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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IT is a great relief to find that the one-sided application of the mandatory principle, which is proposed in the draft covenant of the League of Nations, is mercilessly exposed in the Liberal Press. Says the *Nation* :

If this principle is desired to secure aid and protection for the subject and backward peoples, why is its operation confined "to those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which previously governed them"? Why is the "principle" not extended to the African protectorates of Belgium, France, Portugal, and Britain? Why is the "spoils of victory" principle set to qualify the higher principle of international obligation for the government of the weaker people? The bias is carried into more detail when the mandatory powers over "territories such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands" are virtually nullified by converting these "spoils" into "integral" portions of the so-called "mandatory States"—i. e., South Africa, Australasia and Japan.

AN alarming situation developed itself at Delhi on Sunday last. That day was selected by the inhabitants as a day of humiliation and prayer in accordance with Mr. Gandhi's suggestion, and all shops were accordingly closed and business stopped. It would appear that some enthusiasts were persuading two sweetmeat-sellers on the railway station to close their stalls in sympathy with their movement, but railway officials intervened, and an altercation ensued which resulted in the arrest, it is believed, of two people from among the mob, which had now collected on the scene. The mob, being infuriated, demanded the release of the arrested men. The police and military were called out and an affray took place between them and the people, the latter throwing brickbats and the former opening fire upon the crowd. The number of casualties is yet unknown, but about a dozen

men are reported to be killed and about sixty injured. A machine-gun was posted in the thick of the crowd and the soldiers were kept patrolling the disturbed parts. Order was quickly restored, and in the evening a monster meeting was held under the presidency of Swami Shraddhananda. The meeting passed off peaceably and registered resolutions of protest against the Rowlatt Act and the behaviour of the authorities during the disturbance. Business was resumed in the city as usual on the next day.

A conflicting version is given of some of the details narrated above, and it is said that an attempt was made to practise coercion on the stall-keepers on the railway station, thus putting the men in the wrong in the first instance. Passengers are also alleged to have been forcibly pulled out of tram cars before they stopped running. It is also said that the military took action because the crowd assumed a threatening attitude. But whatever it is, it is highly necessary that a detailed investigation should be instituted at once into the whole affair and an authoritative account published. The public must be satisfied that all due precautions were taken before the crowd was fired at and that no excessive force was harshly used. A grave situation has arisen owing to the obduracy of the Government in passing the Rowlatt legislation, and a tremendous responsibility rests upon them to handle it with all care and tact. No room should be left for the impression to spread that force was used to overawe the people, determined to work for the repeal of the Act in a peaceful manner, into submission.

THIS should also serve as a warning to the the people. A movement to be carried on on an extensive scale like the present, though peaceful in its conception, is likely to pass under provocation into violence, and the danger, always inherent in such a movement, of a breach of the peace occurring must not be lightly set aside when the movement is initiated. There is no question of the leaders desiring to keep it within legitimate bounds, but they may not always be able to keep their followers well in hand, and the authorities will not always let such a movement remain pacific. Anyway, whoever is to blame, there is always a probability of a movement of the type now contemplated assuming undesirable forms.

THE situation in Egypt has suddenly developed grave symptoms. The *Times* of February 14 announced that the Egyptian Nationalists were putting forward a demand for the application to their country of the Wilsonian principle of self-determination and that they were contemplating to prefer their claim to the Peace Conference. The *Times* of course held up this movement to the derision and condemnation of its readers, saying that this proceeding on the part of but a fractional portion of the population would give rise to the false impression that they were in the same position as the subject peoples of the enemy colonies, whereas the fact was that they enjoyed a great degree of freedom and prosperity. On this must supervene the proposition that the section of the intelligenzia which were making inordinate demands did not really represent the country and that the independence which they sought to establish would only result in the supremacy of a very minute fraction of the population! In *their* interest, therefore, the rulers must deny them the operation of self-determination! Till each section of the people was capable to hold its own against any encroachments on its rights, some advance in the direction of local self-government alone was possible, side by side with the raising of the intellectual standard of the nation. The *Times*, however, gave the assurance that the Nationalist movement for self-government had so far been conducted within constitutional limits.

THE upheaval however has now assumed alarming proportions in Egypt, mainly owing, it would appear, to the mishandling of a delicate situation by the authorities. An energetic propaganda was set up by the Nationalists, stirring up the people to demand full autonomy under the British flag, and a movement was set on foot to send a delegation to Europe. The Government, however, disallowed the deputation, saying that "no useful purpose would be served by Nationalist leaders coming to London and advancing immoderate demands which it was impossible to entertain." This recalls to the minds of Indians the language employed by Lord Pentland in his famous speech, of May 1917, threatening action against popular leaders. This led, by a sequence of events which is not fully explained, to the deportation of five ministers. Riots ensued, and the country is placed under martial law. The significance of this cannot be overrated, and if the British Government is wise it will derive from these deplorable occurrences a lesson which will stand it in good stead in dealing with other subject nations. It is clear that the policy "of sympathising with the idea of giving the Egyptians an increasing share in the government of their country" does not satisfy the intelligenzia, and no enduring improvement seems possible without a drastic change in that policy.

JAPAN has raised what will prove to Great Britain a very inconvenient question in claiming equality of treatment as regards immigration for

all the countries which join the League of Nations. She does not demand unrestricted immigration, but cannot tolerate any discrimination against any of the States. This is exceedingly repugnant to British Dominions, who have raised impassable barriers against Asiatics. As *India* has suggested in a recent number, Indians must also insist upon the same treatment being accorded to them as will be accorded to the Japanese. It is too much to hope, however, that the Dominions will yield so easily. It may be recalled here in this connexion that when they opposed the mandatory principle being applied to the ex-German colonies and demanded an absolute cession of them, their allegiance to the mandatory system was won by the assurance that to the new territories which would be transferred to them the same immigration laws as were in force in their countries would apply, in order to exclude the Indians in the case of South Africa and the Japanese in the case of Australia. What a surrender it would be on their part now, after an acceptance of the mandate, to have equality of treatment forced on them in the matter of immigration!

LORD PENTLAND, an ex-member of a Liberal Ministry, has closed his career in India as decidedly the most reactionary among heads of provinces. He set in motion against Mrs. Besant, who is such a great force on the side of peace and order, the war-measure of the Defence of India Act without the least justification and provoked a storm of agitation unequalled in the history of India. When the higher authorities overruled him and decided to release Mrs. Besant with a view to establishing the calm which was so vitally necessary for the discussion of reforms, he yielded most reluctantly and did not even disguise his opposition to the redress of the wrong which he had inflicted. This made him a convinced bureaucrat, and hereafter he offered a steady and uncompromising opposition to the introduction of reforms. During the last two years, when the reforms were being thrashed out, he explored all avenues whereby the policy of conciliation could be overthrown and one of unredeemed repression installed in its place and lent all his support to movements calculated to achieve that end. It is believed that his Government stood out against the reforms as no other Government did, and the last few years must have been very painful to him in the thought that the whole atmosphere was out of sympathy with him since the advent of Mr. Montagu. He would feel no regret to leave the Indian shore, nor would India regret to part with a Governor adapted, perhaps, to other times. Personally, his relations were cordial with many prominent workers in Madras, but his administration must be pronounced an ignominious failure.

TIME was when the sending of deputations to England was execrated in Nationalist quarters as political mendicancy, but there has since been a

wholesome reaction in the Nationalist attitude, and now that party are actually found to take credit to themselves for keeping a prominent politician in England continuously for a longer time than the other party ever did at an enormous expenditure of money. This claim is in a way justified. It is, however, a pity that at the meeting organised in Bombay to do honour to Mr. Baptista, a more detailed account of the work done by him during his stay of twenty months at the seat of the Empire was not given. This work must surely be vastly greater, both in quality and quantity, than half a dozen articles in the Labour party's weekly paper, the *Herald*, his rather inconsequential plea for self-determination in a pamphlet published under that title, the adoption of a self-government resolution by the Labour party at the Nottingham conference last year, and a few addresses to Labour audiences, if it is to deserve anything like the praise bestowed upon it in the *Mahratta*, viz., that his achievement is "the greatest landmark in the history of India." Perhaps, the writer was describing the regime of the Emperor Akbar in a fit of absent-mindedness!

MR. BAPTISTA'S reading of the political situation in England is that there will be no effective opposition to any reform bill which the Government will father, but he gives no inkling of the extent to which the Government will be prepared to go. His complaint is that India is not putting her demand at its highest. In what direction the demand should be expanded he did not specify. Mr. Tilak's view, however, seems to be radically different, for at a conference held on February 26, he said that India accepted the broad principles of the Montagu report, and a further elucidation of his position is afforded by the assurance which Mr. Tilak seems to have given Mr. Montagu that he (Mr. Tilak) would make the most of whatever reforms were introduced, reserving the right to agitate for further reforms. Those who affect to be puzzled at the attitude of the Moderates in according general support to the reform scheme, while suggesting important extensions in it and pledging themselves to work incessantly till the goal is reached, will be hard put to it to discriminate between this and the position of Mr. Tilak, for they are substantially the same.

WHILE Mr. Tilak endorses, on behalf of his countrymen, the broad principles of the official scheme, and thus impliedly the principle of diarchy which is made by its authors its very groundwork, Mr. Karandikar pleads for the overthrow of diarchy and bases the claim, strangely enough, on the local Governments' objection to it. Such an objection can only mean, as the *Commonweal* has it, "the rejection of the whole scheme." "It is fairly obvious," the paper says, "that they (the provincial Governments) use this weapon to wreck the scheme—a good reason why we, who desire reforms, should not play into their hands." But in this very rejection of the reform proposals by

the local Governments, Mr. Karandikar sees a good opening to press for the Congress-League scheme! If there was any doubt as to the inwardness of the attitude of these Governments, it would be dispelled by the anxiety of Lord Sydenham to advertise their opposition in England. He complained, in a question in the House of Lords on March 6, that unfavourable opinions on the M.-C. proposals were suppressed, and he invoked in support of his own objection to diarchy the deliberate judgment of those authorities who would be called upon to work it in practice. Lord Sinha, in his maiden speech, neatly answered the charge brought against Government, but the raising of the question itself by Lord Sydenham should put Indians on their guard against playing his game by opposing the basic principle of the scheme.

IN answer to the inquiry made in many quarters as to which laws besides the Rowlatt Acts a passive resister should break, Mr. Gandhi has stated that any laws which do not have a moral sanction may be selected for violation as an instrument with which to strike the obnoxious laws off the statute book. Mrs. Besant has explained in the *Theosophist* what a change this involves in the usual method of practising passive resistance. She says, "Now the Rowlatt Bill was so emasculated by the persistent mangling process carried on by the elected Indian members of the Supreme Legislative Council, that it has been reduced to an Act against revolutionary crimes, instead of, as at first, placing the liberty of every man and woman in India at the mercy of the executive. Under these circumstances, the old-fashioned passive resister simply says: 'There is nothing to break, and passive resistance is therefore impossible.' But the Satyagrahi is to break other laws, selected for such breach by a Committee in order that he may be punished by the authorities, and that this self-invited suffering may set free spiritual force. Will it do so? To my mind it is very doubtful whether it will, however good the motive. For the spiritual world is an orderly world, and the breaking of laws in our physical world—not because the conscience feels the laws to be broken to be so bad that obedience to them is disobedience to conscience, but because another person selects them for disobedience—seems to me to be at once illogical and unspiritual so that the result of the action is very doubtful."

THE writer of the Indian article in the *Round Table* does not show much insight. He takes the average Anglo-Indian view of all questions. The most serious objection raised to the M.-C. proposals is the absence of an element of responsibility in the central Government. No answer is attempted to this objection, but only an allegation is made that the demand is put forward to maintain the appearance of showing fight. Such assertions cannot conduct the controversy to any solid results, and one would expect the *Round Table* to adopt a better way of investigating the truth.

THE MANDATORY SYSTEM.

GRAVE dissatisfaction is expressed in Liberal papers with the draft plan for the League of Nations. Much the most serious criticism that is made against the proposed constitution is that the League will be effectively controlled by the five Great Powers, who took a leading part in the Paris Conference. While the Body of Delegates will consist of the representatives of all the signatory nations, all real power will be wielded by the Executive Council, on which Great Britain and the Powers associated with her in carrying on the war will enjoy permanent supremacy. This will mean in practice, as has been well said, a perpetuation of the War Alliance instead of the Peace League, it is meant to be. A demand is therefore made for an effective representation of the smaller Nations and the devolution of some power on the general body instead of its being reduced, as in the present draft, to a state of impotency. That this body is open only to those who will be invited to join it by the foundation members merely goes to emphasise the character of the Entente of which it partakes so liberally. The requirement of a two-thirds majority for the inclusion of Germany in this Society of Nations militates against the principle of equality, which should have formed the basis of the League. All these provisions of the scheme, which tend to make the League an oligarchy instead of the commonwealth it should be, must be excised from the present plan, if it is to achieve the results expected of it. While it is generally recognised that, with suitable amendments in its structure, it will be productive of immense good, it is also apprehended that without such amendments it "may as easily develop into an instrument of oppression as into an organ of peace."

The crux of the whole business may be said to lie in the way in which the fate of the German colonies and the occupied territory in Turkey will be decided. While discussing this question, the Peace Conference came up for the first time against a problem of wide-reaching issues on a high plane, and the spirit which was brought to bear on it would test the value of the decisions that would be taken on the territorial questions in general. As the *Times* said, the colonial question "for the first time raises the real work of the Conference—that of the creation of a new world based on the main principles of a League of Nations." It should be noted in the first place that the Conference confined its attention to the task of settling the future of territories conquered from enemy countries, and did not include within its scope the consideration of the guarantees that should be required of the Allied nations for the well-being of the countries subject to them. A League which is to ensure the peace of the world for all time to come cannot leave well alone the destinies of the multitudinous populations owning allegiance to the nations which have emerged victorious out of the war. But leaving that apart for a while, what are the principles on which the disposition of the enemy

colonies is to be determined? Two alternative methods were suggested: first of turning over these colonies, in permanent cession and in full ownership, to countries immediately adjoining them and, second, of transferring them on trust to one of these countries, the latter giving undertakings as regards economic and political matters and rendering an account to the League of the administration of its trust. That the former should be proposed at all is a pity, and that it should have been advocated with great vehemence, almost up to the breaking point, by the British Dominions is a matter of profound shame. Australia stood out for the transfer to her in permanent sovereignty of the Southern Pacific Islands and South Africa of German South-West Africa, both pleading that considerations of "strategy" and "national safety" put the mandatory form out of the question. Great Britain too lent her countenance to these pretensions with the desire to placate them. Indeed, the *Times* avows the motive. "The sacrifices which the Dominions have made in the common cause," it says, "have been immense, and entitle them to something more than consideration in a matter which concerns them deeply, and on which their feeling is very general and very strong." No loftier motive is even suggested than the interests of strategy on the one hand and of gratitude on the other, in pressing the claims of the British Dominions for the possession in absolute ownership of the German colonies.

It is only due to Mr. Wilson's forceful pleading that this vicious principle was eventually abandoned and that of trusteeship adopted. And it was on the cards that the lofty idealism for which Mr. Wilson stood would have been overborne by the interested motives openly put before the Conference by the British colonies. As it is, however, the conquered territories are to be assigned to member-States of the League as trustees, their ultimate right to self-government being assured to them and lines of development being laid down. The nature of the mandate is to vary in each case according as the area to be transferred is more or less able to stand by itself. This is no doubt a great advance on anything that has gone before in the administration of one country by another, if the scheme is worked out in the right spirit, Lord Curzon claimed that the mandatory system would raise the standard of colonial administration through the world, and Mr. Wilson said that under it the helpless peoples of the world would come into a new light and a new hope. It is to be seen how far these anticipations come true, but it is very disconcerting to find that even Mr. Wilson does not insist that the interests of the backward peoples, who are to be under the tutelage of more advanced countries shall be the sole motive with the mandatory Powers; he only hopes that the League will make it its duty to see that "the nations who are assigned as the tutors and advisers and directors of those people shall look to their interests and development before

looking to the interests and material desires of the mandatory nation itself." It may be that "there has been no greater advance than this," but how much opening does it not give to the trustee nation to exploit a country allotted to it for development! Dependent countries like India will, therefore, be excused if they are somewhat sceptical of the practical beneficence of such plans, admirable though they appear on paper.

What, however, is utterly indefensible is the plea put forward by the sponsors of the League, including Mr. Wilson, for the exclusion of the colonies of the Allied countries from the operation of the beneficent principles which they have evolved for ex-German colonies. The plea is that the former are already governed on those principles. General Smuts in his pamphlet on the League of Nations and Lord Curzon in his reply to the Address on the King's speech have claimed that the mandatory system only means virtually the application to the countries conquered from the enemy the principles on which the British Empire is being governed. The *Times* also says the same thing: "The principle which it (the mandatory system) embodies, after all, is nothing more than the principle on which our imperial system is based, and the wide acceptance with which that principle meets is really the highest possible tribute to a fundamental doctrine of the British Empire." That Mr. Wilson should have given expression to a similar sentiment and should have sought to justify a one-sided application of the principle expounded by him is deplorable. "In the administration of the affairs of more than one of the Great States that are represented here—so far as I know of all the Great States represented here—that humane impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies whose peoples were yet at a low stage of civilization. . . It is the agreement of the great nations which have tried to live by these standards in their separate administrations to unite in seeing that their common force and their common thought and intelligence are lent to this great and humane enterprise." This claim cannot be made good, and the exclusion of the colonies of the Associated Powers stands condemned. An article from the *New Statesman* quoted in another column proves the invalidity of the claim with regard to certain colonies; the same can easily be done with regard to others. Instances upon instances can be quoted where the interests of the subject peoples have been subordinated to those of the rulers and gross injustice done. An obligation therefore may well be laid upon the Allied countries to perform their trust towards their colonies in the same manner in which they are charged to perform it towards the areas which they will hereafter attach to themselves.

A SAD CONTRAST.

WHILE Great Britain and other Great Powers are engaged in taking over ex-German colonies, as a trust of civilization, pledging themselves to admi-

nister the trust in a just and impartial spirit, with the sole desire to placing them on the road to national advancement, it were to be wished that the Powers had a clean record with regard to their own colonies. The easy assumption is made, while discussing the future of the enemy possessions, that the standard which is now to be applied to those possessions is already in force in the colonies of the Allied countries, and that the mandatory system, far from being a new principle, is only an extension, in form, of a principle which is silently at work in all countries except those which were till recently under the domination of Germany. Indeed, such a claim is being persistently put forward by Allied statesmen, and even Mr. Wilson has lent his support to it. One can imagine how the self-complacency of the Great Powers will be disturbed if the memorial presented last week to His Excellency the Viceroy by a deputation headed by Mr. Jeevanlal on behalf of the British Indian residents of the British East Africa Protectorate is placed before the Peace Conference and the outstanding facts in the history of these residents are made known to all the Powers which are now hammering out the terms of the Peace Treaty. The conquest of the Protectorate is largely due to Indian soldiers, its rapid development is equally due in a large measure to Indian traders and agriculturists and artisans, and its retention in British hands during war-time is also owing to Indian help to a great extent. And yet how are the Indians, numbering about 30,000, treated in this Protectorate, which is largely of their making?

The white settlers monopolise all power and privileges, while Indian claims are utterly ignored. The Indian residents have no voice in legislation. All non-official representation is appropriated by the Europeans, although they number only a fifth of Indians. The European representation is now about to be enlarged, and still Indians are not to participate in it to any extent, thus only adding to the injustice. The result is that many laws have been passed, which make an invidious discrimination against them, in spite of the solemn promise in the Royal charter granted to the Imperial British East Africa Company that "there shall be no differential treatment of the subjects of any Power as to trade or settlement." These laws operate very harshly against Indians. In the matter of crown lands the practice till now was to reserve all the healthy tracts for Europeans, and to grant some lands grudgingly to Indians in the unhealthy portion. But latterly all such grants have practically ceased, and even purchases of land from the Europeans are being vetoed, so that by no chance can land pass at all into Indian hands to any appreciable extent. On the local bodies, Indians go without representation. In Nairobi they have been recently deprived of the scanty representation which they had enjoyed by the process of election, and the whole township council is filled with their trade rivals, bent upon removing the present Indian Bazar.

The Indians are forbidden to live or carry on business on any premisses except those which are set apart for them, with the result that, apart from the humiliation which segregation causes, great losses in trade are entailed and a congestion takes place which makes the surroundings insanitary. All higher appointments are barred against Indians, although in the adjoining Portuguese territory many Indian subjects have risen to the highest offices. All the Justices of the Peace and Visiting Justices of the Gaols are drawn exclusively from among the white settlers. No liberal profession can be practised by Indians, their university degrees and diplomas not being recognised. Trial by jury is denied to them. They are subjected to a harassing treatment on the railways. Marriages performed according to the usual rites are not held valid. Things have now come to a head, for a definite movement is now set apart under influential auspices, directed towards the ultimate exclusion of Indians from the colony and a deprivation of their franchise. Several Europeans have recently migrated to this colony from South Africa, and, with their anti-Indian bias, they may well render the position utterly intolerable for the Indians, unless His Majesty's Government steps in to help them.

A mere recital of the many and serious disabilities from which the British Indians are suffering in East Africa will convince every one that there is wide scope here for the "compulsion of conscience" which Mr. Wilson wishes to see applied to enemy colonies. For the treatment meted out to Indian subjects in the Protectorate is truly unconscionable, and if hereafter the interests of the subject peoples are to be looked to primarily by the rulers, then British East Africa affords an excellent field for the practice of that admirable doctrine. If the mandate theory were enforced in this instance and the authorities required to render an annual report of the manner in which they have discharged their trust to a super-national tribunal, is it imaginable that the people who have been the most instrumental in raising the colony to its present condition would be subjected to the severest handicaps and a handful of Europeans allowed to be in enjoyment of all that is valuable? If a small minority continued to be in the present favoured position and Indians so cruelly ill-treated, the mandate would certainly be revoked, unless the League of Nations discharged its functions with a gross partiality. If the well-being and development of subject peoples are to be a trust of civilization, the Indians who form a large majority of civilised people in British East Africa will certainly not be selected for the worst treatment. If the professions of imperial statesmen are not a hollow pretence but indicate an honest attempt at international justice, not only this but similar cruelties practised in other colonies must be put a stop to at once, and then only will the Allied countries have a moral right to discuss plans of taking over the enemy possessions under their care.

UNDER THE MICROSCOPE.

THE TANGLED SKEIN.

THE claims put forward by the Allied nations at the Peace Conference let us into the psychological privacies of self-righteous statesmen who have made a speciality of benevolent assimilation. Thus Italy claims Fiume on the grounds of nationality and the Pact of London of 1915, although she is loth to extend the same principle to the twelve Greek Islands she snatched from Turkey in the Tripoli War. If she claims Fiume because fifty per cent. of its inhabitants are Italians, there is no reason in the nature of things why she should withhold the twelve Greek Islands from Greece since their population is overwhelmingly Greek. Again, if she insists on England and France to respect the secret treaty of London, she ought long to have redeemed her promise to restore the twelve Islands to Turkey in accordance with the treaty which concluded the Tripoli War. We are told that a deputation of Fiume magnificoes recently signified their desire to be placed under Italy to President Wilson, although one might question their representative character in view of the excesses of the Italian chauvinists in Fiume where every vestige of Jugo-Slavdom is being removed in the most barefaced manner and the Italians are closing the frontier and blockading Jugo-Slavia, while the results of the plebiscite under Italian occupation show a Jugo-Slav majority, varying from sixty per cent. at Zara to eighty per cent. in other districts. The demands of Greece formulated by M. Venizelos and magniloquently supported by M. Anatole France are based on the Hellenic cause in Thrace and in the coast of Asia Minor, and a number of other places. M. Venizelos insists on the principle of nationality, conveniently forgetting that the principle of nationality must sometimes yield place to historical grounds as in the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, or to sentimental grounds as in the restoration of Palestine to the Jews, although the results of a plebiscite might not fetch a majority of votes for the new masters. The Congress of Vienna failed to give an enduring peace to Europe, because the partition of territories which it settled was a partition of *matter*, no thought having been given to *spirit*. Called upon, like Hamlet, to assert moral order in a world of moral confusion and obscurity, well might President Wilson be filled with a sense of his own insufficiency and exclaim:—

"The time is out of joint: O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right!"

WHEN DOCTORS DIFFER.

We heartily congratulate Major Norman White, I. M. S., Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, on the singular candour with which he pronounces judgment on the uselessness of inoculation on a wholesale scale as an effectual protection against influenza. He says with frankness rare in opinionated medicoes: "At present nothing is known regarding the degree or duration of the immunity conferred by inoculation. A

priori, it is little likely that inoculation with a vaccine would confer greater immunity than an attack of the disease." What a world of good would the Government of India do to poverty-stricken and disease-ridden India if they embarked on a comprehensive sanitary policy and eliminate the very worst sanitary conditions as regards ventilation, water-supply and general cleanliness under which the teeming millions lived in India! The highest medical authorities in England and South Africa have declared against the inutility of vaccine in influenza and have failed to select Pfeiffer's influenza bacillus in the bronchial secretions, in the peribronchial tissues, and in the pleura. Dr. Pitchford wrote in the *Lancet* of October 26, 1918: "It should be noted, however, that the Pfeiffer bacillus is occasionally discovered in bronchial secretions where there is no suspicion of influenza; but on the other hand, the bacillus has not been found, or has only been discovered in a very small minority of the total cases in a considerable number of outbreaks, undistinguishable clinically from influenza." Another very high authority, Dr. William Camac Wilkinson, observed in the *Lancet* of November 16, 1918:—

"Let us first determine the essential cause of the disease and till then keep our hands off vaccines. I know no certain evidence to justify the recommendation of any or several vaccines for the treatment of influenza, and the most that can be said of vaccines for protective purposes is that they are not likely to do any harm. For curative purposes, I incline to the view that such vaccines would probably do more harm than good."

Unfortunately, no notice is apparently taken of these warnings by the heaven-sent medical prodigies basking in the sunshine of Government patronage and justifying their existence at the Parel and Kasauli Institutes by far-flung protestations of the infallibility of vaccines. The *tactus eruditus* of the physician carries everything before it in India, which is, to all intents and purposes, the El Dorado of dilettantism.

AN ABLY-EDITED MAGAZINE.

The mantle of the late Mr. B. M. Malabari of Bombay has descended on his friend and comrade, Sirdar Jogendra Singh, who has been editing *East and West* with conspicuous ability. The most poignant merit of this magazine is that its politics are not aggressive and its whole policy is marked by a comprehensiveness which is fettered by no severe canons of taste and which does not seek to make "better bread than can be made of wheat." The illustrious editor is convinced that truth and reason are not the monopoly of any single party, but are shared to a greater or less extent by all. Accordingly, his review is free from those lapses which aggravate party feeling and prevent compromise. In the February number, for instance, it deals out an even-handed justice to those who indulge in destructive criticism, irrespective of nationality or creed. Remarking upon the Rowlett

Report, the writer of crisp paragraphs under the headline, "From Cloudland," pertinently reminds reactionaries of the Sydenham type of the wise words of Lord Canning after the Mutiny: "If the rebels numbered thousands, the loyal Indians numbered millions," and administers a richly deserved rebuke to Sir Harry L. Stephen, who sees nothing but catastrophic changes in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme. Among the contributions, Sir John Woodroffe's remarks on the sacred syllable OM are refreshing and do great credit to a Western *savant*. If there is to be a real bond of brotherhood between the rulers and the ruled, it can best be achieved by sympathetic *savants* on both sides.

KESHAVLAL L. OZA.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, MARCH 1.

THE SPREAD OF BOLSHEVISM.

FAMILIARITY with deeds of violence and sudden death is doubtless the cause of a great deal of the unrest and anarchy prevalent throughout Europe, and in all ranks of society. The youth, who attempted to assassinate M. Clemenceau, was a proletarian, or at least claimed to be one, and was no more an anarchist than the aristocrat, who murdered Herr Eisner, the President of Bavaria. In each case, doubtless, there were mixed motives of altruism and hatred, but they resulted in the application of methods of terrorism, and what have been their results? Even the German Press has been compelled to deprecate the ill-judged attempt upon the life of M. Clemenceau, who, thoughtful Germans recognise, incarnates the very spirit of the French nation more completely than any other living Frenchman. The episode has resulted in an enormous enhancement of the prestige enjoyed by the French Prime Minister throughout Europe and America, and the brave and determined way in which he has insisted upon getting to work again as soon as possible, even before his wound has healed, has aroused universal admiration. The "Wild West" shootings in Munich, have resulted in a very serious situation. Spartacism, which is the nearest German equivalent of Russian Bolshevism, both being variants of Communism, has received a new lease of life. It has spread rapidly throughout South Germany and has compelled the Majority Socialists to tolerate at least for the time being a more or less close alliance with the Minority Socialists and the Spartacists. The political situation in Germany, therefore, is one of unstable equilibrium, and it has been rendered still more so by the growing economic distress throughout great parts of the country. It is now generally recognised that famine conditions will shortly exist in many places, not merely for lack of food-stuffs, but also because of the difficulties of transport and distribution.

The situation, too, is complicated by the fact that even the preliminary peace is not

yet signed, and unless something is done to expedite the working of the Peace factory at Paris within the next few weeks, it may well be impossible to discover any authority in Germany with whom Peace may be concluded. There seems to be general concurrence that Germany is "down and out," and that little may be feared from her for many years to come, if only because of exhaustion. There are, however, three great problems, affecting the peace of Europe, apart from the Russian complication. Russia, of course, is wholly disorganised, and the greatest danger to the processes of reconstruction that are now being organised, is the possibility that Germany may, in course of time, be able to take control of the Russian situation, and become master of the vast resources of that still almost virgin country, both in men and materials. The only way in which it is believed that this can be effectively prevented, and with it the translation of Bolshevism from Russia to Central Europe, is by the creation of a strong group of buffer States, barring Germany's way to the east and south-east. A strong Poland, linked up with a strong Zecho-Slovakia, and this again linked on to a strong Yugo-Slavia, should form the desired barrier, but as a matter of fact, each of these nations in the making is too weak to stand alone and needs the support of the Allied and associated Powers; whilst each of them again is putting forward such extreme demands as to bring it into almost active conflict with its neighbours.

Poland, for example, is at daggers drawn with Germany on the one hand, and the Ukraine on the other; whilst it is engaged in a violent squabble with Zecho-Slovakia regarding a certain desirable piece of territory containing a mixed population. The Cecho-Slovaks, again, have not yet settled accounts with Germany, German-Austria, or Hungary, and Hungary too is in dispute with Rumania regarding the future disposition of a considerable portion of its former territory, containing a substantial majority of Rumanians. But the most critical relations exist between Yugo-Slavia and Italy. Poland and Czecho-Slovakia have already been recognised by the Allies, a courtesy that has not yet been extended to Yugo-Slavia. The situation is not rendered any the easier by the existence of a secret War Treaty between Britain, France and Italy, by which the last-named country was given territory along the Dalmatian coast, which is now claimed by Yugo-Slavia. The tension is at the present time very grave between the two countries, and some foolish incident may at any moment precipitate an open conflict, which will require the active intervention of the Allies. Nor is this the sum total of territorial difficulties and dangers between the European States. For example, Italy and Greece have to adjust their relations as regards the future of Albania, the Greek islands off the coast of Asia Minor, and the vast Greek settlements on the mainland of Asia Minor. In spite, however, of all these rocks ahead, it is believed that skilful

navigation will enable the plenipotentiaries at the Peace Conference to steer a safe course, and so avoid them. It is not yet decided what is to become of the Turkish Empire. What is certain is that even if its existence is permitted to continue, it will be so circumscribed as to be confined to purely Turkish populations. Armenia, Syria and Palestine will go free. It is hoped that America will accept the mandate of the League of Nations for the administration of Armenia. France is almost certain to become the mandatory for Syria; whilst the Zionists are pressing that the mandate as regards Palestine should go to Great Britain.

INDIAN REFORMS.

Lord Sinha, who has taken his seat in the House of Lords and signed the Roll in the customary form, is back at the India Office; but he has found heavy arrears of work awaiting disposal. He is to be entertained at dinner next Friday when the Maharaja of Bikaner will preside. It is expected that the opportunity will be taken to make some important speeches regarding the future of India. It is believed that the Committees in India have already presented their reports, and that these will be received in London by the end of this month. In that event, steps will be taken to complete the drafting of the Reforms Bill and its submission to the Cabinet. The situation here requires very careful handling. In all likelihood the measure will be sent after the second reading to a Joint Committee of the two Houses, and the present complexion of Parliament makes it pretty certain that the friends of India will not be in a majority. In these circumstances, an endeavour is being made to revive the Indian Parliamentary Committee, and members of both Houses are being approached with a view to accepting membership. The organisation of such a Committee, of course, must be loose, and it is believed that when responsible deputations from India arrive here and place their views before members of Parliament in a sober manner, the activities of the Parliamentary Committee will be greatly stimulated.

THE TILAK-CHIROL ACTION.

There is no doubt, however, that the worst possible impression has been created by two incidents that have occurred here during the last few days. The first is the trial of the Tilak-Chirol libel suit by Mr. Justice Darling and a special Jury, who decided against Mr. Tilak, whose contention was not accepted by the Jury, because, as the "Daily Chronicle" suggests, they evidently preferred the view that a man must be taken to intend the reasonable and probable result of his action, and that if he throws matches in a powder magazine, he is not blameless if an explosion follows. "The chief effect of Mr. Tilak's libel action," says the paper, "has been to give a good many Englishmen a much fuller conception of the lengths to which that (Tilak) Press has gone than they might ever otherwise have got. That was not presumably his object in bringing it." Naturally, the enemies of Indian interests will

make the utmost use of the revelations disclosed by these proceedings, and Sir Valentine Chirol has generously undertaken to present to the library of the House of Commons the two bulky volumes or translations from Mr. Tilak's organs with which the Jury was regaled for the best part of eleven days.

The second incident occurred in connection with a meeting that was called in the early part of this week by Sir Mancherji Bhownaggee, upon the requisition of a number of Indian residents of standing here, to express appreciation of Lord Sinha's appointment as Under-Secretary of State for India. The notice convening the meeting was somewhat loosely worded, and as a result, the majority of those present, consisting of students, expressed strong hostility against the conveners of the meeting and their methods of procedure. At times the proceedings degenerated into something like a bear-garden, but ultimately saner counsels prevailed, and even the opponents refrained from going further than passing a resolution expressing disapprobation of the method of calling such meetings as this, without going into the merits of the objects. It was made clear that no personal ill-will was borne against Lord Sinha and that no offence was intended against individuals. But those non-Indians who were present, and who had attended for quite a different purpose, went away feeling very much humiliated at the exhibition of extremism that had been given by the local representatives of Young India. As a matter of fact, the young men had unwittingly allowed themselves to be made use of by a few people who had lent themselves to a discreditable intrigue against Sir Mancherjee, who, in his turn, had, it was suggested, endeavoured to provide a counter-attraction to the dinner that is to be given next week to Lord Sinha. Whatever might have been the true inwardness of the episode, it has done nothing to increase British respect for Indian methods of personal or political controversy, especially so soon after the incidents associated with the Willingdon affair in Bombay.

SELECTION.

THE GREAT CHARTER OF THE IGNORED PEOPLES.

IMMEASURABLE as is, all along the line, the stride to new platforms of statesmanship exhibited in the League of Nations Covenant, those who have closely pursued the idea of the "League" and have been in touch with the chances and changes of its progress into accepted form may well feel that the most remarkable feature of all is the axiom which it adopts and ratifies for control of the dealings of colonising Powers with "people not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." "*The well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation, and securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the Constitution of the League.*"

Mr. Balfour, when he announced that England would not consent to the restitution of Germany's colonies, proclaimed,

with characteristic moderation, if indeed one might not say some irony, of statement, that British Imperialism did not "aim at the oppression or exploitation of subject peoples." In an article on "The Repartition of Africa," in the January *Contemporary Review*, Sir Sydney Olivier has shown in detail how, notwithstanding this pious absence of intention on the part of official British Imperialism, its expansions—and far more so those of some other Powers—always had, in fact, produced exploitations and oppressions, except in those few instances in which they had been undertaken not for economic advantage, but definitely for the purpose of protecting native peoples. Not even so humanely literate a politician as Mr. Balfour dared publicly propound that the sole justification, the sole allowable positive motive of Imperial expansion, should be the interest of the natives.

When Mr. Walter Long was placed in the Colonial Office—on grounds of precisely the same character as those on which he has now been placed elsewhere, namely, that, like the child in *The Wild Duck*, he "must be somewhere"—it was quickly perceived by all who were brought into contact with that Department, as for instance, in connection with the question of native land rights in Rhodesia, that the boot was, at any rate for the time being, very much on the other leg. So far indeed from the British Government regarding itself as a trustee for natives, it had already, when the Crown was challenging the claims of the British South Africa Company to ownership of the lands of Rhodesia, entirely ignored the natives' claims, allowed the Chartered Company to obstruct the preparation of their case and left them and their friends to bear the whole of the costs incurred in preparing and pleading it before the Privy Council. And when the Crown had been declared to be titular owner, and the Colonial Office was challenged to do its duty on behalf of the Crown in the interests of the natives who are being treated as tenants at will, subject to substantial rents to the Chartered Company and taxes to the Administration, Mr. Long's reply was that any right of the natives must be left to be dealt with by the Company, it being the established Administration, and that unless Capital got its due encouragement British African territories could not be "developed." Moreover, in order to enable differential protection (at the expense of native producers) to be given to British trade, West African Governors had, in November last, been suddenly and simultaneously inspired to bring into operation those export duties on palm-kernels which Mr. Bonar Law had, on the previous attempts to establish them, in deference to the protest then made, withdrawn. This step had now to be taken in order that there might be duties "actually in existence" on which the Governments could grant preference, as Mr. Long had promised they should, without *after* the Peace Settlement imposing any new ones, as Mr. Lloyd George had promised they should not. So that when the Dissolution impended, the Local Legislatures were summoned to frame their Bills and sit quickly.

With Mr. Balfour content with the disclaiming of evil intention, and Mr. Long convincingly and conscientiously reactionary in matters concerning the interests of the native peoples, those who had been fighting ever since the period of the scramble for Africa to get the principle of Trusteeship for the natives established as the paramount warrant of sovereignty in such territories, might well have feared that they would get but little backing from our own representatives against the vociferations of Mr. Hughes, Mr. Bottomley and the *Morning Post* claiming crudely the spoils for the victors. But when it appeared that Mr. Lloyd George had deemed it worth while to pay the price of so preposterous a transaction of the indestructible Mr. Long as the foisting of him upon the Navy in order to get rid of him from the Colonial Office—where it must have become obvious that from the point of view of the principles of the League of Nations he was almost as impossible as Mr. Hughes himself would have been—it looked as if things might be going right after all,

and as if Mr. George had really decided to stake his money, as well as his compliments, on Mr. Wilson's horse.

Mr. Wilson (in a passage of his speech on the Covenant which the *Times* with a curious eclecticism omitted from its report) left no ambiguity as to what the words we have quoted were to be taken by the Conference to mean. He made himself extraordinarily explicit, took his cue from Mr. Balfour's half-hearted disclaimer, and thus restated the positive policy of the League :

We are done with the annexations of helpless people, meant, in some instances, by some Powers to be used merely for exploitation. We recognise in the most solemn manner that the helpless and undeveloped peoples of the world, being in that condition, put an obligation upon us to look after their interests primarily before we use them for our interest, and that in all cases of this sort hereafter it shall be the duty of the League to see that nations who are assigned as the tutors, advisers, and directors of those people shall look to their interest and development before looking to the interests and material desires of the mandatory nation itself.

We are not just now discovering our sympathy for these people and our interest in them. We are simply expressing it, for it has long been felt, and in the administration of affairs of more than one of the great States represented here—so far as I know, of all great States that are represented here—that the humane impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies, whose peoples were yet at a low stage of civilisation.

This is not the discovery of a principle. It is the universal application of a principle. It is the agreement of great nations which have tried to live by these standards in their separate administrations, to unite in seeing that their common force and their common thought and intelligence are lent to this great and humane enterprise.

Mr. Wilson evidently knew very well what he was about when he took care to say all that, and more besides, on this particular Article 19—to be more precise in dotting its *i*'s and crossing its *t*'s than those of any other, and specially to preface it by saying that it had been the subject of careful discussions and that the decision reached was unanimous. His preamble must be recorded as part of the instrument, for the terms of the Article itself are entirely general and vague; they remind one disquietingly of the formulas of the Berlin Act and the Brussels Convention, which, indeed, they do little more than reproduce.

They make the same stipulations for "conditions that will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion," which may well strike the irreverent secular mind conversant with African or Polynesian sociology as a rather comical bit of eyewash—a fragment of the old diplomatic or even Papal tradition as to what natives chiefly needed; they stipulate for "the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic," words which as they stand would mean nothing, but which, read together with Mr. Wilson's preamble, will require that labour shall not be impressed, by *corvée*, taxation, or indenture, into the service of the capitalism of the mandatory State.

... "And will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League" . . . that is, the "Open Door," without differentiation: a stipulation which it cannot be too often insisted, is a primary essential for the protection of the natives against exploitation, quite independently of its equity as between the traders and manufacturers of the civilised nations.

President Wilson's words—the Great Charter of ignored and despised people—should be inscribed on tablets of bronze on the wall of every Government House in every tutelary community throughout the world. The League, too, must—and, of course, will—have its permanent organ,

a committee or council, to frame in precise terms those provisions with regard to labour and native land rights which will be necessary to give effect to that repudiation of slavery which the League undertakes to enforce. Moreover, it still has to be seen that the principles to which the representatives of the consenting nations have unanimously committed their Governments as those to be observed by the Mandatories to whom the late German colonies are entrusted shall be—as without the most impudent perfidy and hypocrisy they cannot fail to be—forthwith accepted and given effect to by all those nations in the territories they already control independently of any external mandate. There cannot be emancipation into the rule of the Charter for the natives of the former German colonies only, whilst the scandals of the labour traffic in Portuguese African territory and in the New Hebrides are diplomatically winked at; nor can we say "Have done" with the governing of Damaraland or the Cameroons for the profit of the controlling Power, and not primarily for that of their people, whilst the land and the peoples of Rhodesia are governed not merely for the interests of, but actually by, a commercial company, which appoints its own chief Land Agent to "represent" the natives on the committee set up to consider the question of Native Land Reserves.

No! We and the other nations that have divided the uncivilised world must have the grace to avail ourselves of President Wilson's benevolent hint that the Covenant of the League enables us to put into practice what we have all in our hearts been longing for years to do. We too must prepare to furnish those annual reports of stewardship that are to be rendered to the Executive of the League by the new Mandatories and, if necessary on the appeal of our subjects, to accept advice and correction from that Court of Humanity.—*The New Statesman*.


TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

AT the last senate meeting of the University of Bombay, the proposed College to be opened by the Deccan Education Society at Sangli was affiliated. Dr. Mann who moved the proposition said that the University having now accepted the policy of affiliating well-conducted colleges in all parts of the Presidency would do well to sanction the opening of this college as it is to be managed by a body which has shown exceptional capacity in conducting educational institutions and as the Southern Maratha Country offers a good centre for a college. Dr. Mackichan, while not opposing the proposition, made some remarks about concentrating full grade colleges in a few centres and encouraging only second grade colleges or, as he called them, collegiate schools in other places and vaguely referred to a possible change of policy as regards higher education as a consequence of the Report of the Calcutta University Commission. He was well answered by Messrs. Bhabha and Natarajan, the latter of whom said that a responsible Indian body like the Deccan Education Society was most likely to know what was wanted for Indians rather than a commission mainly composed of foreigners, while the former pointed out that in other provinces second grade Colleges had generally proved inefficient. The motion was carried in the Senate without a dissentient voice, and we congratulate the Deccan Education Society on the successful initiation of their scheme and hope that the people of the Southern Maratha Country will come liberally to its help and make Sangli and Miraj a great educational centre, in keeping with the great historical traditions of which they are rightly proud.

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