

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

The last week has witnessed the election by the U. P. Council of a Committee to sit with the Simon Commission. But the so-called election was nothing but a farce, for the Government's conduct in proposing the election of the committee, while the Council's resolution of February last declaring a boycott of the Commission remained unrescinded, so much incensed the boycotters that they left the Council in sheer disgust so that the Government resolution had no opposition to face. The victory has been characterised by a paper like the *Pioneer*, no particular friend of Indians, as "a pyrrhic victory." How weak the Government's position was may be seen from the following remarks by the same paper:—

"Mr. Chintamani was in his most effective vein and he was able to produce telling arguments to support his declaration that the Government by the manner in which they were reopening the subject were showing deliberate and wilful contempt of the Council. Most of the speeches on behalf of the motion sounded feeble after Mr. Chintamani's biting words. And even one of the speakers, in favour of Mr. Lambert's motion, bitterly complained that the Simon Commission was only accepted under compulsion and added that if there was an opportunity, India would ret-

late for the insult directed against her. The occupants of the Government front Bench did not say, but some of them must have thought of the words: "Another such victory and we are lost."

* * *

WE are sure that Mr. Crerar's expression of regret on behalf of the Government for the part taken by some Government officials in the campaign started by some British-edited journals in casting aspersions on the impartiality of the President of the Assembly will establish friendly relations between the Assembly and the Government. The Simla correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* had cabled home that a recent decision of the President was due to "party pressure". Whatever may be the attitude of these journals, the officers of Government at least are precluded from any expression of opinions likely to bring discredit on the President. There was reason to suppose that this established etiquette had been violated by some occupants of Government benches. It was specially unfortunate that Mr. Crerar in his first speech on this issue had declared that he could neither associate nor dissociate Government from such unfair criticism of the Chair. This detached position is impossible of justification from any known precedents in existing Houses of Legislature where the Government of the day always upholds the rights and dignities of the Speaker. It is clear from the writings of the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* that there is on foot a move to discredit the Assembly and as a result to put spokes in the wheel of a separate Assembly Secretariat. The Assembly is in bad odour with British and Anglo-Indian journals at present on account of its firm refusal to cooperate with the Simon Commission and this move on the part of these journals is easily explained as one of the ways of showing their pique. In any case the Government have now recognised their obligations in the matter and have promised their "full support" to the Chair in any action it may think it right to take in order to vindicate its authority in the matter of such reflections upon its impartiality by mischievous press correspondents. The incident also emphasizes the distinction between one's private utterances in the sacred precincts of a home and one's utterances in public places within the hearing of all and sundry.

* * *

THE Chief of Phaltan signalised the recent celebration of his thirty-second birthday by announcing responsible government as the goal of his policy towards his subjects. He is perhaps the first Indian Prince to do so and to do so in the absence of any organised popular agitation to secure such a declaration from the ruler, for to our knowledge Phaltan has so far had no people's conference, at which the popular demands were formulated. For this announcement the Chieftsaheb deserves to be congratulated heartily. Soon after the present ruler assumed the reins of his exalted office nearly twelve years ago, he instituted a sort of Advisory Council consisting of officials and non-officials, all of whom were nominated by himself, to which used to be referred important public questions. And though he always found the help given by this Council valuable, he did not want his people to feel that they were not directly associated with the government of the State. If such a feeling existed anywhere in his State, his recent announcement will go a long way in removing it. As a first step to the goal, the establishment of a Legislative Council has been ordered. This would, when brought into being, differ from the one recently started in Bhor in that while the Bhor Council consists of none but nominated members, the Phaltan Council would in addition to the nominated ones have a leaven of elected members. The Chieftsaheb's announcement does not give us any idea as to their exact number; but it is to be hoped that the number of elected members would at least equal that of the nominated ones, if an elected majority cannot at the present stage of the State's political development be thought possible. An equally important reform which the Chieftsaheb ought not to delay in introducing is to set a definite limit to his private expenses and to establish a civil list.

ALTHOUGH in their dispatch on the subject the Government of India admit the necessity of the separation of the Assembly Secretariat, they refuse to subscribe to the position maintained by Mr. Patel that the new office should be under the complete control of the Assembly through their spokesman, the President. The compromise arrived at by all the party leaders in joint consultation, and since confirmed by the Assembly proposes to hand over the portfolio of the Assembly department to the Governor-General. We do not regard this as the best solution, as under the proposal the Governor-General would cease to maintain himself as an impartial observer above parties and above criticism. But it is expected that though the Governor-General would hold the Assembly portfolio he would interfere with its administration by the President as little as possible so that non-interference on his part would give the President a perfectly free hand in its management. We are however in complete agreement with the other items of the Resolution which stipulate that the principal officers should be appointed and dis-

missed by the Governor-General with the consent of the President and that the rest of the establishment should be dealt with by the President in consultation with the Secretary subject to a right of appeal to the Governor-General. The question is capable of satisfactory solution on these lines and no efforts ought to be spared to settle it in this way, since the issue has become a fruitful source of estrangement between the Assembly and the Government of India. As the President of the Assembly put it in his recent statement, an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion can only tend to lower the dignity and prestige of the House. In the interest of allaying needless suspicions, we have no objection to the proposal of Mr. Cocks that all appointments in the new Secretariat should be made on the recommendation of the Public Service Commission.

IT would appear from the *Democrat* of Nairobi that certain negotiations were in progress unofficially between the European and Indian settlers of Kenya Colony, and that, on account of the intransigence of a section of Europeans, the negotiations fell through. What terms were offered to, and provisionally accepted by, Indians, is not disclosed; but we are told that they involved a surrender on their part of certain claims to which they are morally entitled. On the municipal question an understanding has recently been reached between the two communities, and it is no wonder if, encouraged by the success in this direction, the leaders of the two communities attempted to bring about a settlement in the wider sphere. That negotiations for a *rapprochement* should be initiated by the Europeans is a reassuring sign, and that the failure of the negotiations was due to a section of the Europeans would also be an asset to the Indian community in future. But personally we are not sorry for the result. For the publication of the Hilton-Young Commission's report is impending, and we feel that no private agreement reached on the eve of its publication will be of a lasting character. If the recommendations in the report are more favourable to Indians than the terms offered by the Europeans, Indians will stand to lose by the compact, and it is doubtful if in the circumstances the leaders of the Indian community at these conferences would be able to retain the support of the community for the terms agreed to. In the contrary event it is unthinkable that Europeans, finding that the Hilton-Young Report favours them more than the terms offered by them to Indians, would hold fast to the terms. A community which threatened to rebel in the event of Government carrying out its decisions which happened to be somewhat favourable to Indians is not likely to carry out the terms of an agreement even if a Government-appointed Commission offered it better terms. We would therefore await the publication of the Report and then enter on any negotiations with the Europeans in the light of its recommendations.

THERE have recently been a number of changes in the constitution of the Government of Bombay, the last and the most important of which being the retirement of Sir Chunilal V. Mehta from membership of the Executive Council. Sir Chunilal has been associated with the executive government of this Presidency ever since the inauguration of the reforms, first as Minister of Excise and subsequently as Revenue and Finance Member. In all these capacities he has achieved conspicuous success. Possessed of remarkable intellectual gifts, he introduced in almost every department which he handled reforms calculated to bring Government policies into better accord with popular wishes, with which he kept himself *au fait* no less as an irremovable executive councillor than as a removable Minister, by means of his accessibility to all and a singular charm of manner. Some of these reforms, though beneficent, e. g., rationing of liquor, have almost gone to pieces in the hands of his successors who lacked his courage to face difficulties and his zeal to promote the public interest. In some of his other plans for reform he failed to carry the public with him, e. g. in his scheme to put a check on excessive fragmentation of land. It was an essentially good measure, and the Presidency will rue the day when it forced him to withdraw it from the Council. It is said that he did not attain eminent success as Finance Member. This is a very superficial view of the matter. For if his achievement in this sphere was less demonstrable it was due to extraneous causes over which he could possibly have no control. But he gave a measure of what an Indian can do against great odds and in unpropitious circumstances. Perhaps higher official position awaits Sir Chunilal in the future. If so, we shall be glad of it, for we have no doubt that he will do himself justice and his country honour in whatever he undertakes. But we do not mind confessing our personal predilection that he should reserve himself hereafter for public work in an unofficial capacity. His retirement removes from the Bombay Government the last Indian member who was at once competent, public-spirited and fired with a high moral purpose. If official ranks require strengthening, so do the unofficial ranks, and we would ourselves very much desire Sir Chunilal to take his rightful place again in the public life of the country in the stirring times that are ahead of us, when constructive statesmanship will at least be in as much demand as capacity for agitation.

* * *

IF there is one community more than another in this country which has exceptional opportunities of being in touch with the official world, it is doubtless the Europeans' Memorandum. This fact endows their memorandum to the Simon Commission with an importance all its own. In this, the grant of full responsible government to the provinces has been recommended; but it is hedged round by so many safeguards and conditions that it is feared that the so-called autonomy would in practice be much

restricted. Two of these conditions may be mentioned here. One is the establishment of second chambers and the other is the submission of all bills passed by provincial legislatures to the Governor-General-in-Council for his assent. But though this recommendation emanates from the central body, it has been left to their provincial committees to certify if an individual province is really ripe for it. It would of course be too much to expect such a cautious body as the European Association to make such a revolutionary proposal as the institution of adult suffrage, so far as elections to provincial councils go; but it is at the same time a mercy that it neither suggests that the present franchise should be curtailed. With the Mahomedans and Sikhs prepared to give up their separate electorates, decency required that the Europeans also should show their readiness to do without such electorates. But not only do they not want communal electorates to go, but desire the establishment of "an additional electorate based on community of interests which would cut across the communal interest."

The Association cannot reconcile itself to any advance in the central Government and wants the Viceroy's Executive Council to remain predominantly British with a British member in charge of Defence, who should replace the Commander-in-Chief on the Council. Coming to the central Legislature, it need hardly be stated that the Association which really mooted the idea of a purely non-Indian Commission to consider the question of the grant of a further constitutional advance to this country and to which the Assembly's decision to boycott the Commission is nothing short of a rap on its knuckles cannot regard the Assembly as representative. It therefore suggests a return to the old method of indirect election by provincial legislatures and approved public bodies, presumably of the type of the European Association, (with an increase in the nominated non-official element! Indianisation has, in its opinion, already gone far enough with the result that if it was allowed to continue any longer the character of the *Indian* administration would stand in danger of no longer remaining *British*, has at present with the additional risk that administrative efficiency would suffer. It follows that the Association cannot yet think of the disappearance of the India Council, for which the National Congress has been asking ever since its start. The Assam, Bengal and Punjab Provincial committees have submitted separate representations to the Commission on their own account. The Punjab Committee apparently regards the protection of British interests as on a par with the defence of the country and asks, as the central body has done in the case of defence, that European interests should be entrusted to the care of a special British member attached to the Government of India. If the non-official Europeans in this country fail to provide such a one, it has no objection to a selection being made from the public men in England and would like this special member to have "direct access to the Secretary of State and Parliament."

* * *

A DANGER AVERTED.

THE country will heave a sigh of relief at the failure of the Government's attempt to take to themselves powers of summarily dealing with foreign Communists. Though the attempt was frustrated by the casting vote of the President, there can be no doubt that public opinion in the country had expressed itself unequivocally in opposition to the measure. Even in regard to the voting on the Bill in the Assembly, the fact should not be lost sight of that those who voted in favour of the Bill included a large number of Government officials so that nobody can say that public opinion against the obnoxious measure was not sufficiently decisive.

We have no intention of denying that when the Bill as amended by the select committee came before the Assembly on Monday last, it did so in a somewhat improved form. Some of the amendments made by the committee must indeed have come upon many as an agreeable surprise. The committee, it will be remembered, limited the life of the Bill to five years at the close of which Government would again have to come before the Assembly and convince it as regards the necessity of a further lease of life to it, if they thought the situation in the country necessitated its further retention on the statute book. An appeal by the aggrieved person to a Bench of three sessions judges was also provided and by including among "excepted persons", in addition to Indians and subjects of Indian States to whom the measure was never intended to apply, British subjects ordinarily resident in India, an attempt was made to disarm the public suspicion that the measure might sometimes be used to deport non-Indians like Mrs. Besant and Mr. Andrews. Under the Bill as amended, the aggrieved person could also appeal to the High Court on the ground that, being an Indian British subject, he was entitled to exemption from its operation. But even these improvements did not, as they were never intended to, alter the fundamentally objectionable nature of this piece of legislation, viz. that it deprived the person concerned of his right to a fair and impartial judicial trial. There was of course the provision of an appeal to a Bench of three sessions judges; but it could in no case be said to be a satisfactory substitute for a judicial trial which ought in ordinary times never to be dispensed with. And, moreover, look at the disadvantages under which the aggrieved person would have been required to conduct his defence, in case the Bill had become law. To start with, there would be the presumption of guilt against him, it being left to him to establish his innocence. All that the Government had to do was to place all their evidence in support of the removal order before the Bench. To this evidence the aggrieved person could not claim access, much less could he be expected to rebut it! It was not even clear whether he was entitled to a copy of the judgment. On the other hand, look at the advantageous position of the Government in regard to the person whom they want to deport. It is they who were to lay down the procedure to be followed by the bench in each case. They were also free from

the bother of proving the guilt of the accused to public satisfaction by the usual legal processes. Thus, even under the measure as amended, all that they had to do was to ask the unfortunate man who had come under their displeasure to leave India and place such information against him as they happened to possess before a Bench of sessions judges without any fear that its veracity may be shaken by means of cross-examination. From this it can be seen that the only additional obligation thrown upon them by the select committee was to disclose their evidence against the aggrieved person to the Bench and none else. The Assembly therefore did well in throwing out the Bill, of which we hope we have heard the last.

LABOUR POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA.—VI*

WAGES

IN the last article we attempted to estimate the influence of Industrial Legislation on employment and its racial composition. In this we shall examine its influence on wages. The most striking features of the South African wage system are the wide gulf between the skilled wage and the unskilled wage and the small number of skilled workers compared with the vast majority of the unskilled. Four-fifths of the wage-earners in the Union are non-European. According to Mr. Lucas, the Chairman of the Wage Board, 95 per cent. of the industrial workers are engaged in unskilled work and only 5 per cent. in skilled and semi-skilled work. While the great majority of the latter are Europeans, the great majority of the former are non-Europeans, mostly Natives. The average rate of wage of the skilled worker is one pound a day and of the non-European one pound a week. In 1924-5 the average annual amount of salaries and wages paid to persons of each race for the whole Union in private industrial establishments and in Government industrial undertakings, including railways, was as under:—

	Private Establishments				Govt. Establishments.			
	Eur.	Col.	Nat.	As.	Eur.	Col.	Nat.	As.
Union	226	71	41	49	275	60	46	28
Natal	259	91	35	46	294	17	39	28
Durban	257	104	39	52	300	0	40	27

These figures are interesting in that they not only show the vast gulf that divides the wages of the Europeans from those of others, but also that in the case of the European and the Native the Government rate of wages is higher than the rate in private establishments, but in the case of the Asiatic the contrary is the case. While the private employer estimates the value of the European lower and the Asiatic higher than the Government, the latter estimates that of the Asiatic lower than that of the Native while the private employer does just the contrary. The Asiatic touches the low water-mark of wages, not even half a pound a week!

The Minority Report of the Economic and Wage Commission gives a diagrammatic representation of the racial composition of workers at different wage levels.

* Previous articles in this series appeared in our issues of March 22, April 17, June 9, August 2 and September 6.

Wages per annum in £	Percentage of total wage earners	Racial Composition		
		Eur.	Col.	Native
9--36	53	2	8	90
36--60	25	9	26	65
60-120	12	30	45	25
120-240	6	70	25	5
240-500	4	98	1	1

If £120 per annum is taken as the civilised wage, fully 90 per cent. of the wage-earners receive less than this wage. Of these the overwhelming majority are non-Europeans. If South African industry is to run on the basis of the civilised wage, the wage bill will have to be multiplied several times. It is impracticable, at any rate for a long, long while. This fact is recognised in the Wage Act itself in sec. 3, sub-section (3). In most of the recommendations made by the Wage Board it had to report in the first instance that it could not recommend a civilised wage to all the workers in the industry concerned.

The Economic and Wage Commission recommended that the "lowest paid classes of workers, irrespective of colour, have the first claim on the consideration of the Board" and also adjured that "care should be taken not to fix the rates which would have the effect of excluding them from employment and substituting others." Mr. T. Boyde, the Minister of Labour, in inaugurating the Wage Board on the 17th Feb. 1926, said that the Board was necessary not only because of the different and varied standards of civilization, but also "to protect the best against the unfair competition of the worst, and also to endeavour to raise the lowest so that they conform to the highest and best standards of civilization in this country." The question is to what extent these principles have been kept in view in fixing wages under the two Acts.

Very little information is available in the industrial agreements and the wage determinations as to the rates of wages that prevailed before they were altered. Generally only the new wage rates are given. It becomes difficult, therefore, to compare the rates before and after the change and find out which wage levels were improved. It will, however, be interesting to note the highest and the lowest wages fixed under the new dispensation in certain industries.

Industry	Highest wage	Lowest wage	Act
Furniture	£6-6	£1-1	I. C. A.
Leather	£6	£1-2	I. C. A.
Biscuit	£6-10	£1	I. C. A.
Tailoring and Clothing	£5-10	£1-2-6	Wage Act.
Sweet	£6-10	£1-4	Wage Act.
Furniture	£6-6	£1-1	Wage Act.
Leather	£6	£1-2	Wage Act.
Clothing	£5-10	£1-2-6	Wage Act.
Glass Bevelling	£5	£1-2-6	Wage Act.

It would appear from this that the wage determi-

nations under the Acts tend more or less to confirm the skilled wage of a pound a day and the unskilled wage of a pound a week. It is very doubtful if the lowest paid worker has had his position improved to any appreciable extent. Admittedly the unskilled worker is the lowest paid and most often the Native. Next only to agriculture, mining employs the largest number of Natives. But no effort has been made to bring the mining industry under the Wage Act. Thus one of the fundamental principles laid down by the Economic and Wage Commission, viz that the lowest paid class of workers, irrespective of colour, should have the first claim on the Wage Board, has been ignored.

The policy of the Wage Board is not so much the raising of low wages, but the standardising of all wages, at the rates approximating to the optimum then prevailing, or what the "best employers" have been paying. Take for example the Tea, Coffee and Chicory industries. The total number of employees in these industries in June 1927 was 795; of them 246 were Europeans, 191 Coloured, 168 Natives and 190 Asiatics. The prevailing rates of wages were £1 per Indian male adult, 7s. 6s. to 15s. per Indian juvenile, and £2 5s. to £1 13s. 6d. per European and Coloured female. The wage of a coffee roaster varied from 16s. to £4 per week; that of the coffee packers from 17s. 6d. to £2 10s. The Wage Board recommended that all juveniles should start on £1 per week and in two years get on to £2. All adult packers should get £2 per week, and coffee roasters £5. There is both a levelling, and a levelling up to the optimum of wages.

A STUDENT.

MANIPULATION OF RAILWAY RATES AND ACCOUNTS.

ONE of the first acts of the Railway Board after it came into existence in March 1905 was a substantial reduction in the minimum rates for the carriage of coal, with a view to bringing that commodity within the reach of industries situated at great distances from the coalfields. It appears that when the question of this reduction was under consideration a proposal was put forward that coal meant for the use of foreign railways should be carried at rates lower than those charged for public coal. But it was definitely decided that "the coal for the use of foreign railways is to be charged at the same rates and under the same conditions as coal carried for the public." The reasons for this are not far to seek. Any discrimination between the industry of transportation and other industries would have meant the risk of bringing it within section 42 (2) of the Indian Railways Act, IX of 1890, which runs as follows:—

"A railway administration shall not make or give any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage to or in favour of any particular person or railway administration, or any particular description of traffic, in any respect whatsoever, or subject any particular person or railway administration or any particular description of traffic to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage in any respect whatsoever."

The other reason was that the grant of preferential low rates to foreign railways, in some of which the State has no financial interest whatever, would have been at the expense of two of the most important State railways, viz., the East Indian and the Bengal Nagpur, on which coal traffic originates, and through them at the expense of the profits accruing to the State (i. e. to the tax-payer) from the working of those two railways. When, however, the question of increasing the rates was under consideration

early in 1920, the Government of India in the Railway Department suddenly made the discovery that in the circumstances of India—an ever convenient phrase—it was not necessary to continue the practice of allowing the same margin of profit in transactions between railways as in the case of public traffic. They accordingly gave up the former principle of equality of treatment and decided that the increased rates which were to come into force from April 1, 1920, should not apply to coal required for railway purposes, but that railway coal should continue to be carried at the old, i. e., low rates. It is clear that if this vicious principle of discrimination based on the ownership of coal had not been introduced and if all coal were as heretofore to be carried at uniform rates the increase in the rates for the carriage of public coal would not have been as heavy it actually was; but in that case a preponderatingly large number of railway administrations would have had their working expenses increased through the enhanced coal bill and their profits correspondingly decreased. The question regarding the unsatisfactory position of rates for the conveyance of railway coal and other railway material was first brought to notice by Mr. N. M. Joshi through interpellations in the Legislative Assembly as far back as September 6, 1922, and pursued by him and other members of the Assembly at various times during the succeeding three years, (vide pp. 31, 1020, 1297, 2964 and 4401 of Volume III, and 128 of Volume VI of the Legislative Assembly Debates). In April 1926, however, the rates for public coal were brought down to the level of rates for railway coal for distances over 400 miles, while for distances under 400 miles the rates for public coal were left at the old enhanced level, and those for railway coal were raised to the rates for public coal. Thus, it was believed, the era of preferential treatment had come to an end. But it appears from chapter XVI of Sir A. Lowes Dickinson's report on railway accounts that preferential treatment still persists, for in paragraph 339 he says:—

“The present practice under which Freight on Coal for the use of the Railways, and on all other Railway Material, is charged in accounts appears to be inconsistent. In some cases no charge is made; in others a charge is made at a reduced rate; and in others again full rates are charged.”

In the recommendations he has made on the subject he does not however suggest the total abolition of differential treatment but only a narrowing down of its scope. His proposal is that material conveyed for another railway should be treated differently from material conveyed by a railway for its own use, that is, (1) each railway should charge full classification (i. e., public) rates on all material conveyed for another railway which is not part of its operating system; (2) all material conveyed for (i. e. by) a railway for its own use, whether for revenue or for construction purposes (e. g., for the construction of new lines) should be charged and credited at a *reduced* rate calculated to represent approximately the cost of transportation, say, at 60 per cent. of the full classification (public) rate.

The first recommendation is unobjectionable, but in regard to the second we see no reason why full public rates should not also be charged on all material carried by a railway for its own use. In fact, the proposal to charge only the cost of transportation for revenue material has no merit except that of lending an air of reflected plausibility to the proposal to charge a lower rate for construction (i. e. capital) material. In the case of material conveyed by a railway for its revenue purposes, the railway does not stand to lose a single pie by charging the public rate, for whatever amount is expended on such conveyance is comple-

tely balanced by earnings of an equal amount. Thus, supposing that the G. I. P. Railway carried rails on its own line for revenue purposes at public rates at a total charge of Rs. 1,000, this amount would appear as expenditure in its Revenue Account and the same amount would simultaneously appear as earnings in the same account. That is, the Railway's Revenue Account as a whole would remain unaffected, the entry of Rs. 1,000 on one side of the account being balanced by a similar entry of Rs. 1,000 on the other side of the account. The case is, however, quite different in respect of material conveyed for use on a capital work like the construction of a new line. Here two distinctly separate accounts are concerned, viz., a Capital Account and a Revenue Account. A lower rate means an undercharge to the former account at the expense of the profits belonging to the Revenue Account. Every new line must be justified as a commercial proposition, i. e., it must be calculated to yield a fair profit, after meeting all revenue expenditure, on its *full legitimate* cost of construction. A relief to the Capital Account of 40% in freight charges, such as is proposed, will introduce an element of artificial reduction in the *full legitimate cost* of construction and is therefore objectionable in principle. An existing railway is itself a commercial or profit-earning concern and there is no valid reason why such a railway should forgo its own profit in favour of a project which also is meant to be profit-making. There is, further, a practical objection to the proposal. This arises out of the convention connected with the separation of the railway from the general finances of the Central Government. Under this convention the general revenues receive from the railway revenues a contribution of one per cent. on the capital at charge *plus* one-fifth of any surplus profits remaining after the payment of this contribution. The proposed relief to the Capital Account of 40% in freight charges means therefore a reduction both in the amount of the fixed contribution and in the one-fifth share of the surplus profits. The notes at page 459 of the issue of this paper of August 30, 1928, referred to the tendency of underbooking capital outlay. We observe the same tendency in this recommendation also and in the interest both of the general revenues, (i. e., the tax-payer) and of the purity of accounts, it is up to the Legislative Assembly to put its foot down on any proposal involving a manipulation of the capital account.

ECONOMY.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA, SEPTEMBER 6.

THE LEAGUE'S ASSEMBLY.

THE Ninth Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations met on Monday last. Following the usual custom, the President of the Council, this time Monsieur Procope, the Finnish Foreign Minister, directed the opening session, in the course of which Monsieur Zahle, the Danish delegate, was elected to the chair by 44 out of the 50 votes. A general view of the Salle de la Reformation, where most of the meetings of the Assembly are held, on the opening day sufficed to show the increase in the number of visitors from the general public, compared with last year, but one also felt that for some reason, there was none of that feeling of expectation and general tension in the air, which marked last year's gathering. Probably the absence of two of the principals, the British and German Foreign Ministers, from the gathering and the consequent realisation that no step of primary political importance was likely to be taken in the course of the present session accounted for it. Disarma-

ment, which usually forms one of the sensational features of the discussions at Geneva, has no doubt gained, albeit in a moral rather than in a precise technical manner, by the Paris Peace Pact, and ceased, to a certain extent, to be productive of the usual interest. The presence of the German and Austrian Chancellors in the town is however significant of the fact that the Powers who were forcibly disarmed as a result of the last war are not going to be content with moral disarmament and are determined to press the logic of the Versailles Treaty. Regarding disarmament, the new Franco-British naval accord is at least as prejudicial to its progress in reality as it is professedly favourable to it. The argument current in Geneva is that the agreement is a blessing inasmuch as it helps to get the discussions on the subject out of the impasse into which they had fallen and provides a basis for future negotiations. Both in Washington and Berlin, on the other hand, the agreement has been viewed with the utmost suspicion and so sensitive indeed has public opinion shown itself in this regard in both these Capitals, and latterly even in Rome, that an important section of the British press has been urging the British Government to publish the entire document so as not to give a start to any misunderstanding.

So far, not only has that not been done, but Washington has been put on its guard about Geneva on yet another score, viz., the League's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. Just on the eve of the Assembly's meeting, the Council of the League, now in session, published the text of its reply to the demand from Costa Rica for the League's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. The reply is obviously designed to please both the Latin American States and the United States of America. It declares that the regional understandings such as the Monroe Doctrine are not susceptible of definition by the League, but asserts that the Doctrine does not hinder the universal application of the League Covenant which is declared to be operative on the American Continent as well as elsewhere. Those who have followed the history of the Monroe Doctrine would appreciate the importance of such a statement coming from Geneva. In political circles here it is held that this answer to Costa Rica marks an important step and that it is the greatest initiative that the League has yet been known to take. In the present state of the Anglo-American relations, to which the American press devotes a great deal of attention, the Geneva pronouncement will certainly not go unnoticed by Washington. Mr. Kellogg's intimate associations with the Canadian Premier recently and his excellent reception in Dublin, to which town he went from Paris by a route that seemed to have been specially chosen so as to avoid the other island, are much commented upon by the New York papers. The feeling is gaining strength on this side of the Atlantic that the United States is pursuing a policy of open friendship with the Dominions regardless of its consequences on the relation between them and the Mother Country and that in diverse ways America is casting its shadow on the European continent. On the other side of the water it is equally felt that the Geneva organisation is being used deliberately as a foil to American diplomacy. What is noteworthy is that as a result of all these political currents and countercurrents, the talk, current some time ago, that the British foreign policy aimed at the consolidation of the Empire and meant to disburden itself of all ties with the European continent, is no longer heard. Britain no longer appears at Geneva, as in the previous years, like a disinterested police officer regulating European dissensions, but as a party as much interested as the others in European affairs.

ALCOHOL AND THE LEAGUE.

The question of the control of the traffic in alcohol, which caused a lively discussion last year before the Eighth Assembly has already been a subject for consideration before the ninth. The discussion has ended in favour of those who do not believe that wine deserves to be classed with opium and cocaine. Last year it was decided that the League was competent to consider the question, which was inscribed in the programme of the Second Commission dealing with technical organisation. Count Apponyi, of Hungary, this year demanded that it be transferred to the Fifth Commission dealing with hygiene. Monsieur Loucheur of France protested, and consequently alcohol will continue to be viewed only as contraband traffic. The Swiss delegate is the president of the Second Commission. It has been suggested that four points cover the interest of the League in the question of alcohol. The first is protection of native races against alcoholism. The second relates to efforts to prevent the smuggling of alcohol. The third concerns international conflicts of interests between alcohol-exporting States, and those which have adopted restrictive or prohibitive legislation with regard to alcoholic liquor. The fourth phase of action by the League would include the collection and collation of statistical and scientific information relating to the alcohol question. Several Articles of the Covenant give the League authority to consider these points. Article XXII directs mandatory nations to prohibit in the mandatory territories "such abuses as slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic" Article XXIII concerned with international commerce gives the Assembly power to deal with smuggling. Article XI empowers member-States to call to the attention of the League anything likely to disturb peace. It is held that this provision includes efforts of large liquor-exporting nations to force smaller ones to buy their exports. In this connection, it is noteworthy that the question has produced great interest in Great Britain where not long ago a memorial signed by many prominent persons was sent to the Foreign Office urging the Government to give the fullest support to proposals for action by the League against alcohol, and recalling that, "the traditional policy of this country has always been to endeavour to secure for smaller nations the fullest freedom in the conduct of their internal affairs, and also to give sympathetic consideration to all proposals designed to promote the social welfare of the nations".

OUR PARLIAMENTARY LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

SIMLA, SEPTEMBER 21.

THE PUBLIC SAFETY BILL.

THE tension over the Public Safety Bill and the attacks of certain press correspondents on the Chair still continues. The split in the elected ranks gave the Government a chance majority for their motion to refer the Public Safety Bill to a Select Committee. This has finished its labours and its report was presented to the House yesterday. As expected, the Bill has not been so altered as to be acceptable to the Opposition. It is not yet known whether Government would ask the President to suspend the standing orders to expedite the progress of the Bill; but if they are serious, Government must do so since they have always pleaded urgency in regard to this measure.

ATTACKS ON THE PRESIDENT.

The Assembly discussed the revelations made by the special correspondent of the *Pioneer* concerning

the attacks by the Simla correspondent of the *Times of India* and the *Daily Telegraph* of London, which suggested that the ruling of the President on the point of order raised by Pandit Motilal Nehru was influenced by party pressure. Both the President and Pandit Motilal vehemently denied this allegation. More surprising however was the *Pioneer* correspondent's allegations, subsequently confirmed by its editor, as substantially correct, that the feeling in official circles was that Mr. Patel was dead against them and that 'the Government were inspiring a definite movement to discredit the authority of the Chair and that the President Mr. Patel had been for some time on the black list of Government.' The opposition with one voice demanded that proper steps should be taken against all those who were trying to discredit the Chair. Mr. Patel related his experience and wondered if he was the President of the House or a prisoner that his movements should have been so closely watched by officials. Mr. Crerar's view that he or Government could not be responsible for anything said in the lobbies or outside the House by Government officials might be technically correct, but as a responsible official, his statement was characterised as a half-hearted attempt to tide over a difficult situation.

RESERVATION OF COASTAL TRAFFIC.

Mr. Haji's Bill was referred to a Select Committee after a strenuous fight both by the European group and the Government of India. It was not a surprise to see Government going directly against the recommendations of a Committee which consisted wholly of members nominated by them; for they had opposed a similar attempt three years back. Mr. Chetty showed that for coastal freight the shipping companies charged 30s. per ton, while for overseas trade with a distance of about three times as much they charged only 24s. per ton. He asked if any one could ever believe that it was a result of competition and not of monopoly since the coastal trade of India was the virtual monopoly of the B. I. S. N. Company. Mr. Stewart's speech showed that the game of setting Burma against India was again being played in spite of the support of the Burma India Chamber and the Burmese press. Government pleaded inability to accept the principle on technical grounds, as well as on grounds that the Bill meant racial discrimination and expropriation of the vested interests. If the vested interests, safely entrenched behind such Government support are never to be touched, it is difficult to foresee the day when India would get economic independence.

PROTECTION TO MATCH INDUSTRY.

A number of Government Bills were discussed on Monday, in regard to which Government had their way, as the Bills were mostly non-contentious. While the Income tax Amendment Bill was discussed, the usual complaint about the vagaries of Income-Tax officers were exposed by non-officials. The Protection of the Match Industry Bill evoked considerable criticism, although it was adopted without amendments. Sir George Rainy said that the Tariff Board found that the Indian Match industry required no protection and did not want Government assistance. If the Swedish Company tried to get a monopoly, Government would then review the situation and take steps for the purpose. The establishment of the Swedish firm came in for much criticism, and the House was not satisfied with the Government's reply that they would see that the Swedish Company did not prove a danger to the indigenous industry. Mr. Joshi wanted to put a restriction on profit-making at the expense of the taxpayer, but failed. The Bill was then passed without any amendment.

GIRLS' EDUCATION.

Discussion on Mr. Chatterjee's resolution recommending that steps may be taken for the furtherance of female education in the centrally administered territories occupied the whole of Tuesday, the day for the consideration of non-official resolutions. The debate was long-winded and every one accused Government of total indifference. Mr. Bajpai announced, in reply, that Government had decided to appoint a committee to go into the whole question. Since Mr. Jayakar's resolution in the last session, they had consulted minor administrations and settled the terms of reference to the committee to be appointed, which would also report on the provision of educational facilities for the untouchables. Mr. Kunzru's resolution, recommending the substitution of Indian forces for British soldiers in India, could not be reached as the discussion on Mr. Chatterjee's resolution left no time for it.

WORK IN THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

There is little that can be reported about the doings of the Council of State, during its six sittings. Dr. U. Rama Rao's resolution that no taxes on land should be levied except under laws enacted by the Local Legislatures was withdrawn and Government accepted Sir Pheroze Sethna's resolution asking Government to give prompt effect to the recommendations of the Linlithgow Commission, particularly those having a bearing on the uplift of the agricultural population. He emphasised the need for framing a programme to be steadily worked out, in the light of the report. Sir Mohammad Habibullah in reply gave an outline of what they proposed to do and mentioned as proof of their earnestness that they had called a conference of Local Governments and Co-operative Societies. Sir Sankaran Nair successfully piloted Sir Hari Singh Gour's Inheritance Bill, passed by the Assembly. 'Religion in danger' was the cry raised by the Maharaja of Darbhanga but he was neatly told that religion ought to change with the times if it wanted to be alive. The Bill was passed without amendment. Sir Sankaran Nair's own Bill to amend the law of succession to the advantage of women was referred to a Select Committee after some discussion. He hoped the Elders would not be unjust to the weaker sex by throwing out his Bill. The Council has agreed to elect three members to the Central Committee to cooperate with the Simon Commission. The Swarajists maintained that no committee could be called a committee of the Central Legislature so long as the Assembly refused to elect its own quota. Sir Pheroze Sethna asked if the so-called Central Committee could be truly representative if a part of it was to consist of nominated members. But consisting as the Upper Chamber does of political back-numbers like Sir Maneckji Dadabhoj, it would have been surprising if it had followed the Assembly's example and refused to cooperate with the Simon Seven.

In this connection attention may be invited to the following statement issued by Mr. Ramadas Pantulu, the Swarajist leader in the Council of State, immediately after his party's walk-out as a protest against the election of three members to sit with the Simon Commission:

"Thanks to the political wisdom of the co-operating 'elders,' they have left the choice of the three members to be elected to the Central Committee entirely to the official bloc. Out of the non-officials who are in attendance 10 are boycotters. If the others, about 18, had combined they could have sent at least two men of their choice. But 12 out of these 18 non-official votes became entirely ineffective.

"What is more striking is that out of Sir Sankaran Nair's constitutional party all five members who are in attendance are standing against their leader. So the result is made to depend entirely upon the votes of Government officials. The so called election by the Council of State is nothing but nomination pure and simple by the Government. It is perfectly consistent with the tradition of the House and the tactics of the bureaucracy. The subsequent withdrawal of four of the 12 members who got themselves nominated does not alter the position, as the statement made by Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoj clearly shows that the withdrawal was part of the Government plan to ensure men of their choice getting in without any difficulty".

OUR U. P. LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

ALLAHABAD, September 23.

COUNCIL AND THE COMMISSION.

THE principal feature of the current session of the United Provinces Legislative Council hitherto has been that almost every day affairs took unexpected turns. The Council met on Sept. 17, but no regular business was transacted on that day. After a short sitting, the House adjourned as a mark of respect to the late Sir Alexander Muddiman. All eyes were turned to the second day's sitting of the Council, when a long and heated debate was expected to ensue on the Government's motion for the appointment of a committee to cooperate with the Simon Commission. Long and arduous efforts had been made for days together by the Government and all methods, fair and otherwise, had been adopted by them, to secure the maximum support in the House for their unholy cause. And when they came to the Council Chamber on the morning of the 18th, they came in their full glory, with plenty of assurances in their pockets from quite a variety of members, to stand by them. Sure of their victory, the Government members were all in eagerness to proceed straight to a discussion on the subject and reach the voting stage as quickly as possible. But when the "victory" came, it was not worth all the labour and energy which each one of them and all of them had spent in its preparation. If "victory" it can be called, it was so only in name; in reality it was a defeat. His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey, as the head of the Government, and as the main spring of the vast organization that had been brought into play, can have poor satisfaction after all at the achievement of his men.

There was nothing but scathing denunciation of the Government's methods by Mr. Chintamani, the leader of the Nationalist Party, and Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the Swarajist leader, who after making their speeches, refused to remain in the Chamber while the motion itself was under discussion. With them, all the Swarajist and Nationalist members and a few Progressives and non-party men also walked out. Mr. Chintamani, in his most effective speech, attacked the Government not only vigorously but violently for their wilful and deliberate contempt of the Council in reopening the subject of the Simon Commission in the manner they had done. The Council had only in February last expressed its emphatic opinion that it would have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage and in any form. So long as the resolution was not rescinded it was grossly unfair on the part of the Government now to come forward with a motion for the appointment of a subordinate committee to cooperate with the Commission. Not until the House had first reversed its earlier resolution for boycott, could the Government

adopt such a course. But it was all a question of tactics, declared the Nationalist leader. Tactics, tactics! On tactics they live, and by their tactics they will perish. The Government's conduct toward the Council, towards the country, whose enlightened and representative opinion the Council faithfully recorded on February 25, did not deserve pardon for the past, applause for the present and confidence for the future, said Mr. Chintamani. He and his party, therefore, declined to have any part or lot in the discussion that followed. After the Nationalists and the Swarajists had walked out, there remained in the Council the official and nominated members, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan and his henchmen of the Muslim group and a few of the titled men. The rump then proceeded to discuss the motion, and as a matter of course, adopted it. A striking feature of the so-called debate which took place without the Opposition was that even among those who spoke in favour of the motion, there were voices of bitter complaint against the Government. One Muslim member, for instance, complained that he accepted the Commission only under compulsion and added that if there was an opportunity India would retaliate for the insult directed against her!

The resultant Committee, which will now sit in joint conference with the Simon Seven, furnishes ample testimony to the strength of the boycott in the province. Of the seven members of the Committee two are representatives of Muslim Communal electorates, Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan, the author of the famous memorandum submitted to the Commission by the Committee of Muslim Demands, being one of them; two nominated members; a representative of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce; one of the representatives of the British Indian Association; and one more member who is an ultra-loyalist. A worthier set of men, the Government can never hope to have found in the whole of the United Provinces!

A 'NO CONFIDENCE' MOTION.

Even more surprising, and disconcerting to the Government, than the walk-out of the Opposition members on the 18th was the 'No-confidence' motion brought by the leader of the Nationalist Party against the Education Minister, Raja Jagannath Baksh Singh. Since the Raja Saheb's desertion of the Nationalist Party in March last and his acceptance of office later in June, in circumstances which bring him no credit, the Nationalists had been contemplating such a step, and a final decision was arrived at at a meeting of the party held recently at Naini Tal, when the Raja's letter of resignation of membership of the party came up for consideration. The decision was to remove him from the party and further to move a vote of censure upon him at the next meeting of the Council. Accordingly, the leader of the party, Mr. Chintamani brought before the House a motion of 'No-confidence' in the Education Minister, discussion on which occupied the House a whole day. For hours the House was kept in deep suspense and the Government's energies were once again taxed heavily to canvass support for their tottering Minister. The division resulted in a tie, and the President taking the sense of the House gave his casting vote in favour of the motion, with the result that Raja Jagannath Baksh Singh, the most favoured of the Government, will now have to quit the Ministerial Gadi.

REVIEW SECTION.

DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

THE ESSENTIALS OF INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC LAW AND ORGANISATION. By

AMOS S. HERSHEY. (Macmillan, New York.)
1927. 8¾ × 5¾. pp. 784.

THE first edition of Dr. Hershey's book in 1912 was enthusiastically hailed by students of the subject as an excellent text-book of the subject on thoroughly up-to-date lines. A second edition of the work had long been overdue, but was not published because, as the author says, "Not until the dawn of Geneva and Locarno did the writer acquire sufficient resolution to undertake the task of this revision". And this edition is now published because "he is now persuaded not only that the New World order has secured a fairly firm footing, but that, mainly due to the agency of the League of Nations, International Law is passing through the greatest period in the history of its development." It is possible to demur to this enthusiastic confidence of the author in the promise of Locarno, and, we may add, of the Kellogg Pact,—but it is all to the good that this confidence has induced the author to bring out a second edition of his valuable work.

International Law today is very different from the Law of the days of Grotius and if one may summarise the difference in a single sentence, one may say that while Grotius built on an *a priori* basis, the jurist of to-day has to be essentially empirical. History and precedents must now take the largest place in the treatment of International Law, and a growing part must moreover be taken by the conventional legislation of the League of Nations. Dr. Hershey's book is not only richer than most treatises in these materials of modern International Law, but his handling of his material is masterly and places before the student in a clear and well-ordered series the salient facts of history as well as the precedents on each topic that he deals with.

The method of the author is historical but the book is not a history of International Law. It is a systematic exposition of the law under appropriately divided topics. But in treating each topic the author proceeds historically showing the development of that topic of law by stages leading up to the modern law, followed up by an analysis and exposition of the present-day laws. In the interest of clearness of exposition the author has refrained from burdening the text with superfluous details and confined himself to the bare outline of history, while the copious and exhaustive footnotes have gone into greater detail and given helpful references to literature which will be found invaluable to the student who desires to pursue the matter further. The book has thus become an invaluable guide to students.

The work is meant as a text-book and not an original treatise. The author has therefore judiciously kept himself within the limits of exposition and as a rule eschewed criticism. But the text and

more specially the footnotes are full of suggestions and brief criticisms which are luminous and eminently sane.

The outlook of the author is that of a true international lawyer and historian. His exposition is throughout inspired by a faith in internationalism and a hope of a future ampler realisation of it. Both in the exposition and the history, the author has maintained a scrupulously impartial outlook and has not failed to apportion praise or blame to the participants in historic quarrels. His treatment, for instance, of the causes of the last war is a remarkably impartial and careful treatment of the subject. In dealing with other historical incidents too he has kept clear of all bias, even in dealing with affairs in which his own country was concerned. He is not afraid to call a spade a spade (as e. g. in his treatment of international protectorates.) With regard to matters however upon which such comments would be premature he has confined himself chiefly to a bare statement of the law. Thus with regard to Mandates, he gives and analyses the provisions of the League of Nations Covenant regarding it and he does not forget to add a note to the effect that the Allied Powers arrogated to themselves the right to distribute the mandates and in fact even before the signature of the Treaty of Versailles. He states the law with precision and leaves it at that, without proceeding to criticise how the Mandatories have worked. In a note he points out the nature and constitution of the Mandatory Commission and refers to the resolution of the Commission that the Mandatory Powers do not possess "any right over any part of the territory under mandate than that resulting from their being entrusted with the administration of the territory". He proceeds to add however that "the Commission seems to need larger powers and should have observers on the spot".

In treating of the causes of war the author goes slightly beyond the bounds of law proper, as he acknowledges; but here too he deals with the matter with his characteristic coolness and judgment and bases his judgment on facts rather than on *a priori* reasonings. The long catalogue of causes assigned by him really covers every cause of war and one notices that the place of honour in this catalogue belongs to Nationalism and Imperialism.

Altogether the work is admirably adapted as a text-book for students, on account alike of the fulness of its material, and of the method of exposition, no less than for the impartial and well-balanced presentation of facts and comments.

NARES CH. SEN-GUPTA.

TILAK IN UNDRESS.

REMINISCENCES AND ANECDOTES OF
LOKAMANYA TILAK. Vol. III. Ed. by S.
V. BAFAT. (Kesari Office, Poona.) 1928. 7½ × 5-
pp. 212. Rs. 2.

THE Editor is much distressed that his industry in collecting reminiscences of the late leader by men

who knew him intimately is not better rewarded than it is. His ambition apparently was to give some 2,000 pages revealing the Lokamanya, so to say, in undress, but, in spite of what Mr. N. C. Kelkar calls vigorous "reminiscence-hunting", Mr. Bapat is able to give in the three volumes only one-fifth of the matter originally planned. The meagreness of the fare offered will, however, be felt by the reader more in quality than in quantity, for a large number of the persons who have been laid under contribution in this volume either never came into touch with Mr. Tilak at all, or, like Sir J. C. Bose, met him "only for a few hours". Sir P. C. Ray, Ven. Angarika Dharmapala, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Lala Harkishen Lal, Mr. J. K. Mehta &c. fall into this category. Their contributions are in the nature of essays appraising the worth of this national hero, but without detracting in any way from the value of the great services rendered by the subject of this volume, it must be confessed that these appreciations are much too scrappy and unconsidered to be at all helpful. There are some which ought to have been unceremoniously rejected; e.g. that of a Sir Edgar Wallis (sic), who very condescendingly certifies thus, "I feel satisfied that, had he (Tilak) lived, it would have been for the good and to the advantage of his country"!! (p.121). The volume of course contains some reminiscences by men who were Mr. Tilak's coadjutors in public work, e.g., Mr. Khaparde, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai. But their reminiscences are extremely disappointing. Mr. Khaparde, who was of course in close co-operation with the Lokamanya, occupies no less than 37 pages of this volume with extracts from his diary, but he is evidently a far better speaker than a diarist. It would indeed be difficult to believe unless one reads these pages that he can be as dull and depressing in writing as he is bright and animated in speech. But, what is more to our purpose, there is little or nothing in what he writes which lights up, not to speak of any unknown passages in Mr. Tilak's life, even the traits of his character. Panditji's and Lalaji's writing partakes too much of platitudinous praise and conventional reservations to be of value either as reminiscence or appreciation, and does not contain a single personal touch. Still we can catch in this volume occasional glimpses of Tilak as man and as politician which are very valuable: his attempt to speak in Hindi at Benares in 1920 (p. 25); English children pulling off his *pagree* with his good-humoured acquiescence (p. 23); his declaration at Lucknow that he cannot yield too much to Mahomedans for the sake of unity and his vigorous condemnation of Arrah riots (pp. 117, 8); his "deep" disappointment at being cold-shouldered by the Selborne Committee. (p. 121); and still greater shock at not being allowed to lead a deputation to the Peace Conference (p. 114), his insistence that his counsel should adopt a particular line of defence on his behalf, which led to a "serious difference" with Mr. Jinnah (p. 34); his declaration of faith, in regard to social matters, that even if in favour of social reform he must appear in public as opposed to it because he must respect the prejudices of the people (p. 7), and, in regard to political matters, that "Truth has no place in politics" (p. 65); release by Mr. Montagu from the condition of non-participation in politics while in England in 1919 (p. 155). In this volume the opinions of the writers of reminiscences obtrude far too much on the reader. They have really no place in a book of this kind. Still some opinions are useful because they are representative; e.g., Sir Sayajirao Maharaja's condemnation of Tilak's views on caste as unprogressive (p. 176), and Sir Visvesvaraya's disapproval of Tilak's methods of political warfare (p. 139). On the latter subject Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer is superb:

speaking of the "brutal" means used by Tilak towards his opponents he says: "I have often compared Tilak with those great and misunderstood ecclesiastical dignitaries who felt infiniteness for those that were burnt at the stake"!! (p. 19). It is an interesting speculation as to what Mr. Tilak's attitude would have been towards the movement of N.C.O. The general belief is that he would have opposed it, and Mr. Polak has given expression to this widespread belief (p. 122); but Mrs. Besant in her "Foreword" puts forward a contrary view which too appears plausible and quite in keeping with Mr. Tilak's maxims of political conduct. She says that seeing that Gandhi was gaining power Tilak would not have broken with him. The best portion of the volume is undoubtedly Lokamanya's own letters, which give a vivid idea of his fortitude, courage, capacity for taking infinite pains and for bestowing careful thought on minute details and also of his lucid style and command over English. Evidently some of these reminiscences were in Marathi and have been rendered in English. The rendering is execrable in places and typographical errors numerous. Though most of these are easily detectable, some like "Pollock" for "Polak" (p. 94), twice repeated, may cause confusion.

V. K.

AMERICA EXAMINES HERSELF.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICIES. By JAMES WILFORD GARNER. (New York University Press,) 1928. 9¼ x 6. pp. 264. S 3.50.

BY warning against the subtle and deadening effects of self-complacency and self-satisfaction in his 'Culture and Anarchy,' Matthew Arnold rendered a great service to his countrymen and the world. Unfortunately quite a number of Americans indulge in such feelings and take pride in 'Hundred Per Cent. Americanism,' call their country 'God's own country' and believe seriously in the slogan 'My country, right or wrong'. The Hearst Press, the Klu Klux Klan and the American Legion come under this category. These people sincerely believe in the superiority of everything American—civilization, government, art—and look down sneeringly upon everything European or Asiatic. But there is a small minority among them who see in such self-satisfaction a hindrance to progress. These are few in number and so are continuously being persecuted by the reactionary groups in the United States. They believe in the potential capacity and usefulness of every country and civilisation and are eager to understand and appreciate the other man's point of view, be he a Westerner or an Oriental. To this class belong the editors of *The World Tomorrow*, Dr. Emerson Fosdick, Mr. Upton Sinclair, the author of *Brass Check* and Mr. Sinclair Lewis, the author of *Babbitt*, and a number of teachers and professors in American Colleges and Universities who seek to recognise culture wherever it may be found and are ready to incorporate what is best in countries other than their own.

It would not have been worth our while to read and review this book had it not been for the fact that the author, Professor of Political Science in the University of Illinois, belongs to the latter section of the American people and tries honestly and frankly to go to the bottom of things so that he might discover the evil forces that are eating at the very vitals of democracy and liberty in his country at the present day. Though the book is a mere symposium of contemporary political events in the United States great credit is due to the author in that he has tried to appraise the foreign policy of his country

from the detached position of a scholar. In this he has succeeded admirably.

The book contains seven chapters, being the lectures given by the author in connection with the James Stokes Lectureship on Politics of the New York University. He begins by unravelling one by one the forces inherent in the present working of the American political system which only help to perpetuate a policy of isolation and non-interference in the affairs of other people. The most important of these is the "force of tradition". To this day it is not strange to find leading American Senators and statesmen referring to the views and policies laid down by Washington and Jefferson. Even when the question of America's entry into the League of Nations was discussed in the American Senate, men like Senators Lodge and Borah warned the people against entering such a League since Washington had forbidden his people against alliances. The author laments the fact that his countrymen do not realise that Washington and other founders of the Republic had warned his people against alliances for the reason that America at that time was a small isolated strip of country hardly one-fifth its present size. Such a warning was based on fear, distrust and suspicion of Europe and was applicable to the conditions of that day.

Then there is a strong conviction on the part of most of the Americans that their civilization, art and government are the most superior in the world and that they would be degrading themselves by associating with other people. It is nothing short of blindness, provincialism and self-centredness on the part of the President of the United States to say in an address, "(We) have contributed more to human advancement in a century and a half than all the people of the world in all the history of the world". We cannot imagine self-complacency soaring to more dizzy heights, and is it not a great pity and tragedy that the President of one of the "advanced" nations should be boasting in this manner? The above statement is quoted by the author.

He reminds the reader that American foreign policy has been greatly influenced because of the heterogeneous nature of its population. In 1920 there were 44 millions of foreignborn persons in the United States, most of them having migrated thither from European countries. They retain their attachment to their people in Europe. Such feelings are kept up and perpetuated in the New World, so much so that American statesmen cannot touch a European question without at the same time arousing some element of it in U.S.A. This was very much in evidence during the War. When the German Navy sank the 'Lusitania' the Americans were clamouring for war against Germany, but the German element in the American population was preaching hatred against the British people and tried their best to prevent America entering the War. Then there is a large section of the American population which is Irish and when the Irish people in Ireland claimed independence the American statesmen were hard put to it and the relationship between America and England reached a straining point more than once. In view of this two-sided loyalty on the part of Europeans domiciled in America sometimes it has become well-nigh impossible for America to take an active participation in European affairs.

This naturally brings the author to a discussion of the famous Monroe Doctrine. To begin with, this Doctrine has never been defined definitely anywhere. With some Americans it is a bogey to be afraid of, while with others it is a cult to be religiously preserved at all costs. What is this Doctrine which has played such an important part in American politics. We would not be far from the truth even

if we said that it has played a very great part in American commerce, industry and its international relationships. First it started as a measure of self-protection, but as most of our self-preservative standards do, it degenerated. President Monroe claimed the right of U.S.A. to safeguard the American Continent from the European Nations transplanting their monarchical systems of government and colonising the land there in return for the U.S. following a policy of non-intervention in European affairs. By slow degrees this American policy has been applied to the extent of America interfering in the local affairs of Latin-American (South American) countries.

The chapter on "Imperialism and Dollar Diplomacy" is not pleasant reading to anyone who loves and admires America. Referring to how quite a big slice of Mexico came to be American territory, the author says, U.S.A.

"took not only the territory (in Mexico) in dispute but approximately one-third of what she had left. The taking of Mexico's territory was an example of imperialism which was as indefensible as that of which any European country has been guilty since the days of Napoleon. It is so black that no historian will ever be found who can paint it white; and the memory of it still plagues our relations with Latin-America."

Time and space forbid our describing the circumstances under which unjustifiable measures were adopted to force the hands of President McKinley to take the Philippines from Spain. The author amusingly closes the episode by saying, "Then he (McKinley) went to bed, slept soundly, and next morning sent for the map-maker of the War Department and told him to put the Philippines on the map of the United States."

But the story does not end here. We cannot stop to review that part of the book which deals with the "rape of Panama,"—the circumstances under which President Roosevelt "took" the Canal (Panama) Zone. We could only conclude by quoting a statement in regard to the "peaceful penetration" of U.S.A. into Latin-American countries,

"In about thirty years, we have created two new republics, Cuba and Panama; converted both of them and three other Latin-American countries—the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Haiti—into virtual protectorates; intervened by force at least thirty times in the internal affairs of nine supposedly sovereign and independent nations; made the period of intervention last anywhere from a few days to a dozen years; enlarged our investments from a paltry two or three hundred millions of dollars to the tidy sum of upwards of three billions; and installed in four states our own collectors of customs to insure payment. Incidentally, we have annexed Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands, built a canal, secured an option to construct another, and gathered in several naval stations."

This is quoted by the author as being a statement made by Prof. Shepherd of Columbia University.

Then the author discusses the implications of the Immigration Act of 1924, which contains a discriminatory clause directed against the Japanese, and generally against all Orientals. He is convinced that this was not enacted in response to the pressure of public opinion, but was piloted and carried through during the time of a presidential election "in part upon the demand of certain members of Congress from the far West who expected to derive political advantage from such legislation." We must admit that a few American citizens and influential public bodies in U.S.A. protested against this law. As if to increase this humiliation, America added to her Statute Book the Cable Act of 1922 whereby American women are denationalised the moment they marry

Oriental, "a punishment to the woman and a stigma upon the race from which she chooses her husband".

Thus far we have seen only one side of the picture, but what about the "other side of the medal"? What is America's contribution towards the betterment and uplift of the world? It cannot be denied that America generously gave large sums of money to famine-stricken people of Europe, that it has always offered an asylum for people who were political refugees from Europe and India, and that its government was the first to recognise and support the national governments of China and other countries based on popular consent. But the last War was a great challenge to America's moral leadership. There was a time when the world stopped to listen to what President Wilson had to say.

The tasks accomplished under Wilson's leadership both in the field of diplomacy and in the field of humanitarian service contribute one of the finest chapters of American achievement. But the author feels that America has fallen from its high place and failed at a most critical time in the history of the world. Wilson sacrificed everything for the sake of the League of Nations, but to this day America is outside of the great fight in which the nations of the world are engaged to limit armament, to outlaw war and to pool their resources for the betterment of the world. Referring to American policy since the Armistice, one of the greatest of Americans, President Butler of Columbia University, said in an address early in 1927:

"(We) made this nation of ours a dangerous derelict adrift on the high seas of international intercourse, lying straight across the path of every ship that sails laden with the precious cargo of international friendship and concord",

and the *New York Times* in an editorial of January 1927 referring to the above address said:

"This, at the end of seven years, in which the other nations have been undertaking to free the seas and harbours of the earth of wilful international collisions; seven years of surpassing plenty for us, seven years of relative famine for them; seven years in which we have loudly proclaimed our desire for peace; seven years in which we have left others to do what we have dreamed; seven years in which we, in our comfort, self-complacency, and our chatter about prosperity, have failed to take our resolute part in world affairs and even to show a decent respect for the opinions of mankind."

T. J. CORNELIUS.

THE GREAT ASOKA.

ASOKA. (Gaekwad Lectures.) By RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJEE (Macmillan.) 1928. 8¾ × 5½. pp. 273. 21s.

INDIA has a precious heritage in her ancient history. But a large portion of it is lost in darkness. Thanks to the ceaseless efforts of the Archaeological Department and the painstaking, laborious and selfless work of Western scholars, a small portion of that rich treasure is being traced and restored to the world. Their labours are attended with a large measure of success, especially in the form of remarkable discoveries of rock-edicts and pillar inscriptions (thirty-five in all) of the Mauryan Emperor Asoka, who, by the common consent of all historians, is the greatest Indian Emperor of ancient India, and, according to H. G. Wells, one of the six greatest men the world has produced. It is a deplorable fact that the world has to go without a complete and trustworthy biography of such an eminent personage of ancient times. But our grief is partly alleviated by the fact that

among the discoveries hitherto made there are valuable materials which, though still scanty, enable us to form an accurate idea of the wonderful personality of Asoka and the admirable methods he pursued to achieve the moral and spiritual welfare of his subjects. Besides Asoka's inscriptions which might rightly be held as constituting his autobiography, there are legends of the Northern and the Southern Buddhists, which, when carefully sifted, yield not an inconsiderable amount of information about Asoka and his times. With these materials at one's disposal it may be considered an easy task to write a monograph on Asoka. But such is not the case. Mr. Vincent Smith has written one for the 'Rulers of India' series, but his attempt cannot be said to be a success. For though a writer of high talents and ability, he was a foreigner and as such lacked the quality of entering into the depth and spirit of Buddhist legends which go to make up Asoka's biography. Other foreign biographers of Asoka have met with a similar fate. Destiny seems to have reserved that task for an Indian writer, and it is hoped it will not be long before a worthy Indian will come forward to shoulder and execute it to the satisfaction of all.

The volume under notice by Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee can in no sense be termed a biography of Asoka. The author himself does not claim to have written one. His book, rightly judged, is a mere repository or a warehouse where information about Asoka, wherever found (in Sanskrit, Pali or English), is carefully noted and put in the right place. From this point of view the book has no doubt a great value. In the first six chapters the author gives an account of the early life and family history of Asoka, his administration, religion, monuments and the social conditions of his time. In the seventh chapter, which is of the utmost importance, are given translations and annotations of the several inscriptions of Asoka and Chapter VIII contains the text of the inscriptions in Roman characters. There are three appendices, one dealing with the Asokan chronology from the legends, another with the chronology of Asoka's Edicts, and the third giving information about the script, dialect and grammar of the Asokan inscriptions. In fact the author has shown wonderful capacity for work, patience, energy and judgment. In the chapter on translations of the inscriptions he has in many places suggested new interpretations, some of which are worthy of consideration at the hands of scholars. For obvious reasons we cannot discuss them here.

It is however a pity that the author has not been able to discuss or elucidate a few points of interest in the life of Asoka. For instance, it is often alleged by Jain writers (the late Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. Satish Charan Vidyabhushan, Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, among them) that Asoka was a Jain before he became converted to Buddhism. Rev. H. Heras, S. J., in his article contributed to the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* of Bangalore has questioned the correctness of the statement often made about Asoka having ever preached Buddhism or of Vincent Smith's statement that Mahinda was a brother, not a son, of Asoka and that Sanghamitra, Asoka's daughter, never visited Ceylon, carrying a bough of the Bodhi tree as a symbol of Buddhism. With a vast store of knowledge of Asoka's life and times, it should not have been difficult for the author to discuss these questions and state his decisive opinion thereon. But the learned author has failed to do so, which is a matter of great regret to readers who seek enlightenment on these and similar points. However, the book, even as it is, is replete with information useful to students of ancient Indian history and provides ample materials for writing

Asoka's biography, for which the author deserves our warm thanks.

V. G. APTE.

SHORT NOTICES.

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1925.

Vol. II By C. A. MACARTNEY and Others. (Oxford University Press.) 1928. 9¾ × 6¾. pp. 486. 25s.

THIS volume of the Survey of International Affairs, which has become indispensable for all serious political students of post-war Europe, is the second for the year 1925. The first dealt with the affairs of the Islamic world since the war, and was edited by Professor Toynbee, while the second deals with the events of 1925 under the headings of World Affairs, Europe and Far East. Though Prof. Toynbee has not edited this, as he did previous volumes, he has transferred the editorship into very safe hands in the person of Mr. Macartney, and we can confidently say that the standard achieved suffers nothing from comparison with earlier volumes.

There is much of great interest in this volume, and we can do no more than indicate a few of the most interesting sections. The first section deals with the lapse of the Geneva Protocol incidentally showing the part played by the Dominions in influencing Great Britain's decision to reject it, and with the Locarno negotiations. Here we notice that the first German offer of a guarantee was made on December 31, 1927 and that it was the fourth offer which finally obtained a response from the Allies. Section B contains much interesting information on the humanitarian work of the League of Nations, among which the control of opium, the protection of women and children, and the Health Organisation of the League may be mentioned.

In Part II, which deals with Europe, points of special interest are section II, which include the relations of Germany and Poland, the activities of the Little Entente and the status of Danzig and the whole of Section E, which includes the Turko-Greek exchange of populations and the settlement of the Greek refugees, the expulsion of the Greek Patriarch from Constantinople, and the minorities question in Greece and Bulgaria. Part III deals with the Far East, and dealing, as it does, with the Tariff Conference, the Shanghai incident of 1925 and the subsequent boycotts is of absorbing interest. Part IV is concerned with the American continent; the first section has an interesting account of the relations of the United States with the Latin American republics, and their attitude to the League of Nations. The book concludes with four maps and the printing as appendices of diplomatic documents contained in the Locarno Pact and the vexed article 27 of the Mexican Constitution of 1927.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

CURRENT INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION. By MANLEY O. HUDSON. (Calcutta University Press.) 1927. 7 × 5. pp. 149.

THIS little book contains four lectures by Prof. Hudson of Harvard University, as Readership lectures in the University of Calcutta delivered in January 1927. The first lecture entitled "The Growth of International Co-operation before the War" surveys the transformation of the world from an aggregation of more or less isolated states to an international community and traces the development of agencies of conference and co-operation to serve the common interests of mankind. In the second lecture on "The Rôle of the League of Nations in World

Society," the author discusses the nature of the League and reviews the more important achievements of the League in the interest of the common good and especially for the advancement of the peace of the world. He concludes that on the whole the achievements of the League so far justify the belief that it has a very promising future. Professor Hudson is at his best in the third lecture on "The Rôle of International Courts in World Society," where he discusses, though briefly, the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the abortive International Prize Court, proposed International Criminal Court, and the Permanent Court of International Justice. He believes that, with all its defects, there is still a place for the old Court of Arbitration and that some states will still prefer it to the new Court. He is inclined to think that the advantage of giving the Court compulsory jurisdiction has been over-emphasized; he also defends the principle of advisory opinions, and finds no cause for anxiety over the lack of sanctions to insure the enforcement of the judgment of the Court. In the last lecture, Prof. Hudson surveys rapidly the recent progress of positive International Law as is evidenced by the conclusion of more than 1300 treaties since the war, many of them multi-lateral conventions. Each lecture is accompanied by a brief select bibliography of the literature on the subject with which the lecture deals. Altogether the book under review is both an interesting and instructive monograph on International Co-operation.

V. SHIVA RAM.

CHINESE POLITICAL THOUGHT. By ELBERT DUNCAN THOMAS. (Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York.) 1927. 9¼ × 6. pp. 317 \$5.00.

DR. ELBERT DUNCAN THOMAS has given the lie direct to the assumption of western writers that political theories and practices are wholly of western origin. In the book before us the learned author has very ably expounded Chinese political thought of the Chou period. The Chou period which extended from 1122 to 249 B. C. was 'the formative and constitutional period of all Chinese culture.' The period witnessed the establishment of the Chou dynasty and its subsequent decay, the rise of the feudal nobles and wars among them, and the formation of leagues and alliances.

"Thus we see that we have 900 years of political growth that develops much that the world has experienced in political thought from anarchism to absolutism, and from feudalism to federation."

The author gives us a historical introduction and introduces us to the main thinkers of the period. A mere reading of Chuang Tzu, Mencius, and the commentary of Tso will show that China evolved political theories long before the Western nations were born. The author gives us numerous quotations from the works and sayings of the thinkers of the Chou period and discusses the Chinese theory of the State, Chinese despotism, Chinese democracy, etc. The review is not intended for the lazy reader, and we will therefore refer our readers to the book itself so as to get a good idea of early Chinese political thought.

Dr. Thomas has done a distinct service to students of political science by his brilliant survey of Chinese political thought of the Chou period. If the learned author had given within the compass of a single volume Chinese political thought from early times to our own day, he would have received the warm gratitude of students of Chinese history and politics. We may mention in passing that China in the first century A. D. solved some problems which the west attempted to solve at a very late period. We

need only refer our readers to the attempt made by Wang-Mang to abolish slavery and private property in land. We may also mention Wang-Mang's system of loans in aid of the farmer and his ingenious scheme for the regulation of the price of grain. We therefore hope that Dr. Thomas will take up the task of expounding Chinese political thought in the first century A.D. and subsequent centuries.

We have no hesitation in saying that the book of Dr. Thomas is a welcome addition to the growing literature on China. It is a book which no one interested in China should be without.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

EMPIRE GOVERNMENT. By MANFRED NATHAN.

(Allen & Unwin.) 1928. 8½ × 5¾. pp. 256. 10s.

To Indians of all persuasions who are actively engaged in constitution-making it is useful to have a correct knowledge of the system prevailing in the British Commonwealth of Nations. An excellent text-book on the existing system "in its statioal aspect" is produced by Dr. Nathan in his "Empire Government."

The matter is treated in two parts dealing with Territorial Government and Division and Exercise of Governmental Powers. The "first League of Nations", as the orators are proud to describe the British Empire, has had some changes in its title; and the King's title has also been brought up-to-date as a result of the Report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of the Imperial Conference of 1926. It is essential to remember that the British Commonwealth consists of Great Britain, Ireland (Irish Free State and Northern Ireland), the Self-governing Dominions, the "constitutional anomaly" of India, the Crown Colonies like Gibraltar and St. Helena, Protectorates like Sieria Leone and Uganda, and the mandated territories under Article XXII of the Covenant of the League of Nations like Palestine, Mesopotamia, and South-West Africa. In its eventful Colonial development, the Commonwealth remains *monarchical and parliamentary*.

The learned author lays considerable stress on the *new status* of the Self-Governing Dominions. The pre-war conception of the Empire has been revolutionised in characteristic British fashion through common consultation for prosecution of war, every Dominion and India signing the Treaty of Versailles, the separate membership of the League of Nations, and "assertion of fresh rights in the diplomatic field." The crisp chapter on India ends with the *only natural remedy* for the present anomalous constitution, viz.—"the Imperial Parliament abdicating its powers and transferring them to a local and fully responsible government" (p. 130).

The second part is of abiding interest to the student of contemporary political institutions. The Crown is still in a strictly constitutional sense the symbol of Imperial unity. The Dominion Report of 1926 takes away the right in the Imperial Parliament to legislate for the Dominions. It is good that the author has rightly estimated the necessity of the expert Civil Service which is "inseparable from the ever extending scope of modern government". (p. 209). The chapters on "Judiciary" and "the Subject" are of immediate interest to India. The safeguards for the protection of individual liberty contained in the Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, and the Habeas Corpus Act have been made readily "applicable by rules of procedure designed to secure facility in administration" (p. 255).

We leave behind a model treatment of the present constitution of the British Commonwealth. The

learned author has succeeded in steering clear of political considerations and risky speculations.

K. R. R. SASTRY.

THE NEW CIVILISATION. By ANNIE BESANT.

(Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.) pp. 110.

In these four lectures delivered by her last year in London, Dr. Besant deals with the New Civilisation, that is fast making its appearance, from the religious, educational and economic points of view. She draws her numerous examples from America, Germany and England and in her characteristic way argues conclusively that the old order of things is giving place to new. She has the vision of a widely spreading Fellowship of Faiths, in which one learns the value of one's brother's religion by the various differences as well as by the great truths in which it is in accord with one's own. This new Fellowship is but "the union of all who love in the service of all who suffer." Since the very mentality of the coming generation is different from that of the old, it is certainly essential to remodel our system of education so that it may equip the coming generation in such a way as to be able to shoulder their responsibilities and to reshape their civilisation. The appeal which she makes to this end and to take a new and increased interest in the welfare of the poor labouring classes deserves the best and most sympathetic consideration not only of those that listened to her in London, but also of those that are in India working for education and for Labour.

K. V. SANKARAN NAIR.

THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK, 1928. Compiled

by the Co-operative Press Agency. (The Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., Manchester and the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd. Glasgow.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 336. 3s.

THIS is an annual giving facts and figures on co-operative, labour and allied subjects. It is rightly called by the name it bears, as there can be no doubt that the movements it deals with are really people's movements. Indian co-operation is a movement of recent growth and can yet boast of nothing like the C. W. S. or S. C. W. S. which are wonders in co-operation. All the same India does figure in the International Directory of Co-operative Organisations with the mention of the Provincial Banks of Bombay, Bengal and Madras. A. N. B. states that similar banks can be found even in other provinces. In addition to the information regarding the co-operative and other movements which such a publication is expected to furnish, the annual also contains some thoughtful articles on cooperative and labour subjects which may be read with benefit by cooperators as well as by others. We have no hesitation in saying that this is a reference book which no cooperative library and no serious student of cooperation can really do without.

G. P. A.

NISCELLANEOUS.

THE SASTRI COLLEGE.

On August 24 last was performed by Mr. Watson, the Administrator of Natal, the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the building intended for the Indian Training College and High School in Durban. On the occasion Mr. Sastri made a statement outlining the origin of the scheme.

In the course of this statement, after thanking Mr. Watson and the Europeans for their presence, which he characterised as a happy augury, Mr. Sastri stated:—"Now

and then the Indian community passes under a cloud of political animosity which makes itself felt in various ways. Whatever these ways may be, let us hope that one of them will never again be the curtailment of funds which ought to be devoted to their children's education. They surely are innocent, and may not be punished for the real or fancied sins of their parents. To deny educational facilities, even though in part, to a community is to condemn it to inevitable stagnation and decay. Since the Capetown Agreement the accepted policy of the Union and, therefore, of Natal is that in respect of educational and other facilities the Indian community should not be suffered to lag behind any other element of the population."

"In the name of that noble policy," concluded Mr. Sastri, "we implore you this afternoon to countenance and support this school as an instance of the self-help of the Indian community, not indeed the only instance, but the most striking of many such instances."

The Administrator, having declared the stone well and truly laid, said:—

"It is with the very greatest pleasure that I have come here to-day in my official capacity as Administrator of the Province to lay the foundation stone of the Training College and High School for Indians. The Provincial Administration is charged with the duty of educating all the children of the Province of whatever race, so that it is no more than my duty to be present. But added to this is the pleasure of being able to associate myself and the Provincial Administration with the honourable and noble gentleman whose wisdom and activity have made it possible for the Indians of our province to have in their midst this important educational institution. It is unnecessary for me to say that I refer to my friend, Mr. Sastri. (Applause.) Mr. Sastri was called from his work of teaching to undertake important public work for the Government of India. He became one of the Servants of India, a member of that devoted band of Indian patriots who, at the instigation of Mr. Gokhale, separated themselves from the mass of the people, formed themselves into a brotherhood and held themselves in readiness to proceed to any part of the world where they could be of service to their country." (Renewed applause.)

"Since he came to South Africa Mr. Sastri has had the dual functions of attempting to secure for his people sympathy and kindly treatment from the Europeans and their Government, and at the same time to elevate the Indian people and make their standard of living such that there may not be between European and Indian the economic gulf which has in the past been the cause of ill-feeling. How well Mr. Sastri has performed the former function we all know. The Indian Agreement is largely the result of his efforts, and the improved position in which the Indians find themselves to-day can be traced almost directly to Mr. Sastri's eloquent missionary work."

"The second part of Mr. Sastri's task," proceeded Mr. Watson, "that of raising the standard of living of the whole Indian community is, of course, a difficult and slow process. Like the wise man that he is, he sees that the future of a people depends on their education. He cannot hope to do very much with the older population, but he believes that if he can have the first impressionable years of youth he can mould the people so that they can become what he wants them to be."

"After he came to South Africa it did not take Mr. Sastri long to see that there could be no adequate Indian education without proper schools, and that the schools would be just what their teachers made them. A satisfactory education would be dependent on teachers trained in the craftsmanship of their profession and stimulated with the great ideal of service. It is a pleasure to be able to say that we have some such teachers to-day, but they are not nearly enough. Hence the need of this institution, at whose birth we are privileged to be present. We see before us to-day the beginning of Mr

Sastri's work. Soon from this spot will rise a great institution for the education of Indians in South Africa. What it may develop into it is hard to say. To-day it is a training college and high school; in a few years' time it may develop into a university college, with its academic and professional branches." (Loud applause.)

"I am glad that the donors have decided that the institution shall be known as the Sastri College and I congratulate them on their choice of name. I am sure that we shall always regard the building now in the course of erection as a worthy monument of a great man." (Applause.)

In conclusion, he declared: "I should like to pay a tribute to the public spirit of the members of the Indian community of Natal who have, by private subscription, provided the necessary funds for the erection of this building, and I am happy to be able to assure them that when the time arrives for the Provincial Administration to assume control of the College it will be regarded as a trust to be administered with the sole object of furthering the educational aspirations of the Indian community in this Province."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW OF IRAQ. By C. A. HOOPER. (Mackenzie & Meckenzie, Baghdad.) 1928. 8½ x ½. pp. 277. Rs. 7.
 GREAT BRITAIN IN EGYPT. By E. W. POLSON NEWMAN. (Cassell.) 1928. 8½ x 5½. pp. 303. 15s.
 THE GURKHAS: THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS AND COUNTRY. By W. BROOK NORTHEY & C. J. MORRIS. (The Bodley Head). 1928. 8½ x 5½. pp. 282. 18s.

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