

Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE—Office : Servants of India Society's Home, Poona (D. G.).

VOL. XII, No. 6.

POONA—THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1929.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN 15 s.

CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	61
ARTICLES :—	
Scarc Legislation	64
Physical Training	65
Reception of the Nehru Report.—II. By Naras Ch. Sen-Gupta, M.A., D.L.	65
Work of the I. L. O. By Dr. P. P. Pillai	66
OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER	67
REVIEWS :—	
Lord Pentland. By One Who Knew Him	68
Labour Organisation. By Prof. V. N. Godbole, M.A.	70
An Australian View About China. By Prof. M. V. Subrahmanjam, M.A., L.T.	70
SHORT NOTICE	71
MISCELLANEOUS :—	
Mr. Srinivasa Sastri	72
BOOKS RECEIVED	72

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WE confess we were not prepared to see such a modest resolution as the one moved in the Assembly. Cinema Committee's Report, being thrown out in the Assembly. The resolution recommended the imposition of the quota system and the introduction of legislation making registration of companies compulsory. The Committee had admitted that theatres showing western films were nervous about admitting Indian films and that without a better class of Indian films the the quota system might drive away the existing customers without substituting others; accordingly they recommended a qualified system making it compulsory on exhibitors to increase the Indian films shown by them by 5 p. c. every year till they reach the limit of 50 per cent. As for the objection urged by Col. Crawford in the Assembly that inferior films would spring up as a result of the quota system the Committee have already considered it, and the majority of the members are satisfied that this is the only sound system by means of which we can develop the growth of the Indian film industry. It might be conceded that in the beginning a few bad films might get an undeserved patronage under the system, but in the long run as the industry will develop the weeding out process will slowly but surely operate to secure a survival of the films of superior quality. It is to be noted that India is not treading on some novel ground in this line: the quota system had been adopted in Germany, Italy and Japan to advance their own film industry.

As for the objection that compulsion as to the amusements which people are to choose is an interference with the principle of individualism,

the Committee have declared in the Report that remedies which are objectionable in principle have often to be resorted to to remove greater evils which affect the national interest of the country. In any case since the inauguration of the Tariff Board the principle of *laissez faire* has been already abandoned in favour of that of discriminating protection. It is a pity therefore that the Assembly should have rejected the proposal of the Committee for the introduction of a quota system. In view of the balanced state of opinion in the Assembly and in view of the difficulty of the supply of Indian films in sufficient quantity we would suggest the substitution of the limit of 25 per cent Indian films for the limit suggested in the Report. It is certain that without some sort of a quota system it would be several decades before the Indian film industry will rise to its destined height in face of the vigorous competition with foreign films. We think that Messrs. Green, Crawford and Coatsman are unduly optimistic when they say in their minority report that if the Indian industry will only organize itself on business lines 50 per cent. of India's screen time will be occupied by Indian films before the expiry of a decade.

Another contretemps from the popular point of view was the shelving of Mr. Sarada's Child Marriage Bill. Mr. Sarada in moving that his Bill be taken into consideration refuted the contention that the Bill was unpopular by showing that the large majority of the opinions received were in favour of the legislation. Mr. Sessa Iyengar proved a veritable stumbling-block by raising various points of order which however turned out to be out of order. But ultimately the oppositionists, with the assistance of the votes of the Government members, succeeded in carrying a postponement motion. The attitude of the Government throughout the progress of the Bill has been deplorable; it is really strange that they should now fight shy of social legislation when an Assembly elected by the people is willing to assume the whole responsibility in the matter and all that they have to do is to follow its lead.

DR. MOONJE'S resolution moved in the Assembly last week recommended that steps be taken to provide compulsory physical training including military drill for boys in colleges and schools. In his speech moving the resolution he began by pointing out that the Skeen Committee had laid their finger on the defects in the youth of the country rendering them unfit for higher posts in the army. No one else, said he, could protect India as the youth of the country, when the country attained a dominion status. There was a touch of humour in his appeals to the European group for support because their commercial interests required protection. Mr. Bajpai's attempt to raise constitutional points may be worthy of his position as Education Secretary, but surely if a thing is jointly desired by the As-

sembly as well as Government, constitutional difficulties might be tided over. As for his touching concern for the parents of the youth we can promise to bring over the parents to consent to the scheme if otherwise it is found unobjectionable. Similarly his fears that colleges would suffer in popularity if conscription is adopted are unfounded. In any case the scheme might be so modified that any colleges or universities which express a desire to the effect would be granted an exemption. Mr. Jayakar reminded the Government that the strength of non-official feeling in the matter was even greater than on the Simon Commission issue. According to him, it was simply a question of diverting the intrepidity, energy and the spirit of self-sacrifice into proper channels instead of allowing it to be diverted into the channel of Section 124 A of the I. P. C. The Army Secretary in his reply said that, while in sympathy with the underlying aims of the Resolution, the Government must be opposed to a policy of conscription for certain classes in the country. We wonder however whether the Secretary would vote for the resolution if it was so amended as to substitute voluntary for compulsory military service in Universities. As for his contention that the recommendations of the Shea Committee had been given effect to, it would not be amiss to remind him that only a few innocent ones had been adopted half-heartedly. The attitude of Government on the Skeen Report shows that the sympathy with Indian aspirations after the nationalisation of the army with which the Army Secretary credited Government is conspicuous by its absence. The debate is not yet over and we feel sure that if the elected members organise themselves properly the resolution will be carried, as it deserves to be, in spite of the expected destination of official votes.

WE are not surprised to learn that the Left Wing of the British Labour Party represented by the *New Leader* bitterly denounces the Hilton Young Report on East Africa. Our surprise rather is that even the Right Wing and Lord Olivier in particular should have lent it their support. For only in August last year the Labour and Socialist International Congress held in Brussels adopted a resolution (justly described by Lord Olivier, who moved it at the Congress, as the "charter" of backward peoples under foreign domination, from which we quote below :—

"So long as the native population of these territories is not qualified effectually to control by democratic parliamentary institutions the intricate mechanism of a civilized state, it is essential that the European exploiting class should not be placed in unrestricted control of the local government

"Where councils of government exist, these should as far as possible be fully representative in due proportion of native as well as of European interests, with continued extension of popular control by the native inhabitants. Wherever electoral institutions exist, the franchise should be general and equal and the electoral roll a common one with mixed electorates to the entire exclusion of privileged franchises. Immigrants should as among themselves enjoy complete equality with each other independent of nationality."

The British Labour Party (representing the Right as well the Left wings) had itself made similar proposals. In tropical Africa the aim of its policy must be (says its Memorandum) that of :—

"Preventing political power falling into the hands of minorities who will use it for their own political and economic interests. It follows that the central legislative and executive power must remain completely in the hands of the Government (i.e. the Colonial Office), which is res-

ponsible to the two Houses of Parliament. This responsibility should be carefully guarded and vigilantly applied. No measure of responsible government can be granted until it is certain that the government will be responsible to and controlled by the African inhabitants.

"Since we stand upon the fundamental ground that there is to be, for the time being, no grant of responsible government, it follows that the legislature must at present include an official majority large enough to ensure, in an emergency, that the Supreme Government should be able effectively to exercise its full responsibility to Parliament.

"When the electoral principle is adopted, it is of paramount importance that the franchise should be exercised in general mixed electorates and upon a common electoral roll, to the entire exclusion of communal or community franchises, whether similar or different."

It will be noticed that the points on which insistence is placed are: 1. the retention of an official majority in the legislature; 2. mixed electorates with an equal franchise; 3. political status of the country to be raised only *pari passu* with the progress of the native Africans in their ability to exercise "effective and substantial influence corresponding to their numbers;" and 4. equality among immigrants of different races. The Hilton Young Report violates every one of these safeguards in the Natives' Charter.

THE persistence of Dr. Muthulaxmi Reddy has been rewarded and the Bill to proscribise Devadasi Bill. dedication of young girls for service in Hindu temples in Madras has become law. In accordance with this Act, all the lands assigned to the dedicated girls as a reward stipulated in return for service performed by them, shall be freed from the conditions of the service, the Local Government imposing a quit rent in lieu thereof. Similarly all assignments of land revenue shall be freed from the conditions of service and a quit rent imposed in case the Devadasi is herself the owner of the lands in respect of which the assignment has been made. The Local Government is empowered to make rules in accordance with which the enfranchisement shall be effected. Another clause of the Act specifically lays down that no enforcement of an obligation to render any service to any temple to which a girl is dedicated by reason of the grant of land shall be allowed. Practically therefore all the dedicated girls will be free and independent citizens who will have complete liberty to follow any calling according to the bent of their mind or to educate themselves and be useful to society in other ways than the one marked out by [their status. The Act will be an additional illustration of the triumph of contract over status in the apportionment of persons to the different professions and occupations. The institution was a lingering vestige of mediaeval serfdom and it ill accorded with modern notions of freedom and voluntary regulation of life. On the ethical side the institution laid itself open to all the abuses of compulsory asceticism and was one of the weakest spots of unregenerate Hinduism.

It will be remembered that in 1924 an Act was passed to penalise the disposal of persons under 18 with the intent of employing such persons for immoral purposes. But the wording of the law is not satisfactory and judges have not always held that the dedication ceremony was necessarily disposal for immoral purposes as required by the Act. Consequently there was an absolute necessity for legislation which would have a clear application to the case of dedicated girls. By way of contrast it may be noted that the Mysore Government have already in 1910 amended their Hindu Religious Endowment Act by making the practice of ceremonies like dedication tantamount to misconduct on the part of the trustees

of a temple. The Mysore Government have also handed over the inams attached the service of dancing girls to the holders as permanent property and imposed a quit rent in exchange for the service.

SIR Lalubhai Samaldas's address at the last Provincial Cooperative Conference in U. P. U. P. Cooperative is calculated to dispel the current Conference. pessimism about the progress of the movement. He welcomed, he said,

the criticism of those who offer it in order to help and not to destroy. As one of the causes of the small success of primary societies in U. P. Sir Lalubhai mentioned the land revenue system of the province which shut out the development of peasant proprietors. We are glad to hear from him a warning to official workers to treat non-official workers as their equals, instead of adopting a patronizing attitude to them; with regard to the challenge of Sir William Marris to the non-official workers to show the amount of work they had done as compared with that lying to the credit of officials, he said that there was a very large number of voluntary workers who have dedicated all their spare time to cooperative work and who have won the confidence of cooperative societies. The demand for de-officializing the movement therefore was in his opinion perfectly sound and deserving of greater consideration. He gave details of the working of the Bombay Provincial Cooperative Bank to show that very good work can be done by non-official workers who have managed to acquire a knowledge of the banking technique which is supposed to be a monopoly of officials. For this reason he said he would like to challenge the disparaging remarks about the work of non-officials made in the Report of the Linlithgow Commission which was too much influenced by official opinion expressed before it. One of the most important points of his speech related to the training of workers which is by far the most important task in the building up of the cooperative organization. Owing to the poor progress of cooperation in U. P. he recommends the starting of new primary societies in areas where conditions are propitious; at the same time he advised the dissolution of societies that were found to be hopelessly incurable. In any case he did not approve of the slogan "no new organization but only reorganization". As a temporary arrangement he said he had no objection to appointing one secretary for a group of societies if separate secretaries are not available owing to the existence of illiteracy; incidentally he pointed out how all this emphasizes the necessity of proceeding with compulsory primary education more briskly. For the present he suggested adult literary education for training cooperative workers in rural areas. In any case it was a vicious argument to say that further progress should be stopped because literate workers are not forthcoming in the requisite strength. Sir Lalubhai did well in pointing out that the work of liquidation of the debts of the agriculturists cannot be expected from the cooperative societies but needs the organization of land mortgage banks. He however does not call upon Government to find all the money for these but only to guarantee the interest on debentures and help the banks administratively. Sir Lalubhai thinks that the awakening of the peasant population with regard to its miserable condition is sure to come and it is better to guide it in proper channels before it assumes threatening proportions.

WHILE the Town Areas Bill intended for the constitution of panchayats was under discussion in the U. P. Legislative Council, a Mahomedan member

Subj to Com-
munalism.

moved an amendment for the establishment of separate electorates which should return Mahomedan representatives on the town panchayats. It stands to the lasting credit of the Council that it threw out the amendment by 45 votes to 55. It should be noted that the supporters of the amendment included as many as 21 officials. While one can understand Hindu and Muslim communalists standing up for separate electorates, one fails to see why the Government should encourage them. They were asked to remain neutral, but chose to act otherwise. This is extremely deplorable and shows that even on such an important issue as joint vs. communal electorates the U. P. Government regard the immediate exigencies of government more important than national interests. But however much they might try to camouflage the real situation, the voting on the amendment clearly shows that public opinion in U. P. is against separate electorates. The principal evil engendered by the system of separate representation was lucidly described by Mr. Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim who said:—

"We have come to this Council through separate electorates; we have got separate seats in other bodies also; but on account of the fact that the present system of our politics is based on separation and we come by separate electorates to the places where we are sitting as the representatives of our communities, we deadly oppose each other; we oppose every motion, everything that is brought forward before us, because it emanates from a Hindu or because it emanates from a Mussalman. The Mussalmans have not been able to gain anything that could be said to have benefited their community in any way. As long as this state of affairs continues, I think no change of heart, no change of mentality can take place and unless the present state of affairs is removed, no good can come out of any system to those who are in the minority and who have to look to the help of others."

IN 1927-28 Cochin had a heavy surplus of over Rs. 19 lakhs, its revenue being Rs. 68¼ lakhs and its expenditure a little less than Rs. 67¼ lakhs. There has been a surplus for the last four years in succession. These put together now amount to about three quarters of a crore, and show that so much money was taken from the people over and above the State's real requirements. Rather than hoarding wealth in this manner, we fail to see why the State does not come forward to introduce prohibition. Its excise policy, viz. maximum revenue from minimum consumption, is antiquated and out of accord with public sentiment. But though its excise policy leaves a good deal to be desired, the educational advance made by the State is worthy of all praise. The fact that 93 per cent. of the school age population is already at school without resort to compulsion shows how much can be done even on a voluntary basis for spreading literacy, given the necessary will, devotion, and, last but not least, finance. Education of the backward and depressed classes continues to be the particular concern of the State authorities, as it has been in the past; and it is a source of satisfaction to note that in 1927-28, 49 primary schools including 27 night schools intended for these communities and opened by private agencies were recognised. This, added to the special inducements offered to them as in previous years, improved their strength in schools by 10,000, being 47,760 in 1926-27 and 57,734 in the year under report. Lastly, we must not forget to mention the fact, that the palace expenses have been fixed at Rs. 5 lakhs—nearly 6 per cent. of the year's revenue. The example set by Cochin deserves to be far more widely copied than has been done so far.

SCARE LEGISLATION.

THE Associated Press has telegraphed a brief summary of the speech made by the Home Member, Mr. Crerar, in introducing once again his anti-Bolshevik Bill in the Legislative Assembly, but from this summary it is clear that the tenour of his speech is the same as that of his previous speech in September last, when the Bill was first introduced. He again expatiated at great length on the doctrine of Communism and must have quoted extensively from the "Programme of the Communist International" adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern on the 1st September last year, the text of which was not available when Mr. Crerar spoke on the former occasion. With the help of this Programme he could no doubt produce a terrifying picture of the results of a proletarian revolution in India. But he seems to have said no more now about "communism in action" than when he spoke last time; and it is only with the facts of communism at work that we are concerned in considering the necessity of a measure vesting such wide discretionary powers in the executive. The genesis of this Bill is no doubt to be found in the statements made in the Moscow Congress that revolutionary efforts should be made in India this year. But this activity was decided at the Congress to be carried on through Indian agents in preference to British, which makes the present Bill unnecessary. Further, it was decided to push on work in England, particularly among the unemployed and the youth and in the Army. It was also decided to carry on an intensive propaganda among the African negroes and in South America. One would like to know what measures have been enacted in these countries, and particularly in England, to keep out foreign messengers of revolutionary unrest from their borders. Mr. Crerar was silent on this point, though he must have known that any precedents he could quote in his favour would strengthen his case enormously. The inference is obvious, that India alone is being saddled with such a repressive measure though many other countries are faced with the Red menace such as it is. In the last session of the Assembly instances of the United States, Australia and South Africa were quoted as having taken measures to expel such Communists as may come into those countries. But these are immigration laws, corresponding to which are our own passport regulations which are in force in this country, and which, as Sir George Rainy observed, are the Government of India's first line of defence, the new measure being required only for those who escape through the meshes of the passport regulations.

The number of such people must in any case be small, and it ought to be possible to deal with them by the ordinary law. Why should exceptional powers be required to put a stop to the subversive activities of the Red revolutionaries, who are not known so far to have impeded the administration of justice? The *Times of India*, in a recent article advocating the enactment of the present Bill, referred to an unsuccessful prosecution of a Communist in Bombay, evident-

ly suggesting that under the ordinary law no conviction could be obtained of men who had committed offences. If the Bombay prosecution was unsuccessful, it was not because witnesses were intimidated and evidence could not be produced, as was the Government's case when the Bengal Ordinance was passed to cope with violent crime. It is not the Government's contention now, and in this state of things we fail to see how Government can ask for the powers contained in the Bill. Government of course intend this Bill as a precautionary measure whereby they could prevent Communistic activities from taking place instead of dealing with them when they appear on the surface. Considering however the few Communists who can at all succeed in making an entry into India, the risk attending the latter course must be very limited. Government have announced their intention, very wisely, of taking this risk in the case of Indian Communists and we cannot see why foreign Communists should be differently dealt with. After all, even on the Government's showing, Communist activity is at present observable only in industrial disputes. That these disputes are thoughtlessly provoked and unnecessarily prolonged and that they entail much avoidable suffering on the labourers is undeniable, but we are not prepared to admit without clear proof that these are fomented by foreign Communists. There are wrong-headed persons enough in this country who can without outside help do this mischief, and the remedy for the present state of things, which we admit is one which must cause serious concern to every well-wisher of the country, must be sought in a different direction.

The Bill, we find, does not limit the duration of this measure to five years as Government had agreed to do on the recommendation of the Select Committee on the previous Bill, and, except for this, we must admit that almost as many safeguards against abuse of extraordinary powers as it is possible to devise have been provided in the Bill, considering that its avowed object is to confer discretionary power on the executive. Our objection however is more radical. We do not think that a case has been made out by Government for the necessity of conferring any discretionary power at all. The whole question reduces itself to this, as was well put by Mr. Crerar, is this Communist agitation to be taken seriously or not? Frankly, we do not take "communism in action" seriously enough to justify this or any other measure of this sort. There is little sympathy in the country with the practical aims or methods of Communism. When people are sometimes found mouthing Communistic slogans, more often than not they do so without understanding their real significance. A number of proposals have recently been made in various quarters which bear a verisimilitude to such doctrines, but their advocates do not necessarily relate them to Communism: repudiation of debts and refusal to guarantee rights of ownership may be selected from Congress proceedings as the most striking instances of proposals which may be considered as being inspired by a desire to organise

India on a Communistic basis, but to which most Congressmen who favoured them lent their support merely because they thought the proposals expedient without reference to Communistic principles. How many of those who opposed the clause in the Nehru Constitution providing against expropriation of private property know of Article 3 in the Constitution of the R. S. F. S. R. of the 10th July 1918 and realise that the recognition of the right of ownership is part of the foundation of democratic as opposed to communistic states? In a country like India where inequalities between class and class are so great many genuine plans of social reconstruction must sound to suspicious ears Communistic in aim and tactics. But we firmly believe that there is no intelligent appreciation of Communism in India and that foreign emissaries of that gospel can do little mischief here. Indian politicians will not, so far as they can help it, allow the Government of India to pass this scare legislation for expelling foreign Communists unless the necessity for doing so is clearly demonstrated.

• PHYSICAL TRAINING.

WHEN about two years ago the Senate of the Bombay University shelved the Syndicate's proposal for making physical training compulsory in colleges in the Bombay presidency, it did so on the ground that there was complete absence of data. Whatever may be thought of the Senate's action then, the experience of the working of the system of compulsory physical training in the three arts colleges in Poona for about a year provides very useful material favourable to the acceptance of the proposal. To start with, the scheme was made applicable only to men students, those found physically unfit after medical examination being exempted. Later on, women students in the Fergusson College were brought within its scope. From all accounts, they have taken so kindly to it that many of them have asked that physical training should be given daily and not on alternate days as at present. Though the attitude of the girl students is typical of a large majority of students undergoing physical training, there are some who grudge to give about an hour of what they regard as their valuable morning time for this purpose. But in doing so they apparently lose sight of the underlying aim of these exercises, which are designed not with a view to making athletes and wrestlers of college students, but to fit them for their daily work and must therefore take precedence over everything else. For unless one keeps himself fit, he cannot put in a due amount of efficient work. Nor, in the opinion of the principals of these Colleges, can the playing of team games such as hockey, football, etc. be regarded as a substitute for the kind of physical training which has been going on in the Poona colleges, for, it is pointed out by them in their report to the University, that "in every team game members of a team do not all derive the same benefit, even assuming that there is a will behind it." In this they differ from the Committee appointed in Madras to consider the question of physical education in secondary schools, which apparently regards the playing of these games by the boys as sufficient exercise for them. This Committee attaches, and rightly, so much importance to the physical education of the rising generation that it has recommended the provision of large playing-fields and playgrounds attached to all schools; and fearing that if this were left to the schools themselves to do it would never be done, it recommends that "Government should give

a generous grant of three-quarters or even the whole of the actual cost in all cases where such financial help is needed." It considers health instruction as an essential part of physical education and wants that such instruction should be given during school hours by the physical training instructor. This Committee's recommendation in regard to the medical examination of the boys who are to undergo physical training appears to be more thorough than what is done in Poona. While students in Poona are medically examined once or twice a year, the Madras Committee expresses the view that this is not enough in the case of some students who have to be closely watched and more frequently examined. To this end, it has recommended the payment of a retaining fee to a medical man who should be available to attend to special cases at any time during the year. But to come back to the working of the experiment in Poona. European physical training seems to be more popular than either Indian gymnastics or surya namaskars. The daily percentage of absence without leave was 8 in the Fergusson College, while it was 1.2 in the S. P. College and none at all in the Government college. Every absentee without reasonable excuse is fined one rupee, which appears to be a cause of much dissatisfaction among college students in Poona. We hope few students give occasion for the enforcement of this rule. Looking to the experience gained in Poona, we think the Senate would be justified in accepting Principal Kanitkar's proposal for giving a per capita grant of Rs. 2 to all colleges that decide to go in for compulsory physical training.

RECEPTION OF THE NEHRU REPORT.

II.

(Concluded from last issue.)

I HAVE said in my previous article that a substantial measure of agreement was reached between all the parties which took part in the Convention. No doubt these were not all the parties and schools of political thought in India. There is the body of opinion represented by the majority of the Muslim All-Parties Conference. And there are the opinions of those who are giving evidence before the Simon Commission whom the really considerable bodies of political thought have given a wide berth. I do not want to minimise the importance of either of these two groups, though personally I feel that the opinion of these men is of no significance on the question of devising a Constitution for India.

With regard to the Muslim All-Parties Conference, everybody will agree that they did not really represent all parties among Muslims. The majority of the Muslim Leaguers headed by Mr. Jinnah kept aloof from it, though they failed to carry their own proposals in the Convention. Besides, there are several outstanding personalities amongst Muslims like Dr. Ansari, Dr. Kitchlew, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad and others who did not join. In the Conference itself there were strong differences.

It is permissible to suggest, therefore, that in spite of the resolutions of the Conference, there is a large body of important Muslim opinion which substantially supports the Nehru Report. That takes away a great deal of the weight that would otherwise attach to the deliberations of the Conference. Besides if the inner story of the Conference is revealed it would appear that it was most largely dominated not by the politically-minded Muslims but by the orthodox Moulanas whom young Muslims look upon as back numbers.

As regards the narrow sectarians and class-mongers who have been fished out of obscurity to

give evidence before the Simon Commission, it is enough to say that no one would have heard of them but for the fact that the best minds of India had left the Commission severely alone. None but a blind partisan or a narrow-minded Imperialist would venture to pit the opinion of these people against the considered report of some of the foremost Indian political thinkers, accepted by the most important political bodies of India.

Nevertheless, give the fullest weight to these people, and what does it come to? By the side of the great volume of opinion which, as I have shown, substantially supports the Nehru Report, these dissentients sink into utter insignificance. And when you consider the fact that these people have put their particular cases as high as they possibly could, you cannot but feel that they could be beaten down to a much lower level of demands as easily as the dealers in an Indian fish market,

All things considered, therefore, it can be said without hesitation that, so far as the internal constitution of India is concerned there is a very substantial measure of agreement in India. With regard to the provisions of the Report regarding relations with England also, there is not so much of an unwillingness to accept the Report as a reluctance to admit such acceptance. Most people who are loud in their demand for independence would accept dominion status with alacrity if they had it, and once they had dominion status they would care for independence as little as General Hertzog does to-day.

To any one who has taken the trouble to study the events of the past few weeks and has the capacity to analyse facts it would be abundantly clear that beneath the appearance of conflict on the surface is a solid mass of substantial agreement among the people on the Nehru constitution. Those who deny it are either blind or interested. And it is easy to pick out numerous cases of wilful misrepresentation of interested parties.

One motive for such misrepresentation is easy to guess. In an unlucky moment, assured of the impossibility of Indians agreeing to any scheme, Lord Birkenhead made a sporting offer to *consider* any scheme on which there was a substantial measure of agreement among the various Indian parties. The Nehru Committee has produced a report and a scheme which, for sound judgment and cogency of reasoning, it is impossible to brush aside. Those who are unruffled by the fear of the impression which the Report might create by the apprehension that the Secretary of State would perhaps be bound in honour to accept the scheme unless he would make a reasonable case against it are interested in showing that, after all, the Report is not substantially agreed to. The disagreements on minor details, on which our political pundits let themselves go into such paroxysms of heated controversy during Christmas season, have furnished these people with the much desired excuse to run down the Report; and the parrot cry has gone forth, from India to England that the Report is not accepted by large sections, not even by the Congress. Little differences are shouted out through a loud speaker, minute shadows magnified with a powerful microscope to proclaim to the world that India is hopelessly disagreed. In the midst of this din and clamour raised by the heats of political controversy and intensified by the chorus of these interested croakers the great fact of the substantial agreement on the Report is forgotten.

I never hoped that even without all this the English Secretary of State would stand to the bargain made by Lord Birkenhead, construing it as

it ought to be construed. Much more solemn promises, more generously worded, have often been broken in the past. To me therefore the croakings of those who proclaim our disagreement has not caused any disappointment. For, when all is said and done, what is it that Lord Birkenhead promised to do? He promised only to *consider* an agreed scheme. It might mean much, it might mean nothing. Even without this cry about our disagreement the scheme might lead to nothing—it might be considered and rejected.

Nevertheless, it would be a shame to let so much nonsense and misleading talk about our disagreements on the Nehru Report pass unchallenged. For such talk not only misleads Englishmen, it also misleads Indians. It is of the utmost importance that we Indians should have a perfectly clear and truthful vision of the fact about the Nehru Report. The Report is a landmark in the history of our political thought. It is not only a singularly able and thoughtful contribution to the question of an Indian Constitution, it is of great importance as having crystallised our political ideas and produced a great measure of common understanding on our political problems. This common understanding among the people themselves is of far greater importance than what value the document might have in English eyes. For it is upon the basis of this common understanding that we must shape the politics of our future and build up that solidarity of national thought which alone can bring us freedom, if anything can. We cannot, therefore, afford to lose sight of the fact that our agreement on the Report is far greater than the points of disagreement.

NARES CH. SEN-GUPTA.

WORK OF THE I.L.O.

THE International Labour Organisation is based on the idea that in order to prevent social legislation from becoming a factor in economic competition, legislation on an international basis must be established to ensure approximate uniformity in the labour laws of all industrial countries. It is, of course, obvious that any State which extends its protective measures in favour of workers runs the risk of finding itself at a disadvantage in economic competition until competing States assume the same social charges. The International Labour Organisation was created for the purpose of abolishing this obstacle to social progress; its object is clearly stated in the Preamble to Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, and in the corresponding parts of the other Peace Treaties, to be "the establishment of universal peace" "based upon social justice."

For the purpose of carrying out this object the International Labour Organisation was set up and given an essentially democratic constitution which singles it out from the other institutions of the League of Nations. While only Governments are represented in the League of Nations, in the International Labour Organisation workers' groups and employers' groups are also directly represented. They are entirely free to vote according to their own opinions and even (as frequently happens) to criticise the actions of their own Governments.

The following bodies constitute the International Labour Organisation: the Conference, the Governing Body, and the Office. The International Labour Conference meets at least once every year; and may be called an "International Labour Parliament". It prepares "international labour legislation" and for this purpose it has two means of expression. The first and most effective means consists in adopting international Draft

Conventions. These Conventions have not of themselves legal force in the different countries, because the sovereignty of States must be respected. But under the terms of the Treaty itself, all the States which are members of the Organisation are compelled to submit to the "competent authority" (in most cases the national Parliament) for ratification or other action all Draft Conventions which have been adopted by a majority of two-thirds of the members present at an International Conference, within the space of one year (18 months at most in certain exceptional cases). The second means of expression is the adoption of Recommendations. Governments are not obliged to take any legal action in this case, but they are urged to take these Recommendations into account when drawing up their national legislation. The Conference has met eleven times since 1919. It has adopted 26 Conventions (including the Minimum Wage Convention at the Eleventh Session held in Geneva in May and June last). There are already 325 ratifications of these 26 Conventions.

The International Labour Office is the permanent mechanism of the Organisation. It prepares the work of the Conference and sees that the decisions taken are put into force. The Office is established at Geneva, the seat of the League of Nations, and is controlled by a Governing Body of 24 members. These are appointed for a period of three years: six by the workers' delegates at the Conference, six by the employers' delegates at the Conference, and twelve by the Governments, subject to the condition in the last case that the eight States of chief industrial importance are all represented. The Governing Body meets as a rule for short sessions every three months. The work of the International Labour Office, however, goes on constantly under the control of the Director, Mr. Albert Thomas, a former French Minister and the Deputy Director, Mr. H. B. Butler, C. B., who have held these positions since the foundation of the Office. The International Labour Office, therefore, besides the legislative functions conferred upon it by the Treaty, constitutes a meeting place of all the forces of the international social movement: it is the great research laboratory for all questions concerning the conditions of life of the workers.

Amongst the most important activities in the course of the last few months, special mention must be made of the forty-second Session of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, held in Warsaw from October 5 to 8, and in Moscow on October 10. The Governing Body dealt with the questions on the Agenda, beginning with the effect to be given to the Resolutions adopted by the International Labour Conference at its session in May and June last. The resolution concerning the prevention of accidents due to coupling on railways was discussed at some length by the Governing Body. The resolution requested the Governing Body to set up a joint committee of 21 persons representing Governments, employers and workers, to study the question of automatic coupling as a whole and to avail itself of the experience obtained by the International Railway Union, and report as soon as possible. After discussion, the Governing Body instructed the Director to get into touch with the International Railway Union, to draw its attention to the resolution adopted by the Conference concerning the prevention of coupling accidents and to inform it of the Governing Body's intention to set up the Committee for which that resolution provided at an early session and in any case before the end of 1929. The question of working conditions in the textile industries was also discussed. On the motion of Mr. Sokal, representative of the Polish Government, and with the approval of the

entire Government group, the Governing Body decided to set up a Committee with instructions to submit proposals to the next Session of the Governing Body, concerning the objects to be covered by the investigation, in particular, the branches of the textile industry and the questions of hours of work, protection of women and children, wages, cost of living, cost of production, health, etc. In May and June last the International Labour Conference had asked the Governing Body to consider the whole question of the official languages of the International Labour Organisation both from the technical and the financial points of view. At Warsaw it decided to set up a sub-committee of 12 members—4 from each group—to draw up a report to the Governing Body on the question of official languages.

The Governing Body then approved the measures taken, and the suggestions offered by the International Labour Office regarding the effect to be given to the Resolutions of the Conference concerning the prevention of industrial accidents, the collection of documentary information on industrial safety, the consultation of the Joint Maritime Commission on the question of the protection of workers employed in loading and unloading ships, the reduction or elimination of various causes of decreased production, the development of the spirit of collaboration between employers and employed, the study of certain dangers to which workers are exposed in the motor transport industry, occupational re-integration and employment of disabled persons, calendar revision, the possible inclusion of the question of freedom of association in the Agenda of the Conference, and the examination by the Conference of the question of collective bargaining in agriculture.

Finally, in response to repeated invitation from delegates of the Far Eastern countries to the International Labour Conferences, and with the object of emphasising the world-wide character of the Organisation, the Governing Body expressed its unanimous approval of the Director's proposal to visit those countries, and thus for the first time establish direct touch with these distant nations who have continually shown their devotion to the work of the International Labour Office.

P. P. PILLAI.

OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

DURBAN, January 11.

MR. SASTRI'S FAREWELLS.

AFTER spending the Christmas Week in Cape Town and having said farewell to the Governor General, Mr. Sastri left Cape Town on the 2nd for Johannesburg. The Transvaal Indian Congress got up a banquet in his honour on the 5th inst; at which were present over five hundred guests including some two hundred Europeans. The Mayor, the Bishop, Mr. Reitz, M.L.A., and several others spoke in appreciative terms of Mr. Sastri's work and achievements. On the 8th, on the initiative of the Indo-European Council, several prominent Europeans of Johannesburg gave a banquet in the Carlton Hotel in honour of Mr. Sastri. Over one hundred fifty men and women attended. The unique feature of the dinner was the presence of twenty-two Indian women and men, who for the first time dined in the Carlton Hotel, the leading hotel in Johannesburg. The significance of this innovation will be realised only when it is remembered that when Mr. Sastri arrived in Johannesburg some eighteen months ago, he himself could not get accommodation in this hotel! In his speeches at these two banquets Mr. Sastri

made very eloquent pleas for justice and fairplay for the Indian. India has conceded and will not question the political supremacy of the European. That being secured, there is no reason why the Indian in their midst should not receive from the Europeans fairplay and fair opportunities for honest living. He spoke of the civilisation of India and the services rendered by India during the great war, which were no less than those rendered by any other Dominion, and he asked that the self-respect of India be not insulted and the solidarity of the Commonwealth imperilled. He fervently hoped that the Cape Town Agreement would not be made a party matter, and will not be discussed from that point of view by any leading politician, to whichever party he belonged.

On Sunday, the 6th, Mr. Sastri spoke at the St. Mary's Cathedral for the second time. He spoke of Christ as India sees him, and made touching references to Mr. Gandhi. India would reinterpret Christ, perhaps in a more spiritual and in a more ascetic way. The several other speeches that Mr. Sastri made, always to full audiences, have produced a deep and, it is hoped, abiding influence on thinking men and women. And the regret is general that he is soon leaving the country. The *Cape Times*, the *Cape Argus*, the *Star* and the *Rand Daily Mail* have very appreciative references and tributes to Mr. Sastri. The Durban Town Council proposes to give a lunch in honour of Mr. Sastri, again an unique event. And it gains enormously in significance when it is remembered that the present Mayor, Mr. Eaton, is a pronounced anti-Indian.

INDO-EUROPEAN COUNCIL, JOHANNESBURG.

The Council has been very active and vigorous since its inception. Much of the credit for this is due to its Chairman, Prof. J. M. Watt, of the Medical College here, who was sometime in India. He shares the credit with Mr. Rheinallt Jones, of the University, who has been for many years the champion of the Natives through the medium of the Joint Council of Europeans and Natives. Overwhelmed as he is with that work, Mr. Jones undertook to guide the infant organisation, the Indo-European Council. These two have laid the Indian community under a great debt of gratitude. The Council carried on a vigorous correspondence with the Government protesting against the cruel injustice done to Indian waiters under Sec. 102 of the Liquor Act. Though rebuffed by the Government, the Council has not laid down arms yet, and means to keep up the pressure until redress is granted. The Council is interesting itself in several other matters of Indian interest, such as hospital accommodation, representation on the hospital board and so on.

INDIAN AND EUROPEAN TRADE UNIONISTS.

It will be remembered that the Natal Workers' Congress had decided in December last that they should meet the Executive of the European Trade Union Congress on the question of trade union organisation. It will be recalled that the Department of Labour had advocated that if a common union for persons of all races in the same occupation was not possible, it should be permissible for separate unions to be registered, whether the existing unions exclude the others or whether the others decline to join the existing unions. If the existing union is a European one and refuses to admit non-Europeans or if the existing union is a non-European union and is willing to admit Europeans but the latter will not care to join it, in both cases the Department advocated the registration of parallel unions. To consider the question of parallel unions, the executive of the Natal Workers' Congress met the Executive of the European Trade Union Congress on the 7th inst. After a very free and surprisingly friendly interchange of views

and opinions, the Conference seems to have decided against parallel unions and in favour of branch unions. The situation however is not quite clear. Apart from the question of parallel unions, the most useful aspect of the conference was the mutual exchange of views on general labour matters concerning the two races. European labour is beginning to realise its community of interest with the non-European, and the need for co-operation between them.

INDIANS IN THE TRANSVAAL TOWNSHIPS.

The Indian community in the Transvaal is agitated over the Bramfontein case in which the Judge gave an *ex parte* judgment ordering the eviction of an Indian from a stand in the Bramfontein Township. The title deed of the property has an anti-non-European clause in it. Even without it, the Gold Law of 1905 forbids the residence or occupation by non-Europeans in that township. But hitherto no action was taken by anybody; and Indians were allowed to reside and trade in such townships. But a private individual took it into his head to put the law in motion, with the inevitable result. Indians fear that this case may be the prelude to an epidemic of similar cases to drive the Indians out. The pity of it is that there is no administrative or judicial remedy for it. And the legislative remedy is, at any rate just now, before the general elections, unthinkable.

REVIEWS.

LORD PENTLAND.

A MEMOIR OF LORD PENTLAND. By LADY PENTLAND. (Methuen.) 1928. 9 x 5½. pp. 310. 10s. 6d.

IT is a question whether a biography should be written by one who loves the hero or by one who is a comparative stranger. In favour of the former view, it can be rightly urged that to know a man, it is necessary to love him and that those who love him are likely to be best acquainted with the traits of his character, with his tastes, his views, his ambitions, his conduct in the most intimate relations and the motives which form the springs of his conduct. On the other hand, one who loves the subject of a memoir is either apt to be blind to his failings or to draw a veil over them, or is disposed to lose all sense of proportion and attach an equal importance to things great and small. To make a successful biographer it is not merely the opportunities for intimate knowledge of the subject that count. What is even more essential is a detached judgment, a shrewd discernment, a sense of proportion and perspective and the gift of literary expression.

Lady Pentland was a most loving wife and a model of devotion to her husband. She is a most amiable, kind-hearted woman of charming manners and of winning sincerity and simplicity. But unfortunately domestic virtues are not enough to produce a good biography. Every incident in the life of her husband is of equal importance in her eyes. It is not possible for her to distinguish between the trivial and the important and to judge what is likely to be of interest to the average reader unacquainted with her husband. Nor is she possessed of the literary instinct necessary for an attractive presentation of the subject. She considers it necessary to record th

names of the pages who attended at investitures and of the dishes in a vegetarian menu and to record the disturbance caused among the motor-drivers in her compound by the descent of a buzzing swarm of bees. We wish in the interests of the memory of her husband that she had entrusted the task to some friend with the ability and judgment of a good writer. Her Memoir is a compilation from the itineraries of Lord Pentland and is mainly a collection of testimonials to his character contained in the numerous letters of condolence which she received on the death of her husband.

Passing from the defects of the Memoir, we may turn to the pleasant task of appreciation of the character of Lord Pentland. His virtues and his character were inherited from his father Captain George Sinclair. If ever there was a case of a son exactly like his father it was Lord Pentland. Every one who knew Lord Pentland would see that the tribute paid by the newspapers in Edinburgh to Captain George Sinclair could be applied word for word to Lord Pentland himself. Unselfishness and benevolence were marked features in his character. He was without exception the most amiable man that one met. Lord Pentland was distinguished from his boyhood by his charming manners, his freedom from self-consciousness, his sweetness of temper, simplicity of disposition and cheerful mind. Among the fellow officers of his army, he was known in his early days as 'the boy' and it was remarked that everyone loved 'the boy.' No one was such a good mixer and listener in society and no one was so ready to efface himself, or was so tactful, considerate and persuasive, and no one was more loyal to his chiefs and colleagues in office. It was justly said of him by some who knew him well that he was nearest to perfection and that no one could have his acquaintance without being the better for it. He was extremely shrewd in his judgment of men and was peculiarly fitted by his many qualifications to be the Whip of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons—an office which he filled to the satisfaction of every one and to his own credit.

The two important posts held by him in life were the Secretaryship of Scotland and the Governorship of Madras. His work in the former capacity was much more fruitful and constructive than his work in the latter. The Land Reforms which he carried out in Scotland and his interest in Education won for him the love and confidence of Scotchmen. The piloting of the Scottish Land Reform Bill in the House of Commons was perhaps his most solid achievement. He stoutly resisted all attempts to influence him to exercise his patronage on political grounds. His influence with Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was exercised in procuring self-government for the Transvaal—a measure which was described by Mr. A. J. Balfour (now the Earl of Balfour) as the most reckless experiment ever tried in the development of a great colonial policy. Lord Pentland held the office of Governor of Madras for a period of about seven years. He was undoubtedly one of the most cultured Governors which that

Presidency has ever had. He took into his own hands the portfolio of education, the subject in which he was more deeply interested and more experienced than in any other. He took an active interest in every part of the administration of the Presidency. But Fortune was not kind to him, and the Great War which began in less than two years after his arrival crippled the finances of the Province and compelled the Government to put off many beneficent schemes till the conclusion of peace. Lord Pentland's energies were mostly devoted from this time to war effort and to work for Indian co-operation in the successful prosecution of the war.

The offer of the hospital ship 'Madras' and its fitting out and maintenance and the organisation of its staff absorbed not a little of his time and energies. Apart from the financial stringency brought about by the war and its many pre-occupations, Lord Pentland laboured under certain subjective disadvantages. His caution as a Scotchman, which he carried to excess, and his modest opinion of his own judgment in matters with which he was not familiar were two of the obstacles which marred his success as an administrator. He took great pains to inform himself and was very slow in arriving at a decision, but once he had formed his decisions he clung to them obstinately. In many matters of importance he was unwilling and unable to make up his mind. When he was perplexed whether to do a thing or not to do a thing, his cautious temperament generally inclined in favour of the negative. In the field of Political Reforms especially, his policy was that of masterly inactivity. It was well known that in regard to the proposals for reform which were put forward by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, Lord Pentland was the most reactionary opponent among all the Governors of the Provinces. His radicalism was confined entirely to his own country and, like Sir M. E. Grant Duff, another Radical Governor, he considered it wise to shed his radicalism when he passed Suez. The gift of sympathy with an alien race, the boldness of initiative and the appreciation of the necessity for a timely advance which are necessary to statesmanship were denied to Lord Pentland. Knowing as we do that great men like Lord Balfour have suffered under similar limitations, Lord Pentland's deficiency of statesmanship is no matter for surprise. But his administration is an object lesson to those of our countrymen who believe in the superiority of an imported man of Parliamentary experience to a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service. It was one of the axioms of Lord Pentland's administration that the district official was the most competent person to lay down lines of policy. It is the characteristic of a bureaucracy that it is efficient but not progressive. Lord Pentland's overwhelming faith in the wisdom of the district officials was one of the reasons for the unprogressive character of his own administration as Governor of Madras. Apart from these defects Lord Pentland was a most well-meaning Governor and a most estimable man in every relation of life.

ONE WHO KNEW HIM.

LABOUR ORGANISATION.

TRADE UNIONISM. By C. M. LLOYD. (Black)

1928. 7½×5 pp. 194. 5s.

SINCE the General Strike the interest in trade unions has received an added impetus and the present volume will give the readers a correct idea of the present position of the movement. Mr. Lloyd sets a high ideal before Labour and refuses to pander to their worst passions. After a recital of the well-known beginnings of trade unions in England the author succinctly narrates the principal stages of their growth. The passing of the Trade Union Act of 1871 was an important stage since it legalized these bodies for the first time; the next stage was the Act of 1875 which legalized peaceful picketing and effective combination by acts which were not criminal. About 1880 Trade Unionism passed from the stage of adherence to the limited ideals of mid-Victorian Liberalism into the stage of modern Socialism. The trade union Act of 1913 removed most of the legal disabilities of Trade Unions including the prohibition of political action. At the end of the War the movement was stronger than it ever was before, the membership having gone up to 8 millions in 1920; owing to the apathy of the Government and the employers, however, trade disputes became a normal feature of industry. The author describes 1921-27 as the period of lean years for the Trade Union Movement; there was a decrease in wages and a heavy slump both in home and export trade and a general strike culminated in the Trade Disputes Act of 1927. With regard to organization the author notes the existence of considerable division and he thinks that the most important problem to-day is how to consolidate the members and how to make an efficient force of the present unwieldy host. Discussing the function of Trade Unionism, the author fairly reviews the two dominant theories—'the war theory' and 'the peace theory'; unfortunately the first is gradually superseding the latter which professes to wage war on capitalism. The author has no faith in co-partnership and profit-sharing schemes and others intended to bring about industrial peace. According to him, the proper thing is to envisage the trade unions as organs of the community charged with high responsibilities in the conduct of industry by assigning definite functions to them in such matters as technical education, factory inspection, &c. Discussing Trade Union Regulations, he points out that opponents of the eight-hour day are now a dwindling minority; he shows how the difficulty of resisting speeding up or over-driving is enormous; and he describes the various regulations adopted with a view to ensure security of employment. The methods of trade unionism are treated by the author with a critical eye so as to show their weaknesses. It is interesting to know that the prediction made some twenty years ago that the friendly benefits would rapidly dwindle as the State provision extended has not been fulfilled. He does not think that any plan of compulsory conciliation can be acceptable in England. Similarly he regards the abandonment of the strike either voluntarily or by compulsion from the State as utopian; but he regards the majority of English workers as lying between the two extremes of compulsory arbitration and resort to direct action and force. With regard to the drastic limitations of the Trade Disputes Act of 1927 we agree with him when he says that the pretence that the Act offers an effective safeguard against a dangerous general strike is hollow because no declaration of its illegality will have any effect on men who are prepared to destroy the constitution.

Mr. Lloyd is not one of those who are satisfied

with singing the praises of unionism and is under no illusions with regard to the serious problems which confront it with respect to internal structure and organization. He admits that the trade union world still shows an amount of confusion and overlapping of vested interests and sectional aims. He does not recommend a wholesale substitution of industry for craft as the basis of the unions. Mr. Lloyd discusses the most difficult problem of making a choice between extreme centralization and complete local autonomy, and the corresponding choice between efficiency and freedom with remarkable acumen; and while being opposed to blind loyalty to the leaders and the tyranny of a governing caste, he emphasizes the importance of officers for giving a clear and bold guidance. In his opinion the Labour Party is definitely the political organ of the trade union movement and he thinks that for a time at least the two should co-operate wholeheartedly. The National Conciliation Board composed of an equal number of representatives of the trade unions and co-operative societies should also be used to establish an organic connection between the two bodies.

The concluding chapter 'The Goal of Trade Unionism' is a fine display of sage unionism, being critical of anti social measures and spates of hatred which are the order of the day in ultra-socialistic circles. Mr. Lloyd traces to a period anterior to the Great War the desire of the workers for the mastery of industry and says that since the War it has become a fact of tremendous importance. Of the various theories passing as socialistic he shows the greatest preference towards Guild-Socialism because it gives definiteness to the vague aspirations in the trade unions and because its principles have given a great inspiration to the workers. He does not believe that trade unionism will give up their demand for workers' control; they will, he thinks, work in future for that positive function of carrying on production on their own account. As for future tactics, he is not in favour of Bolshevism because it has produced a widespread disillusionment and he declares against revolution and in favour of evolution by a gradual nationalisation of industry after industry. But he warns trades unions against being "selfish corporations dominating society," in which case the new democracy will be worse than the old oligarchy. The volume, besides being full of information, is highly stimulating and ought to be welcomed by all students of the labour problems.

V. N. GODBOLE.

AN AUSTRALIAN VIEW ABOUT CHINA.

WHAT IS RIGHT WITH CHINA. By O. D. RASMUSSEN. (The Commercial Press, Shanghai.) 1927. 8½×5¾. pp. \$3'50.

IN their anxiety to defend foreign privileges in China, many writers of the Miss Mayo breed have offered gratuitous insults to China's institutions and people. But it is not often realised that the publication of the grossest libels, insults and vituperations against the Chinese people, their leaders and institutions is a direct cause of more animosity and anti-foreign feeling than all the other Sino-Foreign problems put together.

There are two ways of counteracting this anti-Chinese propaganda. One is to point out the misrepresentations and exaggerations and to correct them as well as to expose their fallacies. The other way is to throw mud at the foreigners and their institutions, and show that they are not in any way superior to the Orientals. Many writers like Dr. Ching-Lin-Hsia and Arthur Kansome, whose books

were reviewed only recently in these columns, have adopted the first method, and have thoroughly exposed the injustice of the foreign rights in China. Mr. Rasmussen, on the contrary, has wielded his facile pen in not merely exposing the fallacies of the stock arguments of anti-Chinese propagandists, but also throws into lurid light some of the foibles of western society and institutions.

The author was born in Australia, came to China as a boy of fourteen and has since been in contact with all sorts and conditions of men in China. The author does not defend race prejudice. He is overflowing with the milk of human kindness. He has a genuine sympathy for the teeming millions of China and this book is probably inspired by that love.

The author feels that the Chinese bid for freedom is quite legitimate, for the cry of peoples since the dawn of history has been freedom. But when he hears from Mr. Rodney Gilbert, a critic of China, that the rights must be 'earned and deserved', the learned author exposes in his own way the weakness of his opponent's position. He asks,

"Did the American Colonists, the French peasants, the Allied armies and the Russian people 'earn and deserve' proclaimed rights to a greater degree than Chinese revolutionaries? The answer does not lie in facile polemics. They submitted the question to the arbitrament of force and in winning are acclaimed the winners. Nothing succeeds like success . . . Earned or unearned, the Chinese have a right to clamour for the abolition of whatever throttles their national growth."

The learned author rightly draws the attention of readers to the fact that the wars between China and the west in the latter half of the nineteenth century were the result of 'Manchu evasiveness and pig-headed foreign bungling'. The wars were wars between one set of foreigners and another, between the western 'barbarians', and the Northern 'Tartars' with of course a large retinue of bureaucratic Chinese officials.

"The history of the foreign concessions in China" says the author, "is replete with many instances of dog-in-the-manger monopolies, pettifoggery, gerry-mandering and rail road legislation for the private benefit of vested interests."

Much has been said of late about the achievements of foreigners in treaty ports. Imperialistically inclined writers have pointed out how the treaty ports were once barren territory, and how they have become bee-hives of industry and centres of commerce, thanks to western enterprise. Mr. Rasmussen, on the contrary, attributes the prosperity of treaty ports entirely to three factors, namely, geographical location, the rapid development of overseas trade and their status as asylums for Chinese political refugees. The author believes that without foreign enterprise, Shanghai, at the mouth of the Yangtse river, Tiensin, at the convergence of three waterways, and Hankow, at the mouth of the Han River, would easily have become centres of industry and commerce. In this connection the author points out how the cities of Japan—Yokohama, Tokyo, and Kobe have put to shame anything done by foreigners in China. This is how he concludes.

"The Japanese are an Oriental race and what they can do Chinese also can do. The Japanese got off to a good start, while China was handicapped by a corrupt Manchu yoke and hobbled by war-imposed treaty restrictions."

Like every close observer of Chinese affairs, the author avers that the prolongation of the Civil War in China was due to foreign support of rival tuchuns. This was the belief of the Kuomintang party and

hence their slogan was, "Down with imperialism; Down with militarism." According to the author, there was not one tuchun who did not receive foreign money, foreign guns and foreign political influence. The author defies any publicist or editor in China to prove it otherwise. It is admitted by the author that the Chinese in their struggle for freedom have resorted to deceit, guile and chicanery, but he says that they have done no better and no worse than any nation in the west.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book is that entitled 'Public Morality'. In this chapter the author examines the charge levelled at the Chinese that there is immorality in the conduct of public offices. The West is no better. Witness the recent scandals in the high public offices of America and France. The author is righteously indignant at the remark of Mr. J. O. P. Bland, a critic of modern China, "Give me two million pounds and I will guarantee to start a pro-British movement, in China." The author, descending to the level of Mr. Bland retorts "Give me half that sum and I will have Mr. Bland elected Mayor of any small town in his or any other country."

The author rightly takes exception to the attacks on Dr. Sun Yat Sen. Dr. Sun was the idol of the people of China and his dogmas are the essence of the Chinese bid for freedom and therefore when writers attack Dr. Sun, they attack the Chinese people also. Like all great men Dr. Sun is accused by his contemporaries, but "he may rest in peace doubly assured of his claim on the reverence and gratitude of his fellow countrymen"

At the end of the book the author puts forward a vigorous plea for the abolition of all those obnoxious foreign privileges which hamper the growth of China. "Anything that hampers or stands in the way of a speedy adjustment to that end", says the author, "also hampers and stands in the way of world progress".

The book has been brilliantly written but there is no literary polish. The author coins a number of words to express ideas. These are very suggestive and interesting. We congratulate the author on the way in which he has taken each argument of the anti-Chinese propagandist, and has put it to "the test of analysis as to its applicability and truth." Mr. Rasmussen is neither a chauvinist nor a partisan. He is a citizen of the world and a student of history. This is amply borne out by his appeal for a programme of co-operation and readjustment. We need hardly say that the book is an asset to the growing literature on Modern China.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

SHORT NOTICE.

WORLD LOYALTY. By MAXWELL GARNETT.
(The Epworth Press.) 1928. 7¼ x 5. pp. 122
2s. 6d.

THE sub-title of the book says that it is "a study of the spiritual pilgrimage towards a world order." The book itself contains the third lecture delivered under the auspices of the Social Service Lectureship established in 1925 by the benefaction of Mr. J. H. Beckley, J. P., of Plymouth. The purpose of the lectures under the endowment is "to set forth the social implications of Christianity and to further the development of a Christian Sociology". The book begins with saying that the individual should not possess a number of petty interests which will make conflicting claims on him but one wide interest which will fill his mind and stir his heart.

A number of such individuals will make up the ideal Commonwealth which will consist of four classes of people. There will be that of seers, philosophers and scientists, generically called, by the author "discoverers." There will secondly be the class of "educators" i.e., of persons who spread the thoughts of the "discoverers" among the people. Third will come the producers or those who cater to the material needs of the society. And lastly comes the class of persons who integrate the action of society i.e., who check the tendencies of individuals to function separately and who make society work together at any rate on some occasions. This class, in other words, performs the functions of government. The more responsive a government is to the wishes and ideas of the governed, the nearer does it approach its ideal. But some of those ideas and wishes, though mutually conflicting, may be reconciled. The rest however might fundamentally be opposed and crystallise into definite principles on bases of the which political parties are formed. Nations, thus composed and governed, are bound to come into closer contact to-day than ever before owing to the shrinkage of the world as a result of improved means of communication. In order to prevent more conflicts than hitherto arising by virtue of this improvement, there is needed a revision of ideas about the relationship of nations to one another. Those ideas that embrace the interests of a larger section of humanity have to supersede those that do not. Signs of this change are clear in the emergence and the activities of the League of Nations. But this body, while focussing and reflecting world opinion does not yet provide for world administration. The book is throughout thoughtful and inspiring and deserves careful perusal at the hands of all those who desire World Peace.

S. P. S.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MR. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

Our South African correspondent in his letter published in this issue elsewhere refers to many tributes paid to Mr. Sastri by newspapers in the Union. We select for reproduction the one by the Cape Argus which wrote in its issue of December 31 last as follows:—

To few men has it been granted to capture the regard of South Africa to the extent achieved by Mr. Sastri, who leaves our shores on Wednesday. A conspicuous and venerated figure in his own country, he was scarcely known even by name to most South Africans when the announcement was made early in 1927 that he had been appointed Agent-General for India. Yet it was early recognised as something of a compliment to South Africa, as well as a tribute to the delicacy of her Indian problem, that so distinguished an Indian—perhaps the most distinguished of his day—should have accepted a post from which much trouble and little glory could be expected. Mr. Sastri has more than fulfilled the hopes aroused. His knowledge and ability commanded immediate respect. His candour and capacity for seeing both sides broke down the barrier of prejudice. And finally his eloquence won over all but a few "die-hard" extremists. The Indian problem was lifted immediately to a plane on which it had not moved for many years. A spirit of sweet reasonableness began to invade quarters from which it had been conspicuously absent. Within a very short time agreement was reached—rather a vague agreement, it is true, and one which left much to the good faith of the Union Government, but still an agreement that promised a fairer future for South African Indians while restricting their numbers. But Mr. Sas-

tri's work was not finished. It remained for him to reconcile Indians to clauses that they disliked, and by gentle pressure to keep the Union Government from backsliding. This double task accomplished, he is able to leave his successor a position not, indeed, completely stabilised, but in process of settling down. We, as well as the people of India, owe him a deep debt for that achievement. The Indian question was an open sore in the body politic of the Empire; it has been converted through Mr. Sastri into a minor problem.

The moment of his departure is perhaps an opportune one for considering the lessons to be learned from the incursion into our midst of this imperturbable philosopher-statesman. Mr. Sastri, let us admit in candour, enjoys one great advantage over the usual democratic Minister. He is not obliged to curry popular favour or cadge for votes. There have been other modern philosopher-statesmen—Mr. Balfour, Lord Haldane, General Smuts spring to mind—not inferior in general ability or lacking in persuasiveness and oratorical gifts, but always they have suffered under the handicap of suspicion from political opponents. Mr. Sastri, too, is a politician, but he has been able to stand aloof from the rough-and-tumble of political life where the need to score a point so often overrides the dictates of true foresight. That is a very great advantage which it would be unfair to underrate. Nevertheless we believe that the true secret of his success lies elsewhere. It lies in a fervent devotion to duty, containing no element of personal ambition. It may be that unselfish absorption of this kind comes easier to an Oriental mind than to the pushful, adventurous type of mind developed in Northern Europe; although every country can provide its quota of tireless, unseen workers. Yet there is something specially inspiring in Mr. Sastri's career apart from his works. With glittering prizes for the taking—with all India, so to speak, for his oyster—he preferred a life of poverty and self-repression as a member of that unique Society, the Servants of India, and gave up all that the world holds valuable at the call of patriotism. Service on those terms is understood in India. Unpractical as it may seem to the Western mind, the world would be a better place to-day if it were understood and more widely practised everywhere.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA : TURKS AND AFGHANS. Vol. III. Ed. by SIR WOLSELEY HAIG. (Cambridge University Press.) 1928. 9½ × 6½. pp. 421. 42s.
- IBN SA'UD OF ARABIA : HIS PEOPLE AND HIS LAND. By AMEEN RIHANI. (Constable.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 370.
- A SHORT HISTORY OF THE WORLD. 1918-1928. By C. DELISLE BURNS. (Constable.) 1928. 9½ × 6½. pp. 447. 16s.
- INFORMATION ON THE RENUNCIATION OF WAR, 1927-1928. By J. W. WHEELER-BENNETT. (Allen & Unwin.) 1928. 8½ × 5. pp. 191. 8s. 6d.
- BRITAIN AND THE WAR : A FRENCH INDICTMENT. By GENERAL HUGUET. Translated by CAPT. H. COTTON MINCHIN. (Cassell.) 1928. 9½ × 6½. pp. 243. 15s.
- THE MASHONA. By CHARLES BULLOCK. (Juta & Co. Cape Town.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 400. 12. 6d.
- WORLDS WITHIN WORLDS. By SIELLA BENSON. (Macmillan.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 309. 8s. 6d.

WANTED—Candidates for training Telegraph Signallers, Station Masters, Railway Commercial Courses, Motor Driving, Motor Mechanics, Electrical Engineering taught. Lodging, Furniture free. Railway fare paid. Agra healthier than Delhi. Cheaper living. Apply for prospectus with two-anna postage stamps to the Imperial Telegraph Institution and Electric and Motor Engineering College, Agra.