of eleven for the Executive Council. This number is made up of 4 nominated officials 3 nominated non-officials and two elected members of the Legislature. Although the composition of the Legislature ensures a majority for the Government, the Commission, in view of the possibility of a

deadlock, think it necessary to reserve for the Governor any matters which he and the Secretary of State consider essential to the good government of the Colony, provided that this power is not exercised without previous reference to the Secretary of State. The main object of this reserve power is to safeguard the credit and financial stability of the Colony. This reserve power corresponds in all essentials to the power of certification under the present system in India. The Commission are of opinion that it is better that the Governor should use such a power rather than invoke the support of the official vote in the Legislature.

As for the period of the Legislature the Commission recommend a duration of five years for a Legislature once elected. The qualification for membership of the Legislature should be in their opinion the receipt of an annual income of not less than 2400 dollars or immovable property of the value of 5000 dollars and above, or the occupation of a house or land as a tenant under a long lease, the annual rental of which is not less than 1200 dollars. This compared to the Indian practice is a very high qualification. The present qualifications for a country voter are ownership of 3 acres of land or the ownership of a house or land with a rental value of not less than 96 dollars, tenancy of 6 acres of land or a tenancy of house and land the rental value of which is not less than 192 dollars, or income of not less than 300 dollars or payment of direct taxes of 20 dollars and upwards. For a town voter the qualifications are the ownership of house or land of the value of 500 dollars and above or tenancy of house or land of the rental value of not less than 120 dollars, in addition the income and tax paying qualifications given above for country voters. Translated into rupees this would mean that a man must be paying a rent of nearly Rs. 600 for house or land or own a house with a rent of Rs. 300 or have an income or salary of Rs. 900 or pay direct taxes to the value of Rs. 60. Literacy in some language is in addition a necessary qualification; receipt of relief from public funds and receiving a sentence of penal servitude or imprisonment for a long term are disqualifications. The Commission retain the present income qualification but make changes in others. The ownership of land is raised to the limit of 6 acres; the ownership of house or land is made uniform for towns and countries at the value of 500 dollars; the tenancy of house or land with a rental value of 192 dollars in country and 120 dollars in towns is abolished making room for a uniform rental value fixed at 100 dollars. The Commission recommend the extension of the franchise to women.

It will be seen from the outline given above that even under the new constitution most of the Indians and Blacks, who together number nearly 2½ lakhs, will be shut out from the franchise and will have practically no control over the administration. To say that there is complete political equality is only theoretically true; practically very few Indians would correspond to the description of a qualified voter. Under these circumstances no one need be

surprised to learn that the Indians there catch at the straw of the limited power given to them by having some Indians at least on the voters' list. The mass meetings held to protest against the changes in the constitution during the last year simply mean that with the reserve power given to the Governor under the new constitution the Indians feel that even the little power given to the representatives of the people to control finance has been taken away. We admit that the reserve power may be employed by the Governor for the good of the Colony but in any case such a power is always suspect in the eyes of those who want to urge the claims of democracy. One complication from the Indian point of view is that the existing constitution, under which they enjoyed electoral equality and considerable political power, was an important factor among the stipulations made to Indians when they consented to leave India for British Guiana. We would recommend the British Guiana East Indian Association to acquiesce in the reserve power if the franchise is lowered in such a way as to allow a larger number of Indians to be enfranchised. With our experience of nomination in India it must be regarded as extremely undemocratic that the Governor should nominate 13 out of the total membership of 29, on the Legislative Council. We shall hope that the leaders of the Indian Association will agitate for a reduction of the nominated element.

STUDIES IN RECENT TURKISH HISTORY,

III*

BY the time of the opening of the Lausanne Conference its character and its issues had become quite evident. The position of the Angora Government was clear. "The Ottoman Empire is dead; long live Turkey", was their slogan. The Turkish National Pact had defined the conditions of Peace as the evacuation of the Allied Forces from Constantinople, the abolition of all privileges granted to non-Moslem minorities, recognition by the *Entente* of the Angora Government and of all treaties concluded by it, complete independence for Turkey in military, financial and political domains, unconditional return to Turkey of Smyrna and all territories occupied by the Greeks, autonomy for Western Thrace, the restoration of Eastern Thrace to Turkey, the possession of an adequate Army and Navy by Turkey for protection against invasion, the regulation of the future of the Straits by Turkey and Russia, and the payment of a war indemnity by Greece to Turkey. Mustapha Kemal is reported to have affirmed the validity, in the hour of triumph, of these terms formed in the hour of defeat. The character of the whole struggle had become accentuated and appeared essentially as Anglo-Turkish. The Kemalists had played their card well diplomatically and isolated Great Britain. They had set Italy and France competing with each other for the favours of New Turkey, and secured a formidable backing about the question of the Straits in Russia's support, the very factor on which the Allies had counted against Turkey. In spite of some incidents so great was the Soviet-Turkish solidarity at this time that Turkish territories added to the Russian Empire in 1878 were returned.

When on November 20, 1922, the Peace Confer-

* The first two articles appeared in our issues of March 8 and 15.

once opened at Lausanne it is, therefore, comprehensible that interest and initiative centred on Lord Curzon and 'Izmet Pasha. Their personalities are perhaps responsible for its initial failure. The first was an ex-satrap who had settled into definite habits of mind in dealing with Orientals, and the other, a remarkable combination of soldier and diplomat fully versed, as it proved, in all the slippery transactions of Western politics, and conscious of the peculiar importance of the responsibilities he shouldered. Report attributes to him the trick of turning even his bodily infirmity of deafness into political advantage in the same manner as more recently a prominent statesman is said to have developed an appropriate eye-trouble. Throughout, in the Mudania as well as the two Lausanne Conferences the interests of Turkey were in his charge. Dramatic pauses notwithstanding, the Conference was at first abortive except for a minor result of the signing of two Conventions on January 30, between Turkey and Greece for an exchange of populations. The terms which Lord Curzon presented and 'Izmet Pasha rejected proposed to fix the Turkish frontier not at Karagach but at another station, to leave Mosul to the League's decision, to abolish the Capitulations, and to throw the Straits absolutely open in times of peace and under certain conditions during war. What exactly were the real motives which undermined the First Lausanne Conference is not quite clear, but the usual belief is that French encouragement of Turkish resistance and the Russian refusal to accept the terms as regards the Straits are at the bottom of it. At a later date more light might be found on this transaction, but slight though the gains of the Turks were, by their stiffness they no doubt profited by that attitude especially regarding the financial clauses.

The Second, or as it is sometimes said, the second meeting of the Lausanne Conference, took place on April 24. In the interval the Angora Government had sent a long Note to the Allies, especially asking for a separate discussion of the economic clauses of the Draft Treaty independent from the rest of the document. This served as a signal to Lord Curzon to rally the Allies to his side, and he made the necessity of a united front quite clear to them. Meanwhile wishing to secure American support at the second Conference the Turkish Government granted the Chester concession. But the American Government's hands would seem to have been tied up as in similar other circumstances. While they have to keep an eye on securing adequate vent for their growing number of capitalists and philanthropists, they are at the same time constrained to pay heed to a public opinion which is peculiarly critical. Where Turkey is concerned this criticism obviously manifests itself with all the rigour of accumulated religious prejudices. A Constantinople paper has said: "We accepted the Chester concession very hastily, and we hoped by the concession to gain America on our side. Quite contrary to our expectation America has displayed a very strange attitude toward our cause. As soon as we approved the Chester concession, England and France put stubborn difficulties in the way of peace. If we had not given the Chester concession before concluding the peace we should have avoided ninety per cent. of the difficulties of Lausanne." Lord Curzon did not figure in the second Conference, and its outstanding negotiations were done by the Italian delegate, Signor Montagne.

On July 24, 1923, the Treaty of Peace was formally signed at Lausanne; on August 23, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey ratified it, and on April 15, 1924, Great Britain ratified it. Considering the Treaty and the allied conventions together, the

clauses may be conveniently brought under five different heads: 1. Territorial limits, 2. Redistribution of the Ottoman Public Debt, 3. The abolition of the Capitulation and Millet systems, 4. The protection of minorities and the exchange of populations, and 5. The provisions as regards the Straits.

Lausanne gave Turkey Adrianople and the whole of Eastern Thrace which Sèvres had sought to deprive her. The Turks also got Karagach and a frontier railway station opposite Adrianople, points of contention in the first Conference, in satisfaction for Reparation claims against Greece. Constantinople, which would have come under international control by the terms of Sèvres Treaty, now remained exclusively under Turkish sovereignty. The Lausanne settlement made the southern boundary also slightly different from that of Sèvres. Cilicia returned to Turkey and certain concessions were made to her by France with regard to the use of the Baghdad Railway. Mosul was left over as in the first Conference for the League of Nations to settle, and the Kurdish territories which were to be unified and detached from Turkey by the Sèvres agreement, at Lausanne, remained part and parcel of the Turkish Republic. Tenedos and Imbros which were to have gone to Greece changed hands and became Turkish territory along with the Rabbit Islands. Turkey formally agreed to the dismemberment of the Arab lands, Egypt and the Soudan, Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Dodekanese Islands.

In the matter of finance, whereas Sèvres had provided for the complete control of Turkish finance by the Allies, by the Lausanne agreement Turkey was freed from all obligations with regard to the Ottoman loans secured upon the Egyptian tribute, and the Ottoman Public Debt was now divided between Turkey and the States in favour of whom territories had been detached from the Ottoman Empire since the Balkan wars.

In contrast to the military provisions of the previous treaty, a Protocol signed by Great Britain, France, and Italy, along with the final agreement, ensured the withdrawal of foreign troops from Turkish territory as soon as the Peace Treaty was ratified by Turkey.

By Article 28 each of the High Contracting Parties accepted individually the complete abolition of the Capitulations. This is a noteworthy acquisition for not only had the Sèvres Treaty sought to reimpose them on Turkey but also much of the tussle between Lord Curzon and 'Izmet Pasha centred round this point. Angora made it a fundamental issue.

As regards minorities and exchange of populations, articles 38 to 44 of the Lausanne Treaty ensured Turkey's protection for minorities, by laws declared fundamental, and these articles were placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. All Turkish Nationals are to have equal rights irrespective of religious differences. A Convention dealing with the exchange of Turkish and Greek populations was adopted obviously as the best of all bad solutions to an impossible problem, and it has certainly resulted in much hardship despite the safeguarding clauses. Here again a concession had to be made to the nationalising policy of the Turks, and the difference between the terms of Lausanne and Sèvres is that while, in the one case, the minorities problem was viewed from the point of view of the greatest possible limitations on Turkish sovereignty, in the other, attention had to be given to the opposite method of approach.

The rules regarding the Convention relating to the régime of the Straits are complex and not easy to summarise. The diplomatic significance of that jolly

expression "the Freedom of the Straits" would seem mainly to vacillate between whether Great Britain or Russia shall be Turkey's partner in a war-dance. By the terms of Sèvres Great Britain sought to make up Turkey's mind about it; Lausanne makes the chances for the two rivals fairly equal.

The immediate reactions to the Lausanne Treaty were much wailing and moaning in Western Europe, and endless mutual recriminations. While all the British authorities with one voice blame France for Turkish resurgence French writers lay the sin on Britain's head no less vigorously. Monsieur René Pinon, writing in the *Revue Des Deux Mondes* of August 1, 1923, says: "The complicity of the Young Turks in the German aggression, the horrible massacres of 1914, the crushing defeat of 1918, and the Treaty of Sèvres which was its legitimate sanction—everything is abolished, there remains only the sad fruit of the policy which England has followed in the Orient."

RAGHUNATH ROW.

(Concluded.)

LABOUR POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

I

ONE of the important clauses of the Cape Town Agreement says that the principle underlying the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Wages Act which enables all employees including Indians to take their places on the basis of equal pay for equal work will be adhered to. The acceptance of this principle by the Indian community has been fiercely assailed by the Indian opponents of the Agreement who have argued that it would eliminate Indians from the places they now occupy in industry and indirectly compel them to avail themselves of the assisted emigration scheme and leave the country. They contend that the Indian should not accept the principle of equal pay for equal work. In view of this sharp difference of opinion it would be interesting to study with some care the industrial policy of South Africa and trace if possible the relations between it and the volume of assisted emigration.

Almost everything in South Africa resolves itself into the race problem—the juxtaposition of different races with their different civilisations and economic standards. Until very recently and to a large extent to-day, skilled work has been the monopoly of the white race and unskilled of the black race. The average rate of wages of the skilled white worker has been a pound a day and of the unskilled Native worker a pound a week. In England the ratio between the skilled wage and the unskilled wage is as 14:10 in the engineering trade. In South Africa there is a very great disparity of wages between the two races.

This was due in part to historical circumstances. Until the discovery of the diamond mines in Kimberly and the gold mines in the Transvaal the country was mainly pastoral and commercial. With the opening of the mines there was a demand for skilled workers. Native labour, though plentiful and cheap, was unskilled and whites had to be imported for skilled work. Their scarcity secured for them a rate of wages far in excess of what they would have got in Europe, and even above the standard of the average white farmer in South Africa. The Economic and Wage Commission came to the conclusion that "real wages, as distinct from money wages, are high compared with other countries. Only the United States, Canada and Australia show higher real wages. In all European countries real wages are much lower than in South Africa. In England they are 30 per

cent less, in Amsterdam nearly 40 per cent. less, in Paris and Berlin over 50 per cent. less, in Brussels and Milan over 60 per cent. less."

It was not only their scarcity that forced up the wage rate of the whites but also the cheapness of the unskilled natives. No industry can afford to pay the bulk of its employees anything like the higher rate. "White wages have been paid and are being paid largely at the expense of the native workers." White wages are high because native wages are low. The white man has ordered his standard of living on that basis. Perhaps South Africa is the only country where the European of the labouring class has a Native servant to wait upon him. The European will not put his hand to certain classes of manual work, which must be done for him by a Native. The Cost of Living Commission says: "The fact that native wages are relatively low doubtless accounts for the appearance of a native servant in many families in which in other countries the work would be performed by the various members of the family."

The old state of things is gradually, though slowly, changing. The days are past when there was a small section of skilled white workers in a position to exact high wages and a plethora of cheap native unskilled labour. In spite of the denial of opportunities, the native is becoming a skilled worker and breaking down the monopoly of the white. But his standard of living, though rising, is still much lower than the European's. The employer is able to secure the same efficiency of work by employing a native on a cheaper wage than white at a much higher wage. In the words of the Economic and Wage Commission, "Natives and Asiatics find this low rate sufficient for their needs and prosper on it; Europeans and coloured people, with their standards of conventional requirements set for them largely by the example of the better-paid European, find the unskilled rates fall far short of their needs, and are unable to maintain a standard of personal efficiency that will lead to their being preferred to natives." Secondly, with the rapid growth of industry the supply of cheap native labour is not relatively as plentiful as before. On the other hand the number of whites seeking employment is increasing and there are not enough jobs for them at the high wage rate. Their number has been augmented greatly by what are called "poor whites". They are mostly Dutch. Failures in agriculture, they have drifted into the industrial cities attracted by the hopes of high wages. These people are just unskilled labourers only fit to undertake what however they look down upon with contempt, "kaffir work." Even if they reconcile themselves to such work as they are being driven to do, they are unable to compete with the native at the native's low wages. The Railway Administration found that the white worker was capable of 15 per cent. greater efficiency than a native but his wages were 100 per cent. higher at the lowest. It is not economic for the employer, therefore, to substitute whites for natives.

The "poor whites" are therefore a special problem of South Africa, and they number about 150,000. The Government, particularly the Dutch Nationalist Government in power to-day, feels a special responsibility for them and that responsibility is the governing factor of the Union's labour policy.

A STUDENT.

OFFICERS' STATUS IN THE U.T.C.

WHEN the Shea Committee was appointed all officers in the I.T.F. (including those of the U.T.C.) carried a dual commission. Their title was Honorary Second Lieutenants and Jamadars, but in fact, i.e.

in point of status, power of command, payments, etc., they were *only* Jamadars. This illusory form of commission was resented by many respectable persons and a suitable class of persons were discouraged from joining the I.T.F. including the U.T.C.

The Shea Committee admitted the grave defects of the then existing form of commission in the I.T.F. and recommended that in the Provincial battalions and in the proposed urban units platoon officers (referred to as Junior Officers in the bill now before the Legislative Assembly) should carry only the Indian commission issued by the Viceroy and should be known as Jamadars, Subedars, etc., and should also be entitled to the status and emoluments of the Indian ranks only. They further recommended that the Senior Officers, i.e. company commanders and their superiors should carry the Hon. King's Commissions and should be entitled to the rank and status of the British ranks. In drawing such a distinction they were actuated by a desire to assimilate the methods of command and organisation in the second line of defence to those prevalent in the regular Indian Army.

The Committee, however, considered it desirable to deal with the case of the University Training Corps on a separate basis. In the first place they recommended that the service liability of the U.T.C. should be removed. The question, therefore, of approximation of conditions between the organization of the regulars and that of the territorials did not arise in respect of the U.T.C. The Committee was further aware that the class of University Professors from amongst whom the ranks of officers of the U.T.C. would be mainly filled belonged to a social status far above the ordinary and in no way inferior to that of the average officer of the A.F.I. They also thought it necessary to observe that expenses that the officers of the U.T.C. were called upon to incur during the course of the periodical training as also during the annual camp of exercise were so high that unless they carried a British rank and with it British scales of pay it would not be possible for them to join the U.T.C. without serious pecuniary loss. They, therefore, recommended that the officers of the U.T.C. should carry British commission, of course Honorary and should be placed on a special list of the I.T.F.

Nothing was however said in the course of the Committee's report regarding the status of the N.C.O's and men of the U.T.C. By expressing a hope that the conditions in the U. T. C. should be improved and by conferring British status on their officers the Committee unmistakably implied that the N.C.O's and men also would, in their respective position, carry British Army status and would be paid, when in camp, on the same basis.

Some months ago the Government of India published a resolution embodying their decision on the Shea Committee's recommendations. They said in general terms that the main recommendations of the Committee with only one exception were acceptable to them. The exception referred of course to the extension of general service liability to the A.F.I. Regarding those recommendations of the Committee which referred to the status of officers, it was stated in the resolution that they were referred to His Majesty's Government for their sanction, which apparently was to be only a formal one.

The Government now comes out with its I.T.F. bill, clause 4 of which makes provision for the classes of officers. As will be easily observed, this clause embodies the recommendations of the Committee regarding the status of officers of the I.T.F. in general i.e. the provincial and the urban units. No proviso or no sub-section is added so as to embody the recom-

mendation of the Committee regarding officers of the U.T.C. This is a matter of principle and cannot be governed by regulations made under the Act. The conclusion, therefore, is that if the bill is allowed to pass as it stands, platoon officers in the U.T.C. will carry Indian ranks and the company and superior officers will carry British ranks.

Such a state of things would be intolerable for the simple reason that no self-respecting person serving on the staff of a University or a College will consent to serve as a Jamadar. Even as the commissions are now granted there is a large amount of dissatisfaction among the officers, arising mainly from the fact that they are supposed to belong to a lower grade of officers than their European colleagues who carry a King's Commission (Hony) and that the British subordinate personnel attached to the unit is not amenable to their commands as officers. This state of things is being tolerated for the last so many years in the hope that matters would improve when the recommendations of the Committee were carried into effect. If, however, a distinction between senior British-Commissioned officers and junior Indian-Commissioned officers is introduced in the Corps as proposed by the bill, matters will be still worse. The senior officers, i.e., the company officers and their superiors will acquire a better status. But the average U.T.C. officer, viz., the platoon commander, will be reduced to the position of a Jamadar pure and simple and will stand in a distinctly 'inferior' place as compared with the British officers, the English-Commissioned Indian officers and even the subordinate British personnel whom they cannot command. This will create much invidious distinction among officers and will demoralise discipline by infusing the student soldiers with ideas about varying classes of officers that command them.

This matter is also of importance from another standpoint. If the omission in the bill of the special recommendation of the Shea Committee is any reliable indication of the policy of the Government it would seem that the Government are trying to approximate conditions in the U.T.C. to those in the regular Indian Army rather than to those in the British units. This would make the U.T.C. a miserable place even for the average student. In point of allowances, camp-pay and other accompaniments of military training the whole Corps would be stamped with a distinctly inferior standard. This would be a disaster, for both students and professors would refuse to join the U.T.C.

It is suggested, therefore, that strenuous attempts would be made (1) to add a special proviso to section 4 to the effect that officers of the U.T.C. shall start as Second Lieutenants and that they will be placed on a special list of the I.T.F.; (ii) to secure an assurance that conditions in the U.T.C. will approximate to British rather than to the Indian army standards; and (iii) to ensure that the N.C.O's and men of the U.T.C. will be given all privileges now enjoyed by the members of the A.F.I.

H. P. T.

TREATIES AND POLITICAL PRACTICE

III*

PATIALA.

Coming to the State of Patiala whose Ruler is the Chancellor of the present Chamber of Princes, the first treaty in existence dates back to 1815 which assured protection and support to the Ruler, the Ruler on his part undertaking to furnish armed men and bigarries (forced labour) in case of war. The most

* Previous articles appeared in our issues of March 1 and 8.

important clause of this treaty is that *the Raja will omit no exertion to do justice and to promote the welfare and happiness of the ryot*. Similarly in another treaty concluded in the same year there is an undertaking on the part of the Ruler to promote the welfare of the ryots. The same obligation was imposed on the Maharaja in a sanad issued to him in 1847 guaranteeing him protection and the security of his rights. The Maharaja engaged to abolish all transit duties and to suppress Sati, infanticide and slave trade. He also undertook to keep in repairs the military roads through his country for the passage of British troops and to keep separate camping grounds for the same. After the mutiny in 1860 a Sanad was conferred upon the Maharaja reaffirming the guarantee of his possessions and conferring upon him civil and criminal powers and capital punishment. In clause 4 there is a very significant condition: "The Maharaja Sahab Bahadur will exert himself with every possible means in promoting the welfare of his people and the happiness of his subjects and redressing the grievance of the oppressed and injured in the proper way." In the tenth clause it is stipulated that the Maharaja Sahab Bahadur will always pursue the course of obedience and loyalty to the British Government who will likewise continue to uphold his honour, respect, rank and dignity in the manner as is done at present. It is significant that this sanad is issued in the name of the Viceroy and the Governor General of India. In 1862 an adoption sanad was conferred upon the Ruler. Agreements for telegraph lines from Amballa to Patiala, regarding Surhind canal, for the mutual exchange of correspondence, parcels, insured and V. P. articles of the Postal Department, for the Sirsa Branch of the Western Jumna Canal, for the cessation of the jurisdiction on the portion occupied by Railways were concluded with the State. These treaties distinctly lay down the position of a dependent vassal occupied by the Patiala Ruler. Looking to the political practice we find that in 1808 the Ruler made overtures to the British Government for his own protection. There was misgovernment in Patiala in 1811 and the British envoy, Colonel Ochterlony, had to interfere. In 1812 the situation grew worse and the same officer went to Patiala and proclaimed Rani Auskuar as Regent. In 1823 the British Government again interfered in the internal affairs of Patiala in support of Koramsing. During the minority of the Rulers the British Government appointed Councils of Regency and in 1817, when there was considerable intrigue in the State, the State was placed under the direct control of the Local Government. We thus find that the obligation of promoting the welfare and happiness of the people and redressing their grievances in the proper way has been specifically laid upon the rulers not once but repeatedly in express terms by the treaties. In the face of these treaties and the existing political practice we ask the Maharaja whether the State and British India are two sister polities independent of each other. Is not the Maharaja made subordinate to the powerful Government represented by the Governor General? Is there any single treaty which establishes direct relations with the Crown? The Maharaja recently observed that between the British Crown and the States there exist sacred ties. We would ask the Maharaja to quote chapter and verse to substantiate his claim. If by 'Crown' the Maharaja means the government carried on in the name of His Majesty through the Government of India under advice of a constitutional minister responsible to the Parliament, we have nothing to say. But if the Maharaja pretends that the relations are with the British Crown independently of the Government of India his claim is untenable.

The specific stipulation of securing contentment of the people imposes serious obligations on the ruler, the breach of which entitles the Governor-General to interfere in the internal affairs of the State. The Maharaja, therefore, cannot lay claim to complete sovereignty even in his domestic affairs. The Maharaja maintains that the control of the present Government of India is passing more and more out of the hands of the power with whom the princes entered into treaty relations and insinuates that he is not bound to be under the control of the would-be successors of the present Government of India. The treaties concluded with the Maharaja and the interference in his internal administration up to 1858 were by the authority of the East India Company. When Parliament transferred the power from the Court of Directors to the Government of India the Maharaja acquiesced in this transfer and raised no protest against the conditions and obligations imposed by the Governor General. If the Maharaja's contention is that his relations are with the Court of Directors, he ought not to have respected the successors of the East India Company. Having consented to the overlordship of the Government of India and having accepted with implicit obedience the authority of Parliament to control the destinies of this country the Maharaja has now no face to enter any sort of protest against the machinery which Parliament thought fit to sanction for the government of British and Indian India. If the control of the present Government is passing more and more into different hands it is because Parliament ordains to that effect, the Maharaja's unwillingness notwithstanding. It is strange that the Maharaja in one breath has been disavowing hostility to the aspirations of British India and in the next breath bitterly complaining about the transfer of power from an alien bureaucracy to the British Indian people. If the Maharaja thinks that British Indians would not understand the real import of these words he is only practising self-deception. The treaties concluded with Patiala do not, in my opinion, support any of those audacious claims which the Maharaja and the shining lights of the Chamber of Princes are urging on the attention of the Government at this juncture.

NAWANAGAR.

The Jamsaheb of Nawanagar originally belonged to a Jareja Rajput family which migrated from Cutch to Kathiawad and founded Nawanagar in 1442. The first engagement of the Jam with the East India Company was made in 1808 by which he renounced piracy and all rights to wrecks. In 1811 the turbulence of the Jam made it necessary for the British Government to reduce him by force. He refused to settle heavy pecuniary claims which the Rao of Cutch had against him for military assistance rendered in time of danger. He ejected from his State the Agent of the British Government, who was making inquiries regarding the prevalence of infanticide and made preparations to assert his independence by inducing other chiefs to combine against the Paramount Power. A force was therefore marched against him and in 1812 he agreed to pay the pecuniary demands of the Rao of Cutch. Under the terms of this treaty, the port of Suryah was to be given up to the Gaikwar, the fort of Morpore to be destroyed, and foreign Arab Shibandy to be discharged. The Jamsaheb gave securities for carrying out these undertakings, and was ordered to pay Rs. 15 lacs as expenses of the army. A fine of Rs. 5000 was imposed on him for the breach of the infanticide engagements. He had further to pay a fine of Rs. 1 lakh to the Baroda Government. In 1846 he undertook to exempt from duty vessels entering his ports from stress of weather. He was made in 1873, to extend this exemption to the vessels of the Rao of Cutch. Adoption

Sanads were issued to him and he agreed to the regulation of the manufacture of salt in his State. He also consented to the erection of Government-telegraph lines through his territory. In 1894 the Jam ceded full civil and criminal jurisdiction over the lands occupied by the railway. In 1899 the Jam entered into an agreement regarding the discipline of Imperial Services Troops.

It will thus be seen that the Jam has been treated all along as a dependent feudatory forced into submission with military strength. And the history of treaties and engagements of the Jamsahab clearly show that his ancestors have been some of the most recalcitrant feudatories with tendencies of a freebooter and even with the audacity to eject British Political officers. But the Jam has been latterly talking as though he were a potentate of international status and has been emphasising and urging that the traditions of his treaties should be maintained. What are these traditions? We find that the predecessors of the present Maharaja were turbulent feudatories plundering and looting their neighbours, committing acts of piracy, making money by inflicting injury on helpless vessels touching their ports under unfavourable weather conditions and adding to the distress of the unfortunate victims. With such traditions, we wish the Jamsahab had observed silence about his treaties and engagements. All the treaties with the Jam have been made by the Government of India through the Political Department represented by the political officers. The Jamsahab pays tribute to the British Government, to the Gaikwad of Baroda and to the Nabab of Junagad.

The history of the treaties and engagements and of the political practice followed in the case of these four States, whose Rulers are occupying prominent positions in the Chamber of Princes, who are talking of an independent and autonomous status and who are now pretending that their relations are with the King Emperor and not with the Government of India unequivocally supports the following conclusions:—

- (1) These States are in subordinate union with the Government of India.
- (2) Treaties and engagements have been concluded with them by the Governor General on behalf of the East India Company and by the Governor General as the head of the Government of India, acting through the Foreign and Political Department since 1858.
- (3) All vestiges of sovereignty such as the minting of coins, manufacture of salt, civil and criminal jurisdiction over the lands occupied by Railways, right to emphasise customs duties, extradition of offenders and a number of other *indicia* of their sovereignty are taken away from them with the result that their position is that of dependent vassals.
- (4) They are forbidden to have independent relations with one another.
- (5) Even in their internal affairs they do not enjoy full sovereign rights.
- (6) Whenever there have been occasions of disturbance of public peace, of gross misrule, or mal-administration goading people to desperation and rebellion, the British Indian Government has interfered, brought about reform in the administration and at times deprived the ruler of his powers.
- (7) The British Indian Government has resorted to remedial measures whenever foreign relations were disturbed or when-

ever the well-being of the people was seriously endangered by the misdeeds of the rulers.

- (8) The relations of the States are not directly with the Crown or even with the Secretary of State, but have all along been with the Governor General.
- (9) The Indian rulers like other citizens of the British Empire owe allegiance to the person of His Majesty but that is in his capacity as the head of the Executive Government which is responsible to Parliament.

All talk therefore of direct relations with the Crown or the pretensions of the Rulers to be treated as autonomous units, unconnected with and independent of the Government of India is unwarranted by the terms of treaties or by political practice governing their relations with the paramount powers. The Indian States are, it seems to me, in a subordinate position organically connected with the constitution of the present Government of India. They thus form an integral portion of the body politic.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

(Concluded).

OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

PRETORIA, February 25.

CLAUSE 104 OF THE LIQUOR BILL.

IN my last letter I was able to convey the happy news that the obnoxious clause was deleted. Gracefully and courageously and wholeheartedly Mr. Tielman Roos bowed to public opinion and instead of bargaining for a compromise, did the big thing and deleted the whole clause. As in concluding the Agreement so again in dropping this clause, the Government have had to go back on some of their most cherished convictions and election cries and court no little unpopularity from the rank and file of their followers, particularly of the Labour Party.

The Minister's action has been acclaimed by the whole of the English Press. It is worthy of note, especially by those Indians who despise the Cape Town Agreement, that what most of the responsible critics of the clause feared was that it would conflict with the Agreement. That was the touch stone. Colour Bar is a thing they are used to, and a fresh exhibition of it does not shock them greatly. But the Agreement should not be dishonoured or violated: that was what responsible opinion here was anxious about. The following from the *Cape Argus* is typical of the argument. "But even more serious was the tacit repudiation of the settlement arrived at at Cape Town with regard to the future of Indians in this country." Even if the Agreement did no positive good to the Indians in South Africa, it is at least stemming the tide of repression, and that is not a superfluous service in South Africa.

It is however noteworthy that the *Die Burger*, the most influential Dutch daily paper, of which Dr. Malan was some time Editor, has not said a word about the clause or its deletion. It is however gratifying to note that the *Kerkbode*, the chief organ of the Dutch Reform Church which has an

extraordinary influence over Dutch politics even as the Roman Catholics have in Ireland had frankly declared that the clause was against the Agreement and asked for its withdrawal.

The papers pay a tribute to the sagacity of Mr. Sastri in handling a difficult situation. Thus the *Star* of Johannesburg:—"In this connection we would also refer to the admirable manner in which Mr. Sastri has handled the case for the Indian community. If the clause had gone through his difficult task would have been made impossible. In such circumstances a less dependable, experienced and sagacious man might have let his feelings get the better of his judgment and have taken up an attitude which would have embarrassed the Government and impaired, if not destroyed, the prospects of a settlement. Mr. Sastri has only given one more proof of his extraordinary fitness for the high position he holds and of his rare capacity for approaching delicate and difficult problems in a spirit of patience and reasonableness which in itself creates a similiar spirit on the part of the Government. Mr. Sastri's personal influence has been entirely and inestimably for good since he took up his residence in South Africa. The full effect of his influence has still to be understood and appreciated, but we believe that the future students and chroniclers of the history of these times will do it ample of justice."

FIRST BIRTHDAY OF THE AGREEMENT.

On the 21st of February, 1928, the first anniversary of the public announcement last year of the Cape Town Agreement, Mr. Sastri gave a dinner at which were present several of the Ministers and some of the members of Parliament representing the various political parties. Speeches were made by Mr. Sastri, Gen. Hertzog, Dr. Malan and Mr. Patrick Duncan. Mr. Sastri spoke of the courage and statesmanship of the present Government in concluding the Agreement, which meant a reversal of their old policy, of the public spirit displayed by the Opposition in not making it a party question but consenting to give the new policy a "fair chance"; and of Natal's acquiescence in the obligations cast on it by the Agreement. He characterised the Agreement as one of the most statesmanlike things that had happened within the British Empire in recent years and hoped that it would pass from the arena of party politics and be accepted as common ground. Gen. Hertzog was proud of the Agreement, acknowledged the support received from all sections of the public and welcomed the greater appreciation by South Africa and India of each other's difficulties. Dr. Malan paid a very graceful tribute to the personality of Mr. Sastri and acknowledged the loyalty with which the Indian community in South Africa generally accepted the Agreement and decided to stand by it and set their faces against the infringement of the immigration laws. The Agreement was still an experiment, but in one respect it had already fulfilled all reasonable expectations, namely, assisted emigration. He valued more than all the spirit of goodwill and friendship which will enable all problems to be discussed and settled satisfactorily. Mr. Patrick Duncan acknow-

ledged the friendly reception the Beyer delegation received in India and said that apart from the success achieved by the Agreement, the fact that an agreement was reached was a great success. "Indians who settle here are entitled," he said, "as far as their abilities permit, to take part in our national life. This is a sound principle now laid down, and without it, I say, we cannot exist."

CONGRESS DEPUTATION.

The same morning the special Congress Deputation appointed in Kimberley had a long interview with the Minister of the Interior regarding the conditions of condonation of illicit entrants. Though the details of the interview have not yet been published, the Congress deputation expressed themselves quite pleased and satisfied with the Minister. It is anticipated that very shortly the terms of condonation will be published.

GOLD LAWS AND INDIANS.

In my last letter I referred to the action threatened by the Johannesburg Municipality to invoke the Gold Laws and deprive Indians of trading licenses. Since then the Municipality had decided that it was for the Government to enforce the laws if they cared but that the Municipality would not take responsibility in the matter and resolved to continue the usual practice. That has greatly relieved the Indian community; for there is not much likelihood of the Transvaal Government resorting to those laws now.

EDUCATION COMMISSION.

The Natal Indian Education Commission has not yet commenced its sittings though the new Administrator has taken charge on the 1st February. It is understood that the Natal Executive is going to Cape Town to interview the Government regarding the task of the Commission. It is guessed that the object might be to ask for financial assistance of the Union Government for expansion of Indian education.

OUR PARLIAMENTARY LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

DELHI, March 16.

SKEEN REPORT.

IN moving his vote of censure on Government in regard to their rejection of the Skeen Report, Mr. Jinnah traced the history of the problem and remarked that Sir Alexander Muddiman himself had announced the appointment of the Committee, and appointed men of his choice. He took the House by surprise, when he asserted that there was nothing new in the announcement; for "it was practically the same decision which was arrived at by the War Council and communicated to the Sub-Committee of the Skeen Committee, when it arrived in England. It was, therefore, a camouflage to say that this announcement was the result of careful consideration of the Committee's recommendations." He showed that even in the Eight Units Scheme, Government had not remained true to the late Lord Rawlinson's idea. In his opinion, censure was all the more deserved when the decision was arrived at in defiance of the decision of the Assembly, which during the last Simla session, endorsed without division the unanimous recommendations of the Sandhurst Com-

mittee. Lala Lajpat Rai took this opportunity to give vent to his fear that like the decisions in this case the conclusions about the Simon Commission might have been already arrived at. Mr. K. C. Roy added his weight to the scales against Government, when he said that whatever slight improvement as regards details there might be in the Commander-in-Chief's announcement had been more than counterbalanced by a marked setback in policy, as the announcement foreshadowed the possibility of a dominion army without the King's Commissions. Official spokesmen tried hard to make out that every one of the recommendations had been accepted by the Government, and would be carried into effect in due course. The Army Secretary made it clear that the opinion of the fighting units was that it was not a practical proposition to make the British soldier serve in the units commanded by Indians, and yet stuck strongly to the plea that there was nothing racial behind it. The Assembly divided and inflicted one of the most crushing defeats on the Government.

BUDGET DEBATE.

Opportunity was taken to voice specific public grievances by cuts in the demands for grants. Government fared well on Saturday and Monday when all the motions for reduction were lost. Mr. Mahomed Rafique tried to show that the 5% export duty worked detrimentally to the Indian hide industry and did not help the Indian tanning industry. He contended that an import duty would work better to that end. The exporters' views were put forth by Sir Walter Willson and Mr. Alexander. It was on the other hand suggested that the proceeds of the tax might be utilised to improve the skin trade.

EXPORT DUTY ON JUTE.

The merits of the export duty on jute were again discussed and Bengal severely complained that its prosperity would be jeopardised if it was continued. It was suggested that at least a part of it might be given back to Bengal, to improve the conditions of the industry. The Finance Member quoted the opinion of the Taxation Enquiry Committee and said there was no complaint against the export duty on jute. He held that as jute was a monopoly of India, there were strong reasons for maintaining the duty. He showed the impracticability of allowing the Local Government to impose the duty, as they would be tempted to impose it for the local needs of the province.

VIRAMGAUM CUSTOMS CORDON.

The complaints about the Viramgaum Customs Cordon also found expression and the question of its continuance debated. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta told the House harrowing tales of misery and trouble the subjects of the maritime states were subjected to; but they were, however, contradicted by Sir Purshottmdas Thakurdas. He maintained that the customs cordon was a necessity if the British Indian trade was not to be demoralised and was to be safeguarded from illicit smuggling. He congratulated the Government on the bold stand they had taken after the Abu Conference. Sir Basil hoped that they would take precaution to see that there was no repetition of trouble as in 1917 and asserted that it was necessary in the interest of the revenues of British India. He also added that if an occasion arose to get rid of the line in a way consistent with the mutual interests of British India and the States, Government would take the first opportunity to do so.

MINORITIES IN THE SERVICES.

The demand for the Customs grant was made an excuse for bringing up the question of representation of minorities and Muslims in the services. Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim is nothing if not a communalist, as is evi-

denced in the questions put by him in the Assembly. He blamed Government for not acting up to their promises. Sir Abdul Quayum honestly believed that the real cause of communal riots was disproportionate representation of the various communities in the services and not the Cow and Music questions. Mr. Joshi agreed in this diagnosis and he hoped that Government would nip the cause in the bud by granting the request. He however, thought that it was essential on the part of the Muslims to qualify themselves better in the first instance, to which end they may even demand special facilities, if they want to compete for jobs with the advanced classes. The debate, however, was on the point of assuming a distinct communal aspect when it was cut short by the timely intervention of the President. It is really a sad sight to see heat created even in the Assembly over such a matter.

THE MESTON AWARD.

Bengal and Bombay again complained against the Meston Settlement, which deprived them of their share in the income-tax. Three years ago Government were defeated on this point and hope was held out that the two provinces would get a share; but no substantial relief had so far been granted. Mr. Moore complained that it was a travesty of the intention of the framers of the rule that two great industrial provinces should get no relief. He did not think it was a matter for the Statutory Commission but could be settled by the Finance Member himself. Sir Basil showed that it was not the greed of the Central Government that was in the way. Before the last Finance Members' Conference he laid a proposal involving loss of Rs. 65 lakhs to the Central Government; but Bengal and another province seemed anxious to refer the whole problem to the Commission and would not even accept the offer as an interim measure lest such acceptance would jeopardise their case. The Finance Member could not move in the matter when the provinces themselves could not come to an agreement. Government could not obviously issue a fiat benefiting one province at the expense of another.

INDIAN DELEGATION TO THE LEAGUE.

Mr. Joshi moved two cuts to draw the attention of the House to the very unsatisfactory nature of the delegations sent to the International Labour Conferences and to the sessions of the League of Nations. He showed how the delegates had to work under various disabilities due to an insufficient number of advisers and expressed his inability to understand why the argument about economy should arise only in such matters of world-wide importance. While questioning the propriety of sending a European as the leader of the delegations, he asked if it was not enough that Great Britain was ruling them and wanted to know whether Government wished to humiliate them still further by asking non-Indians to lead those delegations. Mr. Joshi was supported by all sections of the House and Government was defeated on both the occasions by thumping majorities.

In the Council of State, however, when Sir Phiroze Sethna moved that Indian delegations to the League of Nations and other International and Imperial Conferences be predominantly Indian and be led by an Indian, his resolution was lost by four votes.

Messrs. K.C. Roy and Acharya were responsible for cutting down to a rupee the grant to the Secretary of State for carrying on his agency work for the Government of India. Mr. Roy wanted progressive development of the powers of the Governor General-in-Council and the Assembly by a corresponding reduction of the powers of the Secretary of State. He complained that the present Act gave him wide powers, which were used autocratically. He narrated briefly all

the sins of commission and omission of the Government and asserted that the India Council and the India Office had outgrown their utility. Sir Basil urged that the money was required merely for the agency work of the Government of India. No one could understand this duplication of machinery when there was the Indian High Commissioner meant for that work. The demand was thrown out.

REFORMS FOR N.-W. F. PROVINCE.

The question of Reforms for the N.-W. Frontier Province was discussed at length and it was found that Government were still hesitating in the matter. The recommendations of the Bray Committee seem to have been shelved. Sir Denis Bray narrated the difficulties in the way and concluded in the words of Sir A. Muddiman that no decisions could be arrived at till Government themselves were satisfied that the course they intended to take was the right one. Lala Lajpat Rai made it clear that the contention of Government that the Hindus never made up their minds in the matter was untrue. They not only did not oppose the reforms, but wanted them even if the N.-W. F. Province districts were amalgamated with the Punjab for the purpose.

THE GOVERNMENT'S MILITARY POLICY.

Government's military policy came in again

for censure, when Mr. Chaman Lall carried his proposed cut. He alluded to Burke and said that India was now the kingdom of army officers. Speaker after speaker ridiculed the Government's solicitude for the policy of Indianisation which would take more than 350 years—a period long enough for any empire to last, as Mr. Goswami said. Mr. Joshi exposed the official plea that it was a nation-building department. The Army Secretary's reply was that the expenditure and the composition were due to the nature of India's frontier and its vulnerability. The House however was not in a mood to accept any explanations from the Government.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL CENSURED.

Another of Diwan Chaman Lall's cuts was a vote of censure on the Executive Council, which he characterised as an unpatriotic and unrepresentative body in view of the fact that it was reported to have given its support to the Simon Commission which seemed to him to be nothing short of a betrayal of the country. The *Pioneer*, which strongly criticised Sir Basil Blackett, Mr. M. Young and other officials for their inefficiency, sharpened the edge of the attack, and its editorial was frequently quoted. Mr. Crerar tried to paint a bright picture of their achievements but to no purpose. The House rejected the demand.

REVIEW SECTION.

CONFLICT OR CONSONANCE IN INDIA ?

THE BRITISH CONNECTION WITH INDIA.

By K. T. PAUL. (Student Christian Movement, London.) 1927. 7½ x 5. pp. 223. Rs. 2.

IN these two words Mr. K. T. Paul puts the alternatives of Indian policy before English statesmen and Indian leaders. He believes, and gives an account of the faith that is in him, that the problem of India can be solved only by a happy marriage of English and Indian ideals and partnership in action and not in conflict between the two races. He shows how India and England are bound to each other not only by political but by economic and cultural bonds. But why does he call this relationship a *connection* which connotes rather a physical contact than a moral interfusion? We need not quarrel about words which probably Mr. Paul found ready to his hand in the political jargon of the day. However that may be, he has shown that the partnership is necessary to India and England. It may be that in writing down his impressions (he takes care to repudiate, more than once, any historical intentions) of the procession of events and movements that go to make up the modern renaissance of India, he has elected to brighten the lights and omit the shades of his picture. Mr. Paul, like a good Y.M.C.A. worker, is an optimist. It is good and useful to be an optimist at the earlier stages of a popular movement but a time comes when a realistic attitude to facts becomes more helpful.

Speaking of the national movement he gives the reader the impression that Indian nationality is already an achievement whereas it is only in the making. He says that in the second decade of the 20th century "the national movement was now as broad as practically the entire width of life" and that "it

was deep enough to permeate vital issues and to bring out continual series of creative activities." We wish it were true that nationalism has permeated the masses and become positive rather than negative as illustrated in movements of irritation like boycott and hartal. If non-co-operation had been a national movement would it have died down so soon? And is not much of the movement provincial and sectional? Was not the alliance of Musslams with Hindus for the sake of Khilafat an opportunist move? And the social progress that has been achieved, has it gone beyond the fringe of the problem? Foreign travel and inter-dining among the educated classes is no doubt a decisive step in advance but is intermarriage common even within the castes of Hindu society? The author writes round the thesis that Indian problems can be solved by Indians only and advocates rural reconstruction as the lever of Indian progress. But he might be a little more appreciative of the Indian Civil Service and remember that the change in the angle of vision was due to civilians like Lord Meston and Sir William Marris. It was Lord Chelmsford and not Mr. Montagu who was responsible for the famous parliamentary pronouncement of August 1917. Mr. Paul would build from the foundations and advocates autonomy for the districts even to the point of the organisation of law and order. He shows himself an acute observer when he says that the social problem of the future will be to exercise the evil of competitive individualism by means of some better social method than caste. He states the problem but does not offer a solution.

The conclusion of his book is that the British connection with India is "a partnership in politics and

economics and free trade of culture." For which educative suggestion we may recommend the book to Englishmen who may be tempted to treat with disdain the painful struggle of an ancient people struggling towards unity and freedom and to Indians who think that the unity and freedom of this country can be achieved by mere gestures and challenges.

M. RUTHNASWAMY.

LENIN AND GANDHI.

LENIN AND GANDHI. By RENE FULOP-MILLER. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, London.) 1927. 9 x 5½, pp. 343. 21s.

HUMANITY seems to be on the verge of a new era of evolution. The old order, social, economic and political, is showing signs of decay and fast falling down before the rise of new ideas of human values and relationships. The proverbially sleeping East, no less than the notoriously changing West, is affected by the transition. A feature of the awakening in all lands where the new leaven has entered is the revolt of the dispossessed and the down-trodden against their oppressors. The disinherited on earth are no longer dumb or weak. They have found their voice and begun to demand with a force that is daily growing irresistible not only their freedom but also a due share of the good things of life to be enjoyed along with their erstwhile masters. The unrest is visible, outwardly, in two diverse directions. The toiling millions in the field and factory are striving for emancipation, as also the so-called backward races and nations groaning under the heels of their imperial masters. But the two big movements for freedom are linked at bottom and react on each other. For the victims in either case have to fight against a common foe—the monster of capitalist imperialism. This kinship of interests and suffering has also helped to foster, as never before, a feeling of mutual sympathy and fellowship among the workers all over the globe that provides the basis of the new world brotherhood that is in evolution.

In so far as the influence of individual personalities count in the making of history, this new spirit of revolt and vision of world brotherhood could be traced to the life and teachings of the two great leaders whom Rene Fulop-Miller has adopted as the subject of his study in the volume before us. Lenin and Gandhi are names to conjure with among millions in the modern world. They stand at the threshold of the twentieth century beckoning to humanity to listen to their voice.

There is no room, nor reason, to go here at greater length into the differences in the teachings of the two masters. We wish only to point out here that, despite these differences, which are, in some respects, apparently, quite destructive of each other's contribution to humanity, both Lenin and Gandhi occupy a high place in modern history and are acclaimed by millions as their saviour. This seeming paradox is easily explained if we look deeper into their hearts. Thus we find them related to each other by a common spiritual origin, a deep kinship born of their infinite love of humanity and desire to save mankind from suffering and want. Rene Fulop-Miller sees this kinship reflected often more clearly in their differences than in their obvious resemblances in their lives. The author does not indeed aim at a reconciliation of the outward antagonism in the view-points of Lenin and Gandhi.

For want of space we must pass over everything and come to the author's estimate of the two great leaders' lifework. The author thinks that in bringing about the Soviet Revolution Lenin com-

pleted the historic process of the Europeanisation of Russia. To guarantee permanence of the proletarian regime in a country like Russia, with an overwhelming majority of peasants and rural workers, Lenin had to look for support to the latter and not rely solely on the urban workers or the westward-looking intelligentsia. He therefore extended the Marxian ideal so as to make it the concern of the whole country, not the city only but the villages as well. The alliance that he thus formed between the urban and rural workers bridged the gulf that till now severed the Asiatic peasantry of Russia from Western Europe. In order to strengthen this alliance Lenin not only dealt with the villagers leniently, but also lost no time in trying to modernise them, educate them in the ways of western civilisation, use of modern machinery and rational methods of labour so as to enable them to walk abreast of the urban workers and come into line with western labour in general. He wanted Russia to shed her mediævalism in a moment and take a long leap so as to cover centuries of industrial backwardness, with the aid of modern machinery and technical skill. The author holds that this policy of 'revolutionary jerk' of trying to convert an essentially agricultural country, steeped for centuries in mediævalism, suddenly into a highly developed industrial state only betrayed Lenin's romantic utopianism and is responsible for creating the economic confusion, a bastard culture containing ill-digested elements of mediævalism and modernism, and fantastic notions of 'a mechanical utopia' that prevail in Russia to-day. Comparing Lenin's attempt with Gandhi's advocacy of the spinning wheel to emancipate the Indian peasantry, the author thinks that Gandhi is the more practical politician and that "through his emotions he had a more correct understanding of the economic laws of Marxism than Lenin in refusing to try to industrialise India by artificial means" (p. 225). He holds it to be quite wrong to judge Gandhi's movement by the standard of western capitalist culture, that his hostility to the machine, even if it makes use of ethical and religious arguments, contains a core of sober truth from the national and economic point of view, that in the economic state of India to-day industrialisation might be more a curse than a blessing and that khadi movement is much more in harmony with the existing economic situation in the country. This testimony to the wisdom of the khadi cult is particularly valuable to its advocates as the author has given it in no partisan spirit. The sections in the book dealing with this part of Gandhi's gospel are highly thought-provoking and well worth the perusal of those who have not been able to see eye to eye with the Mahatma. In dealing with the question the author has brought to bear on it his deep scholarship and experience of the fruits of European industrialism. He has thoroughly examined the arguments of critics, cleared misapprehensions about Gandhi's views by well chosen extracts from his writings and also adduced the testimony of well known European socialists like Julius Braunthal on the soundness of Gandhi's position.

Not less encouraging to the Gandhian school of thought is the verdict that is contained in the book on the Mahatma's gospel of non-violence. The author observes on p. 303: "It is true that Gandhi's revolution, like that of Lenin, has not yet succeeded in reaching its real goal. English rule in India continues as firmly established as ever before and it even seems that Gandhi's movement has for the moment receded into the background. But the practical and positive side of the great political experiment, he initiated must nevertheless not be ignored. He was the first to succeed in making the idea of abstinence

from violence one of the highest ideals of humanity, the practical policy of a nation of hundreds of millions." Earlier in the volume we are told how Gandhi's revolution is unique in history as a revolution of goodness and non-violence, aiming at nothing less than 'brahminising' the whole Indian nation, at spiritualising the tactics of war. The author writes: "It is true that in earlier times reformers, saints and founders of religions have preached passive resistance in face of evil, but what distinguishes Gandhi's movement from all those of the past is the fact that the Mahatma regards non-violence as a religious precept for individuals, or for a small community, but makes it the basis of a political movement, and thus, for the first time in history, has transformed a moral perception into a practical political system. The author's appreciation of Gandhi's gospel gains force from his indictment of Lenin's ruthless methods of violence which he regards as "cursed by the mediæval despotic spirit," marked by "a stuffy atmosphere in which freedom seems possible only through slavery and new rights through loss of rights." "Hate, he avers, was Lenin's element. But that seems to be an extreme view, not quite fair to the liberator of Russia's millions, especially in the face of Lenin's own expression of disgust that 'it was a hellishly hard task' to 'ruthlessly split skulls open' and opposition to all violence was his ultimata ideal. It is, indeed, a profoundly tragical thing, as the author observes, "that even in his boldest dreams of a future classless world, without hate or oppression, Lenin could see no other way of attaining his end but naked brute force." But that, we think, is a part of the tragedy that dogs the actions of all mortals in this earthly life. This particular tragical element in Lenin's destiny that the author refers to is, no doubt, absent in Gandhi's life. But here too we find a tragedy, though of a different order,—the tragedy, of a great soul's unrealised aspirations. For Gandhi's life cannot be deemed a fulfilled one so long as India is in chains and his ideal is in the air like Euclid's line, to use one of his own analogies. Euclid has been superseded by Einstein. It is a matter for speculation who is to take the place of Gandhi in India. As the author observes at the close of his study, the modern type of the professional politician, imported from Europe, is alien to India. "What India needs is just that blending of the religious and the political which is incorporated in Gandhi, the type of the 'political Guru'. But it looks to-day as if India, nay, humanity at large, is in need of a far greater Guru than either Gandhi or Lenin, one who can achieve the apparently impossible task of reconciling their creeds by forming a synthesis that will unite the best elements in both without the defects of either.

M. R. RAMASWAMI.

A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

WHERE IS CIVILIZATION GOING? By SCOTT NEARING. (Vanguard Press, New York). 1927. 7½ × 4½. pp. 110. 50 cents.

THIS is a very useful handbook on social evolution, dealing with the stages of civilisation through which the world has hitherto passed and indicating the paths along which social forces are at present moving. The cultural life of the human race has, the author proves, moved in a spiral, not a circle. Culture history is ordinarily divided into three phases or stages: Savagery, Barbarism and Civilisation. Mr. Scott Nearing adds a fourth stage under the title of a New Social Order, a culture stage beyond Civilisation. A chart of culture stages and changes is given as frontispiece. Great stress is laid in this chart on economic characteristics—economic stages, tools,

exchange, etc. Savages are hunters and nomads. In the earliest stages they live a hand-to-mouth existence. In the later stages of savagery, domestication of animals begins. Stone tools are polished; boats are constructed; crude shelters are built. The horde has given way to the early clan. Barbarism includes that period of culture history during which the human race establishes a permanent habitat, elaborates tools, organises village life, and learns to write in pictures. Economically the outstanding characteristic of barbarism is the establishment of a permanent food supply. Civilisation begins with the organisation of trade and commerce; with the use of hard metals for tools and machines; with the organisation of the civil state; with the use of the phonetic alphabet. During civilisation the race learns to work and live in large groups; to practise an extensive division of labour; to communicate widely; to harness natural energy,—wind, water, steam, electricity. Improved forms of production imply shifts in social power. The feudal landlord class that had ruled for centuries scorned 'trade' and despised 'work.' The new business class that emerged with the commercial and industrial revolutions bought out and replaced the landlord class, with the result that business class rule took the place of landlord rule. The job owning class dominated the masses. Slavery, serfdom and wavery are, therefore, the outstanding social ties or social relationships of civilisation. The modern bourgeois or business state is the most useful political machine that the business interests have been able to devise. "Theoretically, the United States is a 'free country.' Practically, the people there enjoy an unusually narrow range of political choice. In the larger cities of the United States, great bodies of police are maintained, expression of opinion is restricted by city ordinances and state sedition laws, while state constabulary and state militia, the sheriff with his deputies, the Federal Secret Service, and the immense system of industrial espionage maintained through the chief industrial organisations of the country, constantly supervise the political and economic activities of the people." Modern imperialism is closely related to industrial surplus. Sources of raw materials and markets for finished goods are the most potent causes of international rivalries and jealousies in extension of empires. The War of 1914 was in a great measure due to the imperialistic designs with a view to controlling the markets of the world.

The latest social force is the labour movement. Within two decades it has passed from its comparatively narrow confines within the capitalist empires to a world sphere in which it now plays a leading rôle. "The proletarian revolution is the midwife of the new social order." The labour movement is out to combat exploitation, plunder and organised destruction which have been present throughout the entire period of civilisation including its late or capitalist stage. The War of 1914 opened the eyes of the proletariat. It cost as much to kill one man during the World War as it costs to maintain a British or German working class family of five people for forty years! The contrasts between the culture pattern of civilisation and the culture pattern of the new social order are generalised as follows by Mr. Scott Nearing:—First: From local social units to a world society. Second: From a class-divided to a classless society. Third: From superstition to social science. Fourth: From riches for the few and poverty for the many to a guaranteed livelihood for all. Fifth: from a working-class performing the labour and an owning class enjoying the leisure to the distribution of leisure among all who render productive or useful service. In short, the new social order aims at organising a 'human' society—a society in which liveli-

hood is guaranteed and leisure and culture are socialised, the basis being opportunities for the individual's fullest development.

The book presents an excellent blend of sociology and political economy and provides interesting and inspiring reading to students of social history and current events.

P. G. KANEKAR.

MUSLIM IMPERIALISM.

SULTAN MAHMUD OF GHAZNIN. By MOHAMMAD HABIB. (D. B. Taraporevala, Sons, & Co., Bombay.) 1927. 7½ x 4¾. pp. 212. 3s. 6d.

PROF. MOHAMMAD HABIB of the Muslim University of Aligarh deserves to be congratulated upon this masterly study of Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin. His chapter on the career of Sultan Mahmud in which, making use of original Islamic sources, he attempts to fix certain dates, to locate certain places and to describe Mahmud's campaigns makes absorbing reading. But it is in his estimate of the character and work of the great Sultan that he is as original as he is impartial. In India, unfortunately, history is often made a handmaid to current politics and among Muslims in particular a scholar with the liberal and philosophic outlook of Albiruni is exceedingly rare. That is why the book before us should fill one with boundless admiration.

"Mahmud of Ghaznin has been portrayed by latter-day fanatics as a hero after their own hearts—the Warrior in the Path of the Lord, and by moralists he has been held up as an example of the avarice that clings to worldly possessions so laboriously won, so precariously held, so inevitably lost." Prof. Habib points out that the astute wine-loving Sultan was neither the one nor the other. He opines that while the prophet and his companions stood for certain principles to be established at all costs and had "resorted to war as a means for their promulgation" (p. 61.) (italics ours) Mahmud was the protagonist of the new imperialism with its secular and Persian outlook. "To Mahmud of Ghaznin more than to any one else the rise of monarchy ('Saltanat') is due. Islam had neither contemplated nor sanctioned the moral foundations of the new institution, which drew its inspiration from ancient Persia and breathed its pagan spirit. Indians, who were mostly non-Muslims, were freely enrolled, and at a later stage were formed into a separate regiment commanded by a Hindu general, who enjoyed a very high status among his fellow officers. His Indian soldiers were free to blow their *Sankh* (conch) and bow before their idols in Imperial Ghaznin."

"No honest historian," says Prof. Habib, "should seek to hide, and no Mussalman acquainted with his faith will try to justify, the wanton destruction of temples that followed in the wake of the Ghaznavide army. 'They came, burnt, killed, plundered, captured—and went away' would not be an inappropriate summary of Mahmud's achievement in Hindustan." Prof. Habib rightly rejects the story of Mahmud's rejection of a rich indemnity in order to win the glory of being a but-shikan; and points out that his invasions were not religious wars but were for the greed of glory and gold. At Mathura "the Sultan gave orders that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire and levelled to the ground." Here Prof. Habib suggests that envy rather than fanaticism seems to have been the predominant motive in Mahmud's artistic mind."

In concluding his estimate of Mahmud's character and work Prof. Habib remarks, "With the proper history of our country Mahmud has nothing to do. But we have inherited from him the most bitter drop

in our cup. To later generations Mahmud became the arch-fanatic he never was, and in that incarnation he is still worshipped by such Indian Mussalmans as have cast off the teaching of Lord Krishna for their devotion to minor Gods. Islam's worst enemies have ever been its own fanatical followers."

MADHAVRAO PATWARDHAN.

REMEDY FOR UNEMPLOYMENT.

THE NEW COLONIAL POLICY. By H. LMER KEY. (Methuen & Co., London.) 1927. 7¼ x 5. pp. 214.

DR. KEY'S book is one more proof of the spirit of thinking on the European scale in decided preference to the National, that is taking a definite hold of the minds of European statesmen. It is largely occupied with the problems of overpopulation in Europe, conditions of emigration to the New World and the question of birth-rate in connection with emigration.

Starting with the problem of war-debts he points out the heavy taxation of industries that handicaps them in their attempt to recapture the world markets. The economic equilibrium of the world that obtained before the war has been seriously disturbed. The trans-oceanic countries have developed their own industries during the war and are not prepared to buy as much from Europe as they did before the war. The reduced purchasing power of the European markets is altogether out of tune with the increasing output of European industries. The currency crises in the various countries of Europe had broken down the magnificent structure of credit economy.

The net result of all this was the alarming growth of unemployment almost everywhere in Europe. Economists of high standing applied themselves to the solution of these problems and the one remedy that stood out was that of emigration on a large scale into the vacant spaces of the world.

The U. S. A., hitherto the promising field for emigrants from Europe, were passing through an anxious time of over-prosperity and would not accept them. Mexico and the States of South America did not particularly want an industrial population. They further objected to the heightened nationalism of these immigrants who refused to be assimilated into the old population. In addition they had to face the Japanese demands for the better treatment of their nationals in America.

Dr. Key next takes a survey of the available spaces for colonization and studies the problem of Canada and Mexico, Morocco and the tropics and goes into some details as to the amenities of life that must be introduced if European colonization is to be successful in these lands. Next he makes an effort to investigate into the policy of various nations in the light of the analysis that he has put forward. He studies in particular the emigration policies of England and Germany, of ambitious Japan and Fascist Italy.

Truly an admirable study of a very complicated problem that demands scientific thinking free from national prejudices. And yet one wishes that Dr. Key had noticed the difficulties of over-crowding in India and China. These would supply the agricultural labour that is so badly wanted in the new lands. Then economic development would extend the existing markets that will more than absorb the European surplus of finished goods. In spite of a catholic outlook Dr. Key still seems to support the exploded fallacy of regarding the tropics as producing raw materials to be manufactured by the workers of the temperate zones.

Incidentally he takes a peep into the question of birth control and points out the danger to the peace of the world, from such highly organized and progressive countries as Japan and Italy, that rather, than openly face the urgent problem of birth control, would plunge the world into a war in order to find a place in the sun for their rapidly increasing populations. Once again he is content with the callous remark that in India and China famines and pestilences are doing the necessary preventive work and dismisses their case with the remark that there is no great danger to world peace from that quarter of the globe as those countries are not organized for waging war on a modern scale.

R. H. KELKAR.

SHORT NOTICES.

**MISS MAYO'S MOTHER INDIA—A REJOIN-
DER.** By K. NATARAJAN. (Natesan & Co.,
Madras.) 1927. 6¼ × 4. pp. 109. As. 12.

IN this booklet Mr. Natarajan answers that part of 'Mother India' which relates to social institutions and practices in India and on which the now notorious writer bases her condemnation of a whole nation. It need hardly be said that from a veteran social reformer like Mr. Natarajan we expected nothing short of a closely reasoned and well-documented rejoinder and the performance fully justifies his reputation. The book 'Mother India', says the author, is in the most charitable view the product of a fanatic frenzy for the superiority of the white race; and this in our opinion gives the clue to the utterly distorted view of Indian culture taken in Miss Mayo's book. By means of elaborate statistics the author proves that there has been a steady though gradual rise in the age of marriage and that Miss Mayo's dictum about the universal child-marriage is perhaps true of a time four or five decades past. As for Miss Mayo's antiquated authority, Abbe Dubois, Mr. Natarajan by ample quotations exposes him thoroughly as a fanatic and futile propagandist and an impostor of deliberate purpose. As against Abbe Dubois the author quotes the views of Sir Thomas Munro, a trained observer who spent nearly fifty years in India, which set forth a very high estimate of the Hindu character and manners. All the foul and fantastic statements made by Miss Mayo have been shown by the author to be utter lies and inventions especially the prevalence of perversities. No wonder the author believes that Miss Mayo herself must be suffering from the sex-complex, to think of all sorts of monstrosities on the word of a doctor here and there and we share his belief. It is a wonder, says the author, that Miss Mayo who is described by Anglo-Indian writers as a trained observer should write about social matters without studying the writings of Ranade who has given a philosophic reply to the jargon of Abbe Dubois. In the appendix the author has given several letters from Indians of integrity and character which challenge the accuracy of Miss Mayo's statements. It is especially delightful to see 'Ditcher' exposing the bungling with regard to a post-dated conversation between an American and the Diwan of a State "about not a rupee or a virgin being left in Bengal if the English go", which really took place some forty years ago between a Viceroy and the Regent of a State. Mr. Natarajan has done a distinct service in exposing the calumnies of Miss Mayo and showing her in her true colours.

V. N. GODBOLE.

THE ORDINARY MAN'S INDIA. By A. CLOUDS-
BROWN. (Ceoil Palmer, London.) 1927. 9 × 5¾.
pp. 295. 10s. 6d.

THIS book is full of pleasant unimportant gossip mainly about unimportant things for unimportant people in Britain who either have friends in India or may think of going there themselves. It is chiefly about Calcutta, which is not India, and about the life there of the non-official European (i. e. the trading and mercantile British community.) It fairly reflects the attitude of the average Britisher in Calcutta towards the country in which he lives. Social distinctions, money, sport, servants, travel, dancing girls, Chinatown, the Reforms, cinemas, the Red menace, beggars, hill-stations and the famous rope trick—these cover most of the topics dealt with. There is a digression about the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, of which the author was, for a time, a not too successful Secretary, and the censorship of films concerning which he used to fill the columns of the *Englishman*, when he lived in Calcutta. Much space is filled up by such platitudes as "European women in India may be divided into two classes: those who are or have been married, and those who assuredly will marry." As a result, there are 295 pages in the book. All we can say is that the "Ordinary Man's India" is a very ordinary place, according to the author, and should tempt nobody out of England.

F. E. JAMES.

THE ADEN PROBLEM. (British Indian Colo-
nial Merchants' Association, Bombay.) 1927.
8½ × 5½. pp. 88.

FOR nearly a century Aden continued to be under the administrative control of the Government of India but the same has been recently made over to the Imperial authorities despite protests from Indian merchants holding large interests in the settlement and also public bodies in India. The transfer has been literally carried out by a stroke of the pen without even so much as a "by your leave" to the people vitally affected by it. This book reproduces the relevant official documents touching the Aden problem without any comments, which is all that is necessary to bring out the injustice involved in the transfer.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

**THE MAKING OF A STATE: MEMORIES AND OBSER-
VATIONS, 1914-1918.** By THOMAS GARRIGUE MASARYK.
(George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1927. 10 × 6½.
pp. 461. 21s.

THE STABILIZATION OF THE MARK. By HJAMAR
SCHACHT. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1927.
8½ × 5½. pp. 247. 8s. 6d.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE. By F. W. TAUSSIG. (The
Macmillan Company, New York.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. 15s.

INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY. By BENJAMIN R. TUCKER. (Van-
guard Press, New York.) 7½ × 4½. pp. 294. 50 cents.

THE HUMAN HABITAT. By ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON.
(Chapman & Hall, Ltd., London.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 293.
15s.

IMMIGRANT BACKGROUNDS. By HENRY FAIRCHILD.
(John Wiley & Son, New York.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 269.
- 13s. 6d.

AMERICA. By HENDRIK VAN LOON. (Boni and Liveright,
Inc, New York.) 1927. 9½ × 6½. pp. 470.

FOUNDATIONS OF WORLD UNITY. (World Unity
Publishing Corporation, New York.) 1927. 9 × 6. pp. 112.