

THE

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Bombay Government's decision with regard to the Prohibition (Finance) Committee's report ought to leave nobody under the delusion that prohibition would come in the near future or even within a measurable distance of time. There is no doubt that the problem is in the main a financial one; but it is no use making too much of the financial difficulties. The Government show their partiality for the majority report, according to which the cost of prohibition would come to Rs. 6 crores. Its suggestions about the sources to be tapped for additional taxation have also been considered by Government who have come to the conclusion that "on a very liberal estimate, the additional revenue so derivable will not exceed Rs. 2 crores within the next 15 years." Less expensive schemes were also in the field; but what else could be expected of a Government, which, though publicly committed to prohibition, has been none too enthusiastic about it, than that it should try to delay prohibition as much as possible on the ground of finance—not of course on that of their own want of sympathy for it? The net result of their consideration of the financial aspects of prohibition is that "while not abandoning the hope of eventually attaining total prohibition", they believe, and apparently expect the public to share that belief, that progress towards the goal must necessarily be slow, which means that we must wait for prohibition until the Greek Kalends. It is of course a mercy, for which the presidency must be duly grateful to the Government; that they do not intend to put a step to the policy of rationing country liquor; but

lest anybody should be so foolish as to mislead himself into thinking that it would go on uninterruptedly, they are careful to add that "the time and stages of further reduction in the ration must be judged according to the circumstances of each year." Thus one does not know when a halt will be called in the progress of the rationing policy. And let it be noted, as has been repeatedly shown in these columns, that their ration of country liquor is so liberal that the whole of it is never consumed. But the most expeditious, and also constitutional way of shelving prohibition has recently been found in Madras. There throughout last year one heard frequently about the possibility of prohibition being tried in two districts; but this year not only was there no whisper about it from official benches, during the last Budget session, but, what is really amazing, the then sole Minister in the Madras Government, Dr. Subbaroyan, deliberately went back on the whole thing by declaring prohibition to be a central subject. If Bombay were to take a leaf out of the book of Madras, it would put a stop once for all to all this silly talk about prohibition!

THE small minority of our countrymen opposed to the boycott of the Simon Commission includes some who think that if the Indian case were not presented before the Commission, India may lose a big step forward. But the probability is that the Commission may not take us any further than our present stage. According to the *New Statesman* of March 24, "Probably no further enlargement is at all feasible just now—but to assert even that much definitely would be to anticipate the findings of the Royal Commission. Minor improvements, especially in connection with provincial autonomy, may be practicable. But the central Government must remain essentially autocratic until the day comes when the Indian leaders can say, "Now you may go, we need your bayonets no longer." That day is not likely to come very soon." So even before the Commission goes through the formality of taking evidence, people in England seem to know for certain how far it would go in meeting Indian aspirations. Not only is there no ground for expecting any popularisation of the central Government but even the grant of provincial autonomy appears to be problematical. There may be only some "minor improvements" in connection with provincial autonomy, but no autonomy itself. If after this semi-authoritative statement there are any of our countrymen who believe that our co-operation with the Commission will bring more boons than the *New Statesman* has here forecasted, they must indeed be confirmed optimists. The possibility of the British withdrawal is of course ever present to the benevolent British mind; only all possible care is taken to see that the possibility never comes near being a

reality by delaying army Indianisation as much as possible. Apart from the fact that India's dependence for her defence upon Britain does not make British withdrawal a matter of practical politics, it has the additional advantage of branding Indians as unfit for self-government on the ground of their inability to defend themselves.

THE second session of the Bombay Social Service Conference held last week in Bombay was presided over by Mr. K. Natarajan whose address as usual was thoughtful and inspiring. The fact that 52 different Associations had joined the Conference is an index to the appreciation of the work of social service. At the outset Mr. Natarajan deplored the want of co-ordination between the several social movements. His advice that social questions should be approached in a spirit of charity and toleration is indeed sound, but is it not a pity that it should be still needed? Before changing customs in a summary way, we should be sure, he said that the new ones were higher and better. He made a suggestion to the University authorities to send out students of the School of Sociology to learn social work firsthand. Finally, he advised the social worker to have faith, zeal and knowledge. A resolution was passed which affirmed among other things that commercialised vice would not be adequately dealt with unless brothels were made illegal and which commended the policy of gradual closing within a definite term of years. We do not think ourselves that the shutting up of houses of prostitution would remove the evil at its root but as a preparation of public opinion the resolution has its value. Other important resolutions were the one requesting the League of Nations to extend the enquiry of its Committee on the traffic in women and children to India; another urging the enactment of a definite statute in connection with the policy of Prohibition; another urging the local boards and municipalities to start reading-rooms and libraries in towns and villages. The resolutions, however, show that the Conference is a mere deliberative body. We should like something being done to appoint a permanent committee which will put in continuous work by means of incessant correspondence and propagandist activities.

THE recently held conference of the subjects of Sangli State has once again urged the ruler of the State to limit his personal expenses. Lord Irwin's reported address to the Chamber of Princes has lent added support to the request of the Conference which the enlightened ruler of the State should have little difficulty in carrying into effect. The Conference also demanded the establishment of responsible government in the State. This, in our opinion, largely depends upon the fixation of a civil list for the ruler. For in the absence of a definite limit on the amount the ruler should appropriate from the State revenue for his personal use, there is every inducement to him to be looking about constantly for fresh means of adding to the amount needed for his own limitless expenses. Once a civil list is definitely fixed a ruler will have hardly any interest in withholding the power of the purse from his people. Thus fixing the length of the ruler's privy purse appears to us to be a considerable step towards the establishment of responsible government. And if Lord Irwin is anxious to see the subjects of Indian States contented and happy, he must bend his energies to getting all the Indian princes to agree to appropriate only a stated proportion of the State revenue or a fixed sum for

their personal use. In Sangli, which has an annual income of about Rs. 16 lakhs the ruler, according to a speaker at the Conference, takes about Rs. 1¼ lakh for his personal expenses, and Rs. 5,000 for those of his mother who was until quite recently allowed Rs. 8,000 a year. In addition, State guests are believed to consume nearly Rs. 50,000, the ruling family another Rs. 20,000, stables nearly Rs. 98,000, and the upkeep of the ruler's different houses Rs. 5,000. The Chief Saheb's Mahableswar and Delhi trips between them cost the State, we are told, about Rs. 70,000; while there is no knowing how much of the total P. W. D. expenditure of Rs. 2 lakhs is for public benefit and how much for the personal use of the ruler. Even after making due allowance for some exaggeration in these figures, it cannot be doubted that the total makes quite a formidable proportion of the State's revenue. In sharp contrast is the practice in this behalf prevailing in England where on the accession of a new sovereign a commission is appointed as a matter of course, "to inquire into the position, chiefly financial, of the new occupant of the throne." According to the late King Edward VII's biographer,

"Queen Victoria on her accession had, like her predecessor, William IV, accepted the principle that the chief hereditary revenues of the Crown, which came from landed property, in effect belonged to the nation, and like his mother, the King at once relinquished the royal claim to them. During the Queen's reign the annual value of these Crown estates had risen from £245,000 to £425,000."

In the case of the late King, as during the long reign of his mother no inquiry into the expenditure of the different Palace departments was possible, "an investigating committee of twenty-three members (of Parliament)" was also appointed. Far from looking upon it as a nuisance, Edward VII, we are told, whole-heartedly co-operated with the committee and "took a keen interest in the reduction of expenses." As for Edward VII's Civil List, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer,

"proposed to raise the royal income from £385,000 (including £60,000 for the Privy Purse) which Queen Victoria had received to £450,000 with the privilege of franking letters and sending telegrams free of charge on matters relating to the business of the State. It was proposed to increase the contingent annuity for Queen Alexandra to £60,000."

Eventually Parliament passed an "Act authorising a Civil List of £470,000 per year with additional pensions and annuities bringing the total up to £543,000." It is earnestly to be wished that Indian Princes will introduce this wholesome practice in their own States, and that Sangli will lead the way. Among other requests pressed upon the ruler of Sangli by the Conference was one calling upon him to reduce the number of his councillors from 4 to 2, to separate judicial from executive functions, to make local bodies fully representative, allowing them to elect their own presidents, to introduce prohibition and to allow freedom of the press.

THE secretary of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar at the Annual Meeting of the body, on Indian Finance, gave us a survey of financial events during 1927-28 in which he indulged in an amount of plain speaking which is needed at the present time. Mr. Sarkar notes the curious fact that bankers were thoroughly demoralised and dispirited during the last year and "optimism seemed a word erased out of their dictionary." But he does not tell us definitely what the cause was. Conditions in the money market were equally depressing and Government had to pay a higher interest for Treasury Bills than banks offered for deposits. The failure

of the Reserve Bank scheme is, according to Mr. Sarkar, due to a series of bunglings, although he admits that in a year in which people's minds were less acerbated the proposal would have been acclaimed as a great and liberal measure. Mr. Sarkar deplored the small trade balance in our favour realized during the year, which is barely equal to the Home Charges. In order to popularise Treasury Bills Mr. Sarkar proposes that the Imperial Bank should make it known that they will lend money against Treasury Bills and full facilities for rediscounting will be offered as in the London market. Mr. Sarkar thoroughly approves of the system of Sterling Purchase as a substitute for the system of selling Council Drafts, since under the new system there are smaller treasury balances at the 'Home' treasury. We must remind him however that the larger balances heretofore were not due to the system itself but to the excess of Council Drafts over the figure of the Home Charges which was gratuitous. Mr. Sarkar criticized the Government for their inaction with regard to purchasing gold and for their having neglected the opportunity to secure gold from America when practically every second country in Europe got enough gold from her for reorganizing their currencies. The explanation he offers is that the motive of Government is to subserve the interests of the London money market and not those of India. With regard to Sir Basil Blackett's record he said that his capacity was great but his achievement was puerile. Although we do not agree with this estimate we agree with him when he says that no Finance Member can achieve anything against the series of handicaps under which he has to work and the reservations imposed on his powers from Whitehall. It is only a thorough overhauling of the administrative machinery that will, in his opinion, solve the financial problem of India. And, to speak frankly, there is no exaggeration in the statement.

THE establishment of an all-India League for the prevention of early marriages is proof of the fact that Indian opinion has at last become alive to the seriousness of the problem. The fact that ladies are taking the lead in educating public opinion about the evils of early marriages is very heartening. On the motion of the Dy. President, Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi, the question was considered recently by the Madras Council which has expressed what might appear, and did appear, to some as a revolutionary opinion especially in the present state of public opinion. According to the motion in question, which was passed, the Government remaining neutral, the Council wants the marriageable age to be raised to at least 21 in the case of boys and 16 in that of girls. In view of the fact that unmarried girls and boys of more than the ages referred to are commonly met with at least in big cities, we do not think there is anything very extravagant about the view expressed by the Madras Council. This expression of opinion by the Madras Council is timely since Mr. Sarda's bill to the same end now before the Assembly is to be circulated for opinion. As amended by the Select Committee the bill will apply, not to a few sections of the Hindu community as originally intended, but to all communities alike and instead of invalidating marriages of parties below the ages given in the bill, as was provided for in the draft bill, will punish all those who have any part or lot in bringing them about. Nor are the Indian States quite unaffected by the agitation that is being carried on in British India, for we observe that the Bikaner Legislative Assembly has also before it a measure aimed at the stoppage of early marriages.

## INTERVENTION IN INDIAN STATES.

### MACHINERY OF MANDATES COMMISSION.

THE Butler Committee, after visiting some of the Indian States, is now about to leave the shores of India. Its work has been carried on so rigorously behind closed doors that few persons in India have any idea as to how far the inquiry has progressed and when its report is likely to be presented. As to the taking of evidence this Committee presents such a strong contrast to the Simon Commission: while the latter went abegging for testimony, the latter is ostentatiously indifferent to it so far as the public are concerned, thinking that its concern is only with the Indian Princes on the one hand and the officials of the British Government on the other. One would think that to this Committee the people of the Indian States simply do not exist. We know that it has consistently refused to take evidence bearing on the interests of the people as entirely outside its scope and we cannot help thinking that in thus interpreting its terms of reference it has made a fatal blunder, which can only stamp its inquiry as one-sided and defective *ab initio*. For if the treaties and engagements with which the Committee concerns itself relate for the most part to the relationship between the States and the British Government, they also provide in some cases for good and efficient administration in the interest of the subjects of the ruling Princes, and in any inquiry as to the correct interpretation of these instruments the people of the States have by right as good a claim to be heard as the rulers or the suzerain power. If the Butler Committee, in codifying the existing treaty rights and obligations, slurs over or minimises the obligations which the suzerain power on the one hand and the Princes on the other owe to the people in the States it will have failed in the most important part of its work. For, irrespective of the particular clauses in the treaties which seek to ensure expressly the moral and material well-being of the people, the British Government, by guaranteeing protection to the States from internal as well as external aggression, has undertaken the protection of the people in the States from gross misrule. Thus behind and above all the treaties and engagements concluded between the Princes and the British Government stand the States' subjects, who are taken by the latter under their especial guardianship, but it is just this aspect of the matter which should guide the proceedings of the Committee which the Committee ignores.

The right of the suzerain power to intervene in Indian States affairs on behalf of the subjects with a view to prevention or correction of maladministration of an extreme character is unquestioned and unquestionable. The Princes no doubt claim internal autonomy and sovereign rights but this autonomy and these rights are subject to the limiting condition that in cases of gross misrule the British Government shall step in and take all the necessary steps to end the prevailing misrule. Only His Exalted Highness the Nizam dared in recent times to challenge this power vesting in the

suzerain Power and came sorely to grief over it. But the exercise of this undoubted power leaves much to be desired, whether in the interest of the rulers or the ruled. The intervention is spasmodic and ill-regulated, and the justification for it not always apparent and seldom attempted. The result is that there has never been a case of intervention but has given rise to the suspicion that a ruler was deposed or made to abdicate or reprimanded, not really because he was oppressive to the people, but because he was not subservient enough to the British Government. The suspicion can never be dispelled, for the Government will never publicly assign any reasons for the action they take and if they do, will not make known all the attendant circumstances and publish evidence in support of their statements. And thus even in cases where, if all the facts were known, the justification of intervention would be complete, the Government never receive the support of public opinion. It is therefore of the utmost importance that the policy of intervention should follow a settled course, and no action should be taken against any ruler until his misdeeds are brought home to him. For this purpose it is necessary that the present method of secretiveness should be definitely abandoned and that everything should be aboveboard, the necessary records being made available to him. The ruler should of course have an opportunity of defending himself before a tribunal, whatever that be. The ruling Princes are certainly entitled to urge this before the Butler Committee and we believe that the Committee too will be inclined to view their plea with favour. We for our part would unreservedly support such a claim. Only we would emphasize what perhaps the ruling Princes would like to relegate to the background, that the subjects of the States, in whose interest the action is avowedly taken, should have as full an opportunity of leading evidence against the Princes as the Princes have of defending themselves and that therefore the records should be accessible to the people just as much as to the Princes.

We would suggest that the machinery for inquiry into alleged cases of misrule of the Princes be modelled on that devised by the League of Nations for seeing that the terms of the mandates are not transgressed by the mandatory powers. Some modifications may be found necessary in this procedure, but broadly it may be the procedure adopted by the League. The essentials of the general oversight which the League exercises over the administration of the mandated countries consist in the following: (1) The League calls for an annual report from every mandatory power, which is committed for critical examination to an expert body called the Mandates Commission, the majority of the members of which must belong to non-mandatory countries, and no member of which can be a servant of any Government, so that their impartiality may be insured. (2) The Commission examines the report in the presence of a representative of the Mandatory power, who is then subjected to a stiff cross-examination. (3) The Commission's report goes thereafter to

the Council of the League for consideration along with such observations as the mandatory power may think fit to make. (4) The Council thereupon arrives at its own conclusions, which are debated in the Assembly, in the presence of the representatives of all the powers in the world. (5) The people in the mandated countries and even strangers have a right of petitioning the Commission, such petitions being forwarded by the mandatory powers with their own remarks to the Commission.

The British Government has of course behind its decisions in regard to Indian States far stronger sanctions than the League has behind its, and yet, on account of the system of open discussion which it has adopted, it is able to exercise a more restraining influence on the predatory instincts of the mandatory powers than the British Government has been or will ever be on the autocracy of the Indian Princes under the present system. The points to be noted in this connection are the following:—(1) Certain essentials of good government ought to be laid down, and no departure therefrom permitted. These essentials should be of the simplest character, something like those mentioned by the Viceroy in his note prepared for the Chamber of Princes. (*Sourashtra* has published the note *in extenso*.) These essentials would correspond to the stipulations of the mandates ensuring that the government of the backward peoples in the mandated countries shall not give rise to abuses and evils which have resulted in the past. (2) Every State should be required to submit a report on its administration to the Government of India, the report being drawn up with particular reference to the essentials of good government laid down. (3) The Government of India should neither pigeon-hole the report, nor proceed to take action, but refer it for detailed and impartial examination to an expert body, connected neither with the Government nor with the States, but independent of both. (4) This body, the States Council, let us call it, should discuss the report in the presence of the duly accredited representative of the State, who would offer any supplementary information that might be desired. (5) The Council would also be in possession of the debates in the representative assembly of the State and all other relevant and useful material and would question the representative on all this material and on any other question it may think fit. (6) The people of the State concerned and any others would have the right of laying their complaints against the State before the Council through the State authorities, who would of course be bound to forward them to the Council, with their own observations thereupon. (6) The Council, where necessary, may visit the State concerned and carry on an inquiry on the spot, and may have its own agents in the various States, as has been proposed for the Mandates Commission. (7) The relevant documents relating to the charges or alleged grievances should be made available to the authorities of the State and the people. (8) The Government should then take the report of the Council into their consideration and decide on the action to be taken. (9) If the action is felt to violate,

on the one hand, the rights of Prince and on the other the obligations of the suzerain power, an appeal should lie to a specially constituted tribunal, and facilities for such appeal be assured to the people equally with the Prince concerned.

This procedure will be fair to all the three parties concerned and will be to the advantage of all. But only two of them, viz. the British Government and the Indian Princes receive attention at present, and the third and most important of them, viz. the people belonging to the States, are entirely ignored! No solution, however, would be satisfactory or enduring which is merely the result of diplomatic negotiations between the rulers in British and Indian India and which does not base itself on the welfare of the masses, whose interests after all should receive primary consideration.

In any case the presence of rulers themselves on any Council designed for the purpose of exercising supervision over their administration is outlawed by every canon of political philosophy.

#### - INDIA'S DEBT.

A LITTLE after the assumption of power by the Crown in India the public debt was Rs. 100 crores. In 1914, the year of the commencement of the Great War, it rose to Rs. 551 crores. The greatest concern however has been caused since the termination of the War as the figure has now nearly reached Rs. 1000 crores. The total debt is divided into two broad heads, unproductive and productive, according as the services for which it is utilized give or do not give us a net surplus at least equal to the amount of interest on the sum spent. The productive debt at the end of 1925-26 for the Central Government as well as for the Provincial Governments was Rs. 737.18 crores. The unproductive debt on the same date was Rs. 221.87 crores. It is superfluous to comment on the unproductive debt as every one is aware that it was due to erratic expeditions on the Frontier, into Egypt and Abyssinia and partly due to the need of covering budget deficits. However it is gratifying that Sir Basil Blackett has succeeded in reducing this portion by nearly Rs. 100 crores during his tenure of office and if we rely on his estimate given in the last Budget speech it will be extinguished at the end of 30 years. If therefore we regard the unproductive debt as a manageable item within the competence of India, so far as its extinction is concerned, the productive debt becomes the real crux of the problem.

The debate on the debt position in the Assembly in 1925 revealed a marked cleavage of opinion on the question whether the productive debt should be paid off—gradually of course—by means of a sinking fund so as to preserve the credit of the country intact. One section of whom Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta became the spokesman, disapproved of any scheme of reducing the debt or at least they would not have a large sinking fund in order to pay it off in a hurry. The palladium of their argument is the capital assets against our debts—in the form of bar-

racks, military roads, military works, the P. W. D. works like canals, embankments, etc. Another argument was that the claims of the taxpayer for a relief from taxation were more paramount than the need for paying off the existing debt, whether productive or unproductive. Instead of the scheme of sinking fund therefore this section of the Assembly would have an annual reduction of taxation by the whole amount of the sinking fund, viz. Rs. 4 crores and odd. In this connection it must be remembered that although the gross interest charges for the total debt are Rs. 40 crores, the net interest charges paid by the taxpayer is under Rs. 9 crores, the other charges being met by the gross income of Railways and other productive services. Now we have full sympathy with the claims of the taxpayer for a reduction of taxation and it may be conceded that for a few years the scheme of a sinking fund should be made to stand over; but to say that because a debt is productive it need not be paid for a hundred years goes to the length of a paradoxical assertion. If the old debt is never paid, the new debt would start under worse auspices and instead of getting it at a lower rate of interest we shall have to pay perhaps a higher and higher rate. A sinking fund scheme obviates this danger by creating confidence among lenders and giving them an assurance that there is adequate safeguard for paying off the loans within a reasonable period. When Sir Basil Blackett pointed to the sinking fund in Great Britain as one of the bulwarks of the debt redemption scheme there, he was not paying merely a conventional compliment to the British Chancellors of the Exchequer but was stating an important financial expedient. As for the objection to meeting the sinking fund charges out of revenue it is quite obvious that it is futile; a sinking fund must come out of current revenues, otherwise we would be stultifying ourselves by having new debts to pay off the old ones. All things considered, the scheme of a sinking fund must be regarded as absolutely vital to the maintenance of the Indian credit at home and abroad.

There are those who make out that the Indian public debt is a bagatelle, by making comparisons with other countries in various ways. For instance, it is said that the debt *per capita* in Great Britain is £175 and that in France is £356, whereas in India it is only £2-10-0 per head. On the basis of the percentage of expenditure on the debt services to the total expenditure we are told that in France this percentage is 54, in Great Britain 47.5, in Australia it is 21 whereas in India it is 15. The suggestion is obvious and it is that the unproductive debt may be wiped off but very slowly and that the productive debt need not be thought of at all. As against this Sir Basil Blackett has continually raised his voice and maintained that although the credit of the Government of India in the financial world may be good at present it may be worsened at any time by the failure to make a provision for a sinking fund. The matter becomes more serious when we remember that not only have we to consider the existing debt but also new debts for financing various schemes of deve-

lopment including the annual capital expenditure for Railways. In 1925 Sir Basil Blackett gave to the Assembly a rough estimate of the total sum that had to be financed during the next five years, including the sum required to deal with the maturing debt. This estimate gave Rs. 300 crores as the sum which can only be met by re-borrowing from the market. The sinking fund, however small, reduces to that extent the amount that has to be borrowed afresh and to postpone for a long time the institution of a sinking fund would be acting against the country's best interests. It is true, as Sir Josiah Stamp said, that the "State unlike the individual can take a long view. It can therefore finance itself by methods which would be too far-reaching in the space of time involved for individual businesses" But even a State cannot neglect its duty of debt-redemption *ad infinitum*.

With regard to the external debt Sir Basil Blackett has always admitted that to the extent of the foreign debt, the undertakings like Railways and Irrigation works and other works of public utility are mortgaged to the lenders in London. Now what we want to-day is to become full owners of our Railways and other works if possible and for this purpose to expedite the substitution of Indian capital for English capital. A study of the figures of the external debt reveals the steady progress in this matter which Sir Basil Blackett kept before him as an ideal from the beginning. In March 1914 the internal and external debts were Rs. 107.80 crores and Rs. 371.5 crores respectively. In March 1924 they were Rs. 385.43 crores and Rs. 485.84 crores. In March 1925 they were Rs. 390.85 and Rs. 511.81 crores and in March 1926 Rs. 417.93 and Rs. 513.30 crores. If the provincial debt of Rs. 130.63 crores which is wholly internal is added to the last figure of the internal debt we get a total of Rs. 548.56 as the total internal debt and this exceeds the external debt by nearly Rs. 35 crores. The policy of paying off this external debt being out of the question for the present we must be content with enforcing the rule that except in grave emergencies no sterling loans should be raised, so that the sterling debt might at least remain stationary. The fact that except during the last year no sterling loan was raised during the six years of his term of office is the surest proof of Sir Basil Blackett's good faith in the matter of the loan policy.

Judging by the experiment of the Bombay Development, one feels constrained to enter a caveat against unsound schemes and speculative enterprises. If the money from public loans is spent on wild-goose chases, the public begin to feel a suspicion about the general security of State enterprises and the taxpayers who have to pay the interest in any case, despair of getting any relief from taxation. Consequently just as a scientific scheme of debt redemption is necessary, it is equally desirable to have a scientific scheme of new loans for various beneficent purposes. If the Government adhere to their present plan of a capital programme of Rs. 25 crores a year for another series of years we may presume that another Rs. 20 crores would be easily absorbed every year in other programmes.

The question then is, can India really stand to gain by an annual increment of Rs. 45 crores when the payment of interest is allowed as a deduction from the total benefit. We are inclined to think that so far as the Railways are concerned we must fix a limit to the additional investment under this head. Communications may be a good thing but there are other good things as well. We may grant that the real burden of interest on the taxpayer is less than Rs. 9 crores; but this is not a small burden for a country which is not industrially very advanced and whose taxable capacity is even now an object of grave concern to economists. Just as in the case of the Railways, we should like to see a limit placed on the capital expenditure on other heads as well. Without these precautions there is nothing to prevent the public debt soaring to heights not contemplated even by the most reckless champion of public borrowing.

## LABOUR POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

### II \*

It was said in the last article that the governing factor in the labour problem of South Africa was the presence of the "poor white," who are incompetent, and far too many, to receive the high wage of a pound a day but who cannot live according to "civilised standards" on the Native wage, and who are not keen on doing the Native's unskilled work. The Government's solution of the problem is two-fold: to overcome the reluctance of the unskilled white to undertake unskilled work and contrive to give him a wage that will enable him to maintain the civilised standard of life. There are limits to both which the Government recognises. There are certain classes of work that a white man, however poor and unskilled, will not do. As a good instance Clause 104 of the Liquor Bill, which has happily been dropped, may be mentioned. It meant to prohibit the employment of Indians and Natives in all places where liquor was handled. The Government professed to defend this restriction on the ground that those who are protected from drink should not be allowed to work in places where they can handle liquor. But an exception was made. The Section did not prohibit the employment of Natives in cleansing the premises and anything contained therein. Col. D. Reitz, M.L.A., was frank enough to give the true explanation for this exception. He was not opposed to the white labour policy, "but I object to the white man being put into jobs of this sort. If the scope of employment is to be increased why put him to washing out beer barrels and brandy bottles? Is that going to enhance the white man's status and prestige?" The same objection was passionately urged during the recent debate on the Colour Bar Bill by Mr. Waterson, M.L.A., a Labourite. There are certain classes of work, underground work, on the mines that nobody seriously advocates should be done by white labour. Paradoxical as it may sound, it is true on the mines that the relief for white unemployment is the employment of more Natives! The places acceptable to whites on the mines are only about 10 per cent. of the total labour force necessary. Nine Natives must be employed if one white is to have a job. Even the most fanatic advocate of "all-white" policy does not, therefore, dream of applying it to the mines in South Africa. The Government has embarked on some schemes for the relief of un-

\* The first article appeared in our issue of March 22.

employment among the whites and desired that they should be all-white. But even there a certain number of Natives had to be employed. One such is the reconstruction of the Johannesburg Railway station. The Minister of Labour is reported to have confessed in the House of Assembly on the 6th March 1928 that in addition to 448 Europeans 81 Natives were also employed; and explained that the latter were given "the very heaviest work, unsuited to civilised labour, although he did not agree with that." Thus it is not only employment, but a particular grade of it that has to be found for the white workers—something that will not lower the white man's prestige.

Besides this, he must be secured a wage that will enable him to live according to the white standard. The Government adopt 8 shillings a day as the minimum, though that has been considered too low by some competent critics who put it at 10 shillings a day. This wage however is recognised to be uneconomic. Put concisely, the aim of labour policy in South Africa is to secure every white man a white job at a white wage, of not less than £120 a year.

The steps taken to bring about this result are various. But they may be broadly grouped under the headings "colour bar" and "equal pay for equal work." The former may be presumed to represent the Dutch Nationalist Party's policy and the latter that of the more predominantly British Labour Party. The South African Party is alleged to be capitalistic in sympathy and in consequence to put a premium on the cheapness of labour irrespective of colour or race. Its principal contribution to the labour policy in South Africa was the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924. Its primary object was to prevent and settle industrial disputes between employers and employees, irrespective of race or colour. It provided for the establishment of "industrial councils" consisting of an equal number of representatives of employers and employees for the regulation of wages and other conditions of employment. If the Minister of Labour is satisfied that a particular industrial council is sufficiently representative of the particular trade, he may declare that the agreement reached by that industrial council shall be binding on all employers and employees in that industry. There is nothing in the statute to prevent Indian employees and their European or Indian employers constituting an industrial council under the Act and fixing their wages and other conditions of work.

But there are difficulties in the way. For the Act requires that the employees should be organised into registered trade unions to be allowed to send representatives to the industrial council. And the Registrar of Trade Unions can register a union only when he is satisfied that no other union is already registered which is sufficiently representative of the trade. Now the formation of a trade union presupposes a certain amount of education, foresight and power of organisation and voluntary discipline, which are found only in the superior type of employees. And they are mostly whites. The unorganised and not-easily-organised mass of unskilled non-European workers are unable to take advantage, therefore, of the Industrial Conciliation Act. The few of the superior type that could not claim to be representative of the trade, nor get such claims admitted. And the white union will not admit non-whites. The non-European is thus practically precluded from availing himself of the Conciliation Act.

On the other hand, the European workers, who are organised into trade unions, can and do avail themselves of the Act, and take a hand in fixing the wages and other conditions of work. The Minister of Labour has power,—and he does exercise it,—to make the agreements arrived at by the industrial councils composed of white employees and white

employers binding on the whole industry, including non-European employers and employees, who have had no voice in the arrangements.

It is however possible for non-Europeans, if they are sufficiently organised and representative of any particular trade, to form a trade union and form an industrial council with the employers and fix their own wages, etc. according to their own standard. For instance, Indians almost monopolise the occupations of cooks and waiters in Natal; and they are advanced enough to organise themselves into trade unions and form industrial councils. Though they have formed trade unions, they have not yet negotiated an industrial council and fixed their wages through that body, which could be on the non-European standard.

Even if they did they are not immune from interference. The Wage Act, to which reference will be made later, permits of wages being determined by the Wage Board in trades which are already governed by the Industrial Conciliation Act at the discretion of the Minister of Labour. The wages so fixed by the Wage Board supersede the minima fixed under the Conciliation Act. The Wage Board may, and most probably will, fix them at the white level.

It must, however, be mentioned that the Wage Act is the work of the present Pact Government and not of the South African Party Government of General Smuts. Though the Industrial Conciliation Act is of general application and has no colour bar in it, the South African Party Government made itself responsible for the Mines and Works Act of 1911, which provided for the colour bar in industry. It forbade the employment of non-Europeans in certain skilled occupations in the mines in the Transvaal. During the debates on the amendment of the Mines and Works Act in 1926 General Smuts explained that he was always opposed to the colour bar, but he bowed to the fact that in the Transvaal there was long in existence the convention that Natives should not be employed in certain occupations which were reserved for whites, and he simply gave statutory effect to it. He had however resisted any suggestion to extend the colour bar to other places and other industries.

So much then for the labour policy of the South African Party. In the next article we shall study the policy of the present Pact Government.

A STUDENT.

### THE PROBLEM OF EGYPT.

EGYPTIAN nationalism is over a century old. As shown in the brilliant thesis of Mr. George Young in his "Egypt," reviewed in these columns by Prof. Spear, in this extensive period, the movement fashioned itself according to contemporary modes of manifestation. At the opinion of the nineteenth century Egypt was not only formally, as thereafter, but also really, a Province of the old Ottoman Empire. Mamelukes ruled both Fellaheen and Copt with contingents of Turkish janisseries, until Napoleon broke their power. Mahomet Ali, the Albanian adventurer, Napoleon's true successor, was beyond doubt a progressive ruler judged by the standards of his time. Besides creating a national army, he inaugurated a system of nationalising the economic resources of the country which is astounding both in its originality and efficiency. There is, however, a point of saturation or maturity in the psychological and sociological domain as in the field of natural sciences. The following chapters in the story of Egypt are a lesson on this point. While out in the far West, the similar circumstance of the interaction of European rivalries and communal consciousness, roughly within the same epoch, led to the emergence

of the American nation which swiftly set itself to the consolidation of a State, in Egypt it caused the dissolution of the State which stood ready-made, possessed of all its outer paraphernalia. Because, in the one case, there were all the organs pertaining to nationalism, and in the other there were only its tools. The American colonists had just to make their existing institutions wholly and truly national; the Egyptian State had no such central framework which it could vitalise and utilise against the dissolving forces. This is a bit of history which ought to make those who are inclined to attach too much weight to the army in the formation of a nation, pause a little. It was not because Egypt lacked this mark of a State that from independence she passed on to dependence again.

The second distinguishable period in the history of Egyptian nationalism comes after the reigns of Saïd and Ismail, with their foreign loans and concessions, their spectacular feats, and a profligacy which combined the worst traditions of East and West. Its exponent was Arabi Pasha, a soldier and a peasant, whose patriotism found vent through the only Egyptian institution at the time, the army. European diplomacy scored an easy victory over him, and following an incident in 1882, British troops occupied Egypt. Sudanese wars and reconstruction overshadowed nationalism for a while, and in 1900, the Egyptian problem may be said to have appeared with its present premises. This latest phase, which still continues, shows the Effendi, in war with the British over the occupation, and the battles, as with us in India, are mainly political. Its earliest exponent was Mûstapha Kamil, journalist, aesthete, idealist, and the latest has been Zaghloul, who, though peasant by birth, had to resort mainly to the Effendi methods of agitation. On the British side, the answer has been a clever combination of offensive and defensive: a mixture of Gorst and Kitchener, and an indeterminate Cromer. The tactic is too familiar to need recounting.

Following the findings of the Milner Commission, in 1922, Egypt was declared an independent kingdom. Fuad was made King, not Sultan, nor Khedive. Among the limitations on the monarchy were the four famous reserved points, left indeterminate: safety of the Empire's communications, defence of Egypt against foreign aggression, the protection of foreign interests in Egypt, and the question of the Sudan. On Britain's part, however, there was nothing undetermined about these, for the 1922 declaration was accompanied by a characteristic Note from Lord Curzon to the Powers wherein he set out the risks they would be running by acting on the logical deductions proceeding from acceptance of Egypt's new status at its face value.

During the MacDonald administration, in his rôle as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Prime Minister negotiated with Zaghloul about the four points. These efforts proved even shorter than the short Labour Ministry, and Sir Austen Chamberlain took up the threads obviously in the belief that the time was meeter for their consideration. A combination of Sarwat Pasha, Lord Lloyd, and Sir Austen Chamberlain, was no doubt ideal, if it would work. It had all but worked when the terms of the proposed treaty were published.

The two objectionable clauses of the projected treaty are Articles 7 and 8. They perpetuate the continuation of the British Army of Occupation (though it is provided that it will not constitute an occupation and will in no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt), and the services of the British officials wherever foreigners have to be employed. Nashas Pasha, Sarwat's successor after the crisis, is said to have declared:

Egypt has never been an integral part of the British Empire, and it would be intolerable if, because she is on the route to India, she should have to accommodate herself indefinitely to the position of a subordinate and dependent nation. It is not necessary that Great Britain should assume the attitude of mistress and dispensator.

The British position in this muddle is clear enough. The Suez Canal is to the Empire what Panama is to the United States. The British Army in Egypt is the Empire's Monroe Doctrine. The plight of Egypt must also be fully comprehended. The entire nationalist blast centred round the British officials, and an agreement which perpetuates their sway, is, for Egyptians, no agreement at all. The British Army in Cairo, as visitors are aware, is situated, besides, in a vast building right in the centre of the city, and is calculated to create an impression. The consequent effect is humiliation. The Army might have been localized in the Canal Zone, which might perhaps not have proved difficult to agree upon, and more suitable wording might have been found for the other parts of the treaty; but that is not the Tory way. The Tory must ride rough.

When Sir Austen Chamberlain was lately in Geneva for the March session of the Council, while addressing a gathering of journalists, he expressed regret that he could not welcome Egypt into the League. He pointed to the provision of the possibility of appeal to the League, ten years after, about the Army Occupation, as Britain's *bona-fides*. This part of the treaty, in principle perhaps, is the least objectionable, except for the long delay of ten years. Even this need be no insurmountable objection, considering that the League's Covenant provides for the revision of treaties in suitable circumstances. But, in fact, what confidence does the League enjoy? What power has it against *faits accomplis*, and how can it measure its force against the mighty arm of British diplomacy? Another apparently relieving feature of the treaty, Britain's support for a revision of the regulations under Capitulations, in view of what has already happened in Turkey and China, comes a little too late, to be considered at all. It is not Sir Austen Chamberlain and his friends at Geneva who need be told that legal subtleties and political actualities are far apart. The problems of Iraq, India, Egypt, China (and Ireland need not be altogether excluded from this list) might be settled in a manner ensuring peace and progress in the world, if only the League could create greater confidence, and possess greater power for good, and freedom from diplomatic machinations. Now they take their own course, and the world is full of deadly designs and daily dread of war.

RAGHUNATH ROW.

## OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

PRETORIA, March 24.

### EDUCATION COMMISSION.

SINCE my last letter the official announcement of the personnel of the Indian Education Commission has been made. The Commission is to consist of the four members of the Natal Executive, Messrs. J. Dyson (Chairman), F. C. Hollander, F. W. Fell and C. F. Clarkson and three members of the Provincial Council, Messrs. F. Acutt, J. A. Lidgett and Pretorius. The new Administrator, Mr. Gordon Watson, in his first speech in the Provincial Council on the 21st inst., regretted the delay in the Commission getting to work, which was due to the fact that the Executive wished to meet the Union Ministers to get certain points in the Agreement elucidated.

### DURBAN BEACH CONTROL ORDINANCE.

The Durban Town Council is promoting an ordi-



nance in the Provincial Council which would confer "additional powers upon the Town Council of the Borough of Durban in regard to the Beach and Foreshore of the Indian Ocean." The draft ordinance does not give the objects and reasons but the sections provide that the Town Council may "regulate, control and restrict the use of the foreshore by the public"; "prescribe the places where, the times and periods when, and conditions generally upon which, persons may or may not bathe on the foreshore"; and "provide such separate places in respect of Europeans, Coloured persons, Asiatics and Natives" and protect from interference safety devices and life-saving apparatus. It is understood that the object, at any rate one of the objects, of this ordinance is that Durban may be enabled to safeguard and enhance its attractiveness for visitors. At present, though the Town Council provides special bathing facilities with safety devices at certain convenient places, some people venture to bathe in other and unprotected places with the result that occasionally some get drowned and the news gets broadcasted, and Durban gets an unenviable reputation, which in its turn scares away visitors. Many of these come from the Transvaal where racial prejudice is no less strong. The Durban Town Council is, therefore, taking powers to control bathing, save reckless bathers from the fatal consequences of their folly and assure visitors that their racial prejudices are fully provided for.

The pride that the citizens of even a third rate town have in their town in South Africa is remarkable. Towns are "boomed" and "boosted" and advertised in South Africa even as Nestlé's Milk is or Amrutanjana. Durban, for instance, has a regular Publicity Office with the sole object of advertising Durban, and the facilities and amenities it offers to visitors, industrialists and people of all kinds. During the Durban season, from June to August, people from up-country, even from as far as the Transvaal flock to it in great numbers. It is something like the exodus to the hills in India but on a larger scale. Durban beach is a perpetual carnival.

The Indian community have taken strong objection to the draft ordinance on two grounds. The first is statutory segregation. They urge that they have never exercised their right to use the swimming baths and bathing enclosures and that they never gave any occasion to justify statutory segregation. The ordinance is, therefore, gratuitous, and will be humiliating and insulting to the Indians. The second is that not only the bathing enclosures but also the foreshore, including the beach drive, might be forbidden to Indians. That would be an inconvenience for which no justification has been offered.

#### JOHANNESBURG TRAM SEGREGATION.

In my last letter I mentioned that Indians were civilly disobeying the bye-law segregating Indians on Johannesburg trams. Though the passive resisters give their names and addresses to the conductors, the Municipal authorities have so far not launched prosecutions against the offenders. It is believed that the Municipality apprehends that the law courts might veto the bye-law even as they did the Native Motor Drivers Ordinance.

#### TRANSVAAL HAWKERS AND PEDLERS ORDINANCE.

Transvaal is considering yet another ordinance against which the Indian Congress is vehemently protesting. It seeks to prohibit hawkers and pedlers, other than dealers in fresh vegetables and fruit, from trading in places other than Municipalities within one mile of the premises of a general dealer. The justification urged in its favour is that general dealers have to pay a heavy license fee, rent suitable premises and trade only during certain specified hours, whereas the

hawker or pedler escapes these obligations. In non-Municipal areas, like the mofusil, there is not enough trade to be shared between the general dealer and the hawker, with the result that the general dealer suffers from the competition of the hawker and pedler. Hence the need to demarcate the sphere of influence of the two classes of traders. The Indian case is that though the ordinance is of general application, it happens that a large number of hawkers and pedlers in the Transvaal are Indians, who would be hard hit by it.

#### DURBAN MAYOR & INDIAN EMPLOYEES.

Replying to a deputation representing the unemployed of course, among the whites—nobody ever thinks of other races in such matters—the Mayor of Durban is reported to have said that he objected to the recommendation that some of the Indian and Native employees of the Corporation should be displaced by whites and pointed out that the Town Council had a duty to perform to the Natives and Indians in their employ and the Council could not ruthlessly dispense with their services. Moreover the displacement would be too costly for the Municipality to bear.

#### SMUGGLING INDIANS.

It is reported that a Portuguese car from Delagoa Bay containing five Indians was discovered crossing the Transvaal border. The Indians were arrested. The Transvaal Indian Congress promptly denounced the smuggling of prohibited immigrants and called upon the community to refrain from such practices.

#### SITE FOR TRAINING COLLEGE.

This project has received a setback owing to the action of the Town Council. It will be remembered that Mr. Sastri requested the Town Council of Durban to lease out for the purposes of the Training College and High School a vacant site of nearly six acres, situated next to the Indian Sports Ground and in close proximity to three schools for Indians, which would come in handy as practising schools for teachers. The site could not be put to any other use. All the same, the Council decided to grant only two acres. Then the Education Department recommended that at least four acres should be granted for Mr. Sastri's scheme. This recommendation was subsequently strongly supported by the Durban Borough Engineer. Whereupon the Council in committee recommended that something like three acres should be granted. When the matter came up before the Council, the recommendation was turned down in favour of the original grant of two acres. It was however an accident. For in the Council of 18 members, there are quite 10 or 11 members who support the grant of the larger area. But on that critical occasion it happened that some of them were absent while all the opponents were there, and that was how it was lost. Even so, it was lost by the casting vote of the Mayor when the division showed that six voted on either side. The Mayor had himself voted for Mr. Sastri in the first instance, but when it resulted in a tie, he followed the constitutional principle of the casting vote being cast in favour of the *status quo*. It is likely that Mr. Sastri and the community will decide to accept the two acres and start the buildings in the hope that on a future occasion, when the matter can again be brought up before the Town Council, the grant will be supplemented.

#### DR. MALAN ON REPATRIATION.

Replying to Senator Sir Walter Stanford's question as to how the Indian Agreement was working from the South African point of view, Dr. Malan is reported to have said that it was working extremely well. There was a record number of repatriates

during the year 1927, as many as 3,250 Indians. In January last about 700 Indians left the country. It is significant that Dr. Malan made no reference to the upliftment part of the Agreement and how it worked. Is that of no interest from the South African point of view?

#### INDIANS IN NORWOOD.

An important judgment was delivered in the Transvaal Supreme Court concerning the right of Indians residing in Norwood. The Court found that Norwood was a private township owned by the Norwood Land and Investment Company who sold building sites in the estate to the public on condition "that no coloured persons other than servants will be allowed to occupy lots." Some Indians were, however, living and carrying on business in a lot on the estate. Another company, the North-Eastern Districts Association, also owned sites in Norwood and an adjacent township. They were opposed to Indians and other coloured people living in Norwood in contravention of the conditions of title of the sites. And they filed a suit to compel the Norwood Company to comply with those conditions. The Court granted the application. This will result in the eviction of Indians from Norwood even though they have been in occupation for ten or fifteen years. The Indian community is naturally agitated over it. The difficulty is that the township is a private one and one does not know how to prevent such bodies from inserting anti-Asiatic clauses in their sale-deeds and how to neutralise them when made.

#### OUR U. P. LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

ALLAHABAD, April 13.

#### IMPENDING MINISTERIAL CRISIS.

ON the last day of the last session of our Council a statement was made, on behalf of the two Hindu Ministers, defining their attitude *vis a vis* the Simon Commission, which has been commended by several newspapers in the country for its straightforwardness. Their attitude may be summed up in the phrase "information but no co-operation." Rai Rajeshwar Bali, the Senior Minister, declared that while the Ministers would not refuse any information demanded by the Government of India, he and his colleague would abide by the decision of the Council and would not co-operate with the Commission. The Muslim Minister, who voted against the boycott motion, refused to declare his policy even when questioned on the subject and preferred to stick to his seat. I learn from what appears to be a reliable source that the Governor will now demand the resignations of the two Hindu Ministers who have incurred the wrath of the powers that be by their neutrality on the resolution of boycott of the Simon Commission, which was passed by the Council by a bare majority on February 25. Soon after the Council's vote His Excellency was summoned to Delhi by the Viceroy and, it is presumed, must have received his instructions on the subject. He had been waiting for so long, perhaps because he did not want to give the Council a chance to pronounce its verdict on his choice of Ministers before he had got some work out of them. The first and foremost task before the new Ministry will be the dispatches of the local Government to the Government of India on the question of further constitutional reforms. So His Excellency had "reasonable grounds" for not giving the Council an opportunity to embarrass his appointees who are likely to be only such persons as would sign any papers put before them, except of course their own death warrants. This business of sending the dispatches will not be over till August next and it is rumoured in well-informed circles that His

Excellency does not intend to summon a Council session till that time, so that there might be a Parliamentary recess of five months or more. A constitution which allows such wide powers to the Governor is a mockery of responsible government and does not stand in need of any further condemnation. However, once these dispatches are sent up, the Governor will not mind a bit if the whole Ministry topples down. It appears almost certain that one of the portfolios will be entrusted to Raja Jagannath Baksh Singh who till a few days ago was a member and deputy leader of the Nationalist party, which virtually is the Opposition in the Council, but has since found some special reason to resign his membership and deputy leadership of the party. He along with the party voted in favour of the boycott of the Commission in Council and also spoke at public meetings declaring for the Commission boycott, but he would now apparently accept a Ministership when others have had to resign on this very issue! The other Hindu Minister, if rumours are to be given any credence, would either be Raja Bahadur Kushalpal Singh or Raja Kalicharan Misra, both of whom have always been frank and open worshippers of the white gods, the former more ardent and active than the latter.

The Council has adjourned *sine die*, much to the relief of the occupants of the official benches, specially the incompetent ones who would not have found places there if the Government were really responsible to the people and if they were not able to manipulate votes with the aid of the official bloc, communal representatives and those of the so-called special interests or even if the guiding spirit of the administration were not so illiberal. The last session was held in the new Council House which has cost the poor taxpayer no less than Rs. 30 lakhs and has been financed from a loan misnamed the United Provinces Development Loan. The new building is a huge pile, providing enough accommodation and conveniences for the Members, Secretaries and numerous other functionaries of Government as if the taxpayer exists only to toil for providing the comforts of the high and mighty. His education is held up, sanitation is not improved, medical relief cannot be adequately provided, rural development must wait, agricultural and industrial reorganization is not progressing and communications have to starve—all for want of funds, but the Government must indulge in such luxuries! Truly has a western philosopher remarked that to give precedence to luxuries over necessities is a sign of barbarism. The architectural beauty of the structure is unquestionable, but the acoustics of the Council Chamber are abominable. If a member speaks loudly, echoes from the high dome create a medley of sounds; if he lowers his voice to such an extent as not to create an echo he cannot be heard even by those sitting near him. A less pretentious building at a much smaller cost would have served the purpose better. All the camp offices of Government and offices of the departmental heads, Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, Ministers and executive councillors and the rooms provided for the convenience of Council members and the press, have barely filled the upper floor, and the whole of the lower story lies unfurnished and untenanted, probably to be used as an argument for the transfer of yet another big office from Allahabad (the *de jure* capital) to Lucknow (the *de facto* capital). The crux of the situation is that besides other reactionary elements that are common to all Councils under the present constitution our Council—because this is a landlord-ridden province—consists predominantly of landed magnates who easily succumb to the blandishments of officials. Therefore our Government can afford to go its own way without caring for the opinion of the intelligentsia.

## REVIEW SECTION.

### CHINESE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

**MODERN DEMOCRACY IN CHINA.** By MING-CHIEN JOSHUA BAU. (The Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai.) 1927. 8¼ × 5½. pp. 467. \$2.00.

To Indian politicians engaged at present in drafting a Swaraj Constitution, this essay at reconstruction of the Chinese Constitution ought to prove of engrossing interest and of no small practical help. If only they will take up the book, there is no fear of their laying it aside without imbibing much-needed instruction on thorny problems like the Federal *vs.* Unitary Government, the Cabinet *vs.* Presidential system, a unicameral *vs.* bi-cameral Parliament, and so forth, which are vexing us so much at the present moment; but the danger is that the average politician will turn up his contemptuous nose at any book dealing with and coming from China, which, being in the grip of war and civil strife, serves rather as a warning than an example to countries like India desirous of treading the constitutional path. The truth however is that such a large mass of useful literature is issuing from China to-day in spite of its disturbed conditions that, compared to it, India, though enjoying a stability unknown to China, may be said to be suffering from a severe literary famine. The pages of the present journal itself are a witness to the stirrings of new life and constructive thought, alike in politics, economics, philosophy and education. Indians may well take a leaf out of the Chinese book and apply their minds seriously to the problems before them, offering solutions of their own, such as Dr. Bau does in the present work; but the least they can do is to pay unprejudiced and assiduous attention to publications that are being poured out in a continuous stream from China. Bau's "Modern Democracy" is not the least serviceable of such publications.

In the first part of the book, which covers just one-third of the whole, recent Chinese history is set out with the author's critical interpretation, which itself is good value for the price of the book; but outside China, and particularly in India at this moment, the reader will be tempted to skip this portion and pass on to the next where the problems described in the earlier portion are further analysed and answers attempted to each one of them. He who does so will necessarily miss the historical background and be unable correctly to appreciate the solutions proposed, for the solutions are in every case closely related to the existing conditions in China. Yet the discussions of the rival systems, which are well-documented and quite ample, will not fail to give to a fairly receptive mind a number of useful hints. The author has worked the results of his researches into a draft Constitution, but we would ourselves value the book more for the discussions than for the concrete ideas adopted by him in constructing a system of constitutional government for China.

Dr. Bau has a decided preference for the presidential over the cabinet system and for the unitary

over the federal system, and the main reason for it is that China is in need of a strong central government. The Cabinet system more quickly responds to changes in public opinion, and the Presidential System is, as Bryce has well put it, built more for safety than for speed; and safety being the first requisite of China, Dr. Bau plumps for the latter in preference to the former. The defect inherent in the presidential system, viz. its inability to bring about a speedy adjustment of conflict between the executive and the legislature he would partially remedy by investing the President with the power of dissolution, which the President of the United States does not possess. Another reason for discarding the Cabinet system in favour of the Presidential system, is that the former "requires special and almost ideal conditions (a two-party system, &c.) for best results", while the latter "can operate under normal conditions without special requirements." Though for the Presidential system a two-party Parliament is not necessarily required, the author deems it necessary to give the warning that "both systems need the extra-legal institution of political parties (in a highly evolved condition) to give it (the executive) dynamic force and harmony."

Equally strongly and for the same reason does our author favour the unitary system concentrating all the powers in the central government with only delegated powers for the provinces. The federal system is supposed to be more conducive to the growth of local autonomy, but Dr. Bau maintains on the contrary that the unitary system may in fact be more favourable to local self-government inasmuch as the Central government can at its will delegate a large degree of power to provinces and localities, whereas under the federal system the powers enumerated to the provincial or local governments being fixed, there is no possibility of such powers being extended. Thus it happens that New Zealand under the unitary system enjoys wider local autonomy than Canada under the federal system. All that has to be done under unitary constitutions in order to guarantee local autonomy is to provide a liberal delegation of powers in the constitution. Dr. Bau however proposes that in China, where centralisation is very much to be desired, the provincial Legislature should occupy a definitely subordinate position, the legislation passed by it being subject to the approval of the President and repeal by the national Legislature. Under the federal system a bicameral Legislature is usually found necessary, while under the Cabinet system a unicameral legislature, or at any rate a legislature with one house subordinated to another, is essential. China, however, which, according to Dr. Bau, is suited for the unitary system on the one hand and the presidential system on the other, should have, he proposes, a bicameral legislature, but he does not think that the two houses should have co-ordinate and co-equal powers. He is on the whole in favour of having a second Chamber on the

same footing as the British House of Lords after the Act of 1911, avowedly auxiliary to the first Chamber.

It is most interesting to study Dr. Bau's proposals in regard to the franchise. He condemns property qualification as essentially undemocratic and advocates the imposition of a very low educational qualification, viz. elementary education or the ability to read a Chinese newspaper or the text of the Constitution of China. But only a part of the members should, he proposes, be elected by the general electorats and the others indirectly through electoral colleges composed of village elders and heads of institutions. The Chinese President also, he suggests, should be elected, not by the Legislature as in France or by the people as in the United States, but by an electoral college. He is of course not removable from office on a no-confidence motion, and has therefore to be given the power of suspensive veto over acts of the Legislature, and also the power, in case of disagreement with the legislature in regard to budget proposals, of carrying on the government on last year's budget, as in Japan. He is, unlike the United States Constitution, to be given the power of dissolution so as to secure for him the leadership of the government.

We would again repeat that this work is for us in India more useful for the examination of the rival systems of constitutional government that it contains than for its own recipe, though in regard to the latter the book shows much deep thought behind every proposal it makes. The language of the book is very clear and flowing but betrays a certain amount of unfamiliarity in the writer. Cf. "glibby" (p. 160); "dissatisfactory" (p. 211); "impractical" (p. 212); "rights should not be deprived" (p. 340); "this step is inconsiderate of the capacity of the Chinese for self-government"; "the executive: his election and powers"; and so on. There are also a number of misprints, but the book, in spite of this, like all the other publications of the Commercial Press, is nicely got up. We would strongly commend it to the attention of our statesmen who have an aptitude for constructive thought.

## V.

## THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT.

## THE MIND AND FACE OF BOLSHEVISM.

By RENE FULOP-MILLER. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd., London.) 1927. 10¾ x 6¾. pp. 308. 21s.

It is a big book. The edition is excellent: good paper, good print and most valuable illustrations. I would like to draw the attention of the reader particularly to those illustrations: for the unprejudiced mind they tell a tale more impressive and in some cases also more correct than the written chapters. Their great importance is recognised by the author himself, when he says in his introduction: "Much of what is fixed on the plates is unique and can never happen again. In all its extraordinariness it is already a part of history. In this sense many of the illustrations in this book can be regarded as priceless historical documents."

The aim of the book is "to save Bolshevism from a narrow, utilitarian political criticism, and to

show it in its true light as a momentous problem of civilization as a whole." And indeed, Mr. Fulop-Miller has done much "to show Bolshevism in its true light." He commands a great power of observation and description. Some of his chapters make the impression of a kind of mental photography. But just because of this photographic truthfulness it is questionable if he has "saved" Bolshevism from anything. The picture he draws is horrible enough. I do not think that any "narrow utilitarian political criticism" could give a less favourable impression about the Bolshevistic rule than does Fulop-Miller. It may be that for the reader who does not know the country, the picture is marred through the highly prejudiced descriptions of pre-war Russia. This astounding misrepresentation of Russia as it was, a wrong perspective and the identification of the Russian people with the Bolsheviks are the negative sides of the book.

The reader must always keep in mind that the Bolsheviks are but a party, forming about 1½% of the population of Russia. If we allow 10% for their passive supporters, we have the rest of about 88%, who hate the Bolsheviks thoroughly, in fact much more than they ever hated the old régime, which was bad enough. Any foreigner, who visits Russia nowadays, though he may be able to speak Russian, does neither see nor hear anything of these 88% for the simple reason, that they take the greatest care not to be seen or heard by any unknown person. To speak with an outsider has so frequently proved disastrous, that everybody who values his life beware of doing it. Therefore it is also true about Fulop-Miller: he has seen much, but there is still more, that he has not seen. To take an example, he has most splendid descriptions of mass-festivals. But it is just "the mass," by which observers are so frequently misled. At all great revolutionary festivals "the crowd" is there right enough. No doubt, they shout with joy, with hatred, with enthusiasm just as it is expected from them. And yet—even here we have a "yet".

There is a great lack of work in Bolshevistic Russia. In Moscow alone there were in the autumn of 1927 over 196,000 qualified unemployed workers, not to speak about the large masses of those who have no special qualification. It is incredibly hard to get a job and not less hard to keep it. There are periodical "changes" or "retrenchments," when a part of the workers are replaced by others, or simply sent off. This "replacing" of one set of workers by another set is a wise policy of the authorities, as the reader can see for himself from some extracts of a letter from Moscow, written during the big festivities in honour of the first decade of Bolshevistic rule, in October 1927, which I cannot help quoting; it is a letter written by a man who was one of the prominent revolutionaries during the time of the last Czar.

Yes, the festivities in honour of the October revolution are very imposing indeed, at least in the streets. To that will testify, according to truth, all the foreigners present in Moscow. Walking about in processions gives us one more chance to get the benefits of a government job in an office or in a factory. The next day "economy" will be practised on account of those, who were absent. And we walk about in the streets and squares of Moscow quite "freewilly" and "gladly." In order to have the right to work we mess the dirt of the roads under the shadow of red banners and hateful catchwords. In order not to be left without bread we keep desperately to our jobs and try hard not to cede our place to those unemployed labourers, who expect to get it after the next "retrenchment." Amongst the columns of the factory workers nine-tenths take part in the manifestations just as we do—out of dread before the next 'change.'

These few lines give some idea about "the mass who roars with one voice," at every big street-per-

formance. Because of this lack of understanding, this too matter-of-fact conception of all things seen and heard, many excellent descriptions which we find in the book, lose a part of their value.

Another thing to be mentioned is the wrong perspective. Out of 15 chapters 5 are devoted to art. One gets the impression that architecture, poetry, music, theatre have a most important part in everyday life of Bolshevistic Russia. In fact, these things do not matter at all, except for a small group of Bolshevistic intelligentsia in big towns, such as Moscow, Petrograd, Charkow.

Several pages of the book are painful to read. They show an absolute inability to discriminate between positive and negative phenomena of the spiritual life of the Russian people. Ugly superstitions, entirely harmless divination games and deep religious experiences are all treated in the same way and thrown in one heap. In the chapter about sectarianism all sects are mentioned in one breath. There are scarcely any hints about their respective significance in Russian life. Many of them have not more than a few adherents, e. g. the Jehovahs, Fire-Baptists, etc. Others, like the Khlysty "with predominantly sexual and erotic tendencies," which also were never widely spread, had lost every influence long before the revolution took place. It is strange that big groups, such as the followers of Tolstoy, are not mentioned at all. It is much too easy a thing to pick out abnormalities, which naturally will be found in a nation as big as the Russian, and to point to Bolshevism as the natural development of such abnormalities. Russians before the war were neither as corrupt nor as mad, as Mr. Fülöp-Miller describes them. It is also amazing to hear, that a whole third (!) of the people were sectarians. I do not know, from whence the author has got this information; but what I do know is that one could live in different parts of Russia for years together, without ever so much as meeting a sectarian. Particularly people like the Khlysty and Skoptsy, which, according to Fülöp-Miller, "soon spread over the whole of Russia" one could see only if one wanted to make a special study of them and went in search of them.

Out of proportion is also the popularity of Lenin, as described by the author. He was no doubt a prominent figure, but the Russian people (I do not speak about the Bolshevistic intelligentsia) never spoke about "Lenin" but always about "Lenin and Trotsky" linking them both together and by no means magnifying the importance of Lenin. It was also not Lenin who made the revolution in Russia. That was made earlier without him; it had to come infallibly, as the natural result of a rotten system of government. Lenin merely stepped in, when the place of government was left practically empty. But once having assumed power, he proved indeed able to keep it. By what means, that is another question. At any rate there is no doubt, that under his rule many more people have lost their lives than under the rule of all the Czars taken together.

Particularly misleading is the chapter "The Katorga—then and now." The kind of Katorga (penal servitude) described before the period of the Bolsheviks ceased to exist after the death of Nikolaus I, that is, about 80 years ago. Later on the political prisoners had a better position than the criminal ones, while in Bolshevistic Russia the favoured part are the criminals. Fülöp-Miller also does not choose to notice the enormous difference between stern laws and terror. Under the Bolsheviks, you may be absolutely inactive in politics, but that does by no means guarantee the safety of your neck. Under the Czars death sentence was given only for political murder, and

there was always some sort of a judicial trial. Under the Bolsheviks, however, there is death-sentence for anything imaginable. Just being labelled as a "contra-revolutionary" is quite sufficient to be put to death. (One of the many thousands of examples is the murder of the prince Dolgoruky and 19 others with him in June 1927.) There is either no trial at all, or a mock trial, or a stage-trial, the latter being used mostly in big cities frequented by foreigners. There is also the horrible thing of the so-called "krugovaya poruka," i. e. if the man who has to be killed cannot be found, his wife is taken, and if she and her children have disappeared, her mother or brother or any other relatives are caught and shot. Nothing like that was ever heard of in pre-war Russia.

In the chapter headed "Illiteracy and the New Education" one is taken aback by such statements as: "... in 1897 out of every 1000 male Russians ... 318 persons could read and write; by 1918 this figure had risen to 394 ... The improvement in elementary education was thus not particularly great, but it must be remembered that the Soviet Government had only been in power for a year or two, when the second census was taken." Well, when the second census was taken, the Soviet Government had not been in power at all as everybody knows. The Bolsheviks established their rule only in October 1917, in a very small part of Russia, practically only between Petrograd and Moscow. It was only after 1920-21 that they became the rulers of a greater part of Russia. Therefore, to say the least, it is strange that such a serious author as Fülöp-Miller considers the improvement upon the position in 1918 to be a merit of the Bolsheviks. It is an excellent policy, when writing a book, to be impartial to the present-day rulers of Russia, but it would be only fair to show the same impartiality also to the former rulers. This double impartiality is sadly lacking in Fülöp-Miller's work.

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned drawbacks, the book is undoubtedly worth reading. The first chapter "The Collective Man" is a most forceful and able description of one of the fundamentals of Bolshevistik faith. As the author justly observes, Bolshevism is "a new religion". "The Collective Man" is "the impersonal mass into which the whole of the still differentiated society of individual personalities is to be transformed." According to the historians and sociologists of Bolshevism "the dissolution of all individuals in the mass-man must be the ultimate and highest goal of all endeavour." The materialist visionaries "see their goal in the very reverse of soul development, in the mortification of the inner man, in the raising of external common action to a higher power, and in a purely mechanical coherence of the many for joint activity."

In the chapter on "The Philosophy of Bolshevism," the author expounds the desire of the new rulers to "bolshevize science," for, according to them, science must be controlled by politics. Everybody who wishes to devote himself to scientific research, must have a materialistic training, to protect him from the danger of being led astray towards "physical or physiological idealism". Reason is only "an insignificant part of nature." All idealism "is as false and dangerous as religion." Therefore its expounders must be made harmless. This ideological point of view of the Bolsheviks was formulated clearly only after they came to power. As a result of such ideas many University professors of European reputation "were faced with the alternative of either leaving Russia immediately ... or becoming converted to the new notions of materialistic philosophy." To the credit of the professors it may be said that, with very few exceptions, they preferred the hardships and distress of exile to the violation of their conscience.

But not only the men of science but artists as well had to conform to politics. Lenin's watchword "art must serve propaganda" has placed art, like science, in a servile position. "Everything accidental and incalculable was to be rooted out and replaced by a national organisation of the material." It is interesting to read Fülöp-Miller's description of the "Monument of the Machine." It is a pity that he considers "love of the "machine" to be a Russian feature. Russians, as a people, have never had the slightest veneration for "machines." Just because it was *against* the current ideals, the Bolsheviks became "dreamers of technique." Revolution, not evolution, is their ideal, and also the main feature of their mentality. In another place the author says himself: "The dictatorship of the proletariat does not represent the productive organisation of new society, but merely a part of the struggle to arrive at this... Therefore the age of Bolshevism is not a self-contained historical period."

Correct in all essentials is the chapter about the propagandist theatre, though Mayerhold and Vakh-tangov are by no means products of Bolshevism—they were well-known already before the war.

Poetry does not escape the common fate: it has to be "mechanized" like everything else. "However much opinions (in Bolshevistic circles) may differ on whether poetry is better written by technical, physiological or chemical methods, there is complete certainty that poetry has nothing whatever to do with intuition, endowment or talent, for these are bourgeois and counter-revolutionary prejudices." That is a splendid sample of Bolshevistic reasoning about poetry! If we add to that the words of the communist Vorovsky about the immoderate zeal of "the censorship, which in its judgments allows itself to be strongly led by narrow views of party politics", then we can imagine something about the condition, in which poets and writers have to work. No wonder, that nine-tenths of them have sought refuge in other countries, and that the readers in Russia refuse to read the works of the mechanized revolutionary facts.

Further, we read about Bolshevik music. There are quoted some very characteristic words of Lenin; while listening to the "Appassionata," he said: "I cannot listen to music often, it affects my nerves, I want to say amiable stupidities and stroke the heads of people who can create such beauty in a filthy hell. But to-day is not the time to stroke people's heads. To-day hands descend to split skulls open, split them open ruthlessly. Although opposition to all violence is our ultimate ideal—it is a hellishly hard task."

The description of "the Rebirth of Russian Mysticism" is quite acceptable. But the author does not make it clear that "Orthodoxy" is in fact identical with the Church of Tikhon and has absolutely nothing to do with the "Living Church" or any other such like Bolshevistic efforts. Besides, all theoretical theological doctrines, may they be represented by the Imiaslavei, or Imaiboroi, have in reality no influence on the people. The revival of the Russian Church will certainly not come through them, but through the blood of the well-nigh numberless martyrs, who have lost their lives, for the sake of their faith, during the last ten years.

Fülöp-Miller writes: "In Russia a world is arising without personal joy in life, with pictures without colour, music without harmony, with an outlook on life lacking the inner support of the spirit, a mechanized world which in future will contain nothing but soulless machines." That is a gloomy picture. But as in the Church, so also in political and social life of a nation, purification comes

through trials, sufferings and sacrifices, and only after purification can come freedom. Russia has suffered and still suffers much. If only she will endure, there is some hope, that a day of new life and true freedom will dawn for her in the near future.

A. IRBE.

## THE CHURCH AND WEALTH.

### RELIGION AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM.

By R. H. TAWNEY. (John Murray, London.)  
1927. 8¾ x 5½. pp. 339. 10s 6d.

AS Bishop Gore says in the prefatory note, "we have watched the modern battle between zealous mediaevalists impugning the Reformation as deeply responsible for the sins of modern industrialism, and no less zealous Protestants rebutting the charge or throwing it back." Hence the interest of such books as Mr Tawney's. It is not the first on the market; it is even heavily indebted to Max Weber, Troeltsch, Sombart and others, but it is the most interesting we have ever read on the subject. Nor does the style entirely account for the pleasant character of the reading: we were glad to note the energetic flow of the sentence which brought back to our memory the crisp manner of the professor and the picturesque phrases which bring on in smooth succession film-like tableaux of the variegated details of an epoch. But what we appreciated most is the synthetic talent which can summarize them in a few lines and throw into bold relief the leading idea or practice of a century so that there be no uncomfortable need of disentangling them from this vast store of historical erudition which might otherwise prove hopelessly dazing.

We shall not quarrel with the author on one or other detail of his study of the mediaeval background. His main object is indeed to gauge the doctrine of the Reformers' creed and the practice of the Reformation. There is nothing in the Reformers' creed that can be made responsible for the evils of modern industrialism; they continued on social ethics the traditional teaching, and Calvin was the boldest when he stood out for a moderate interest on loans. But on the other hand, is not the Reformation responsible for having developed that very individualism which was to break through all the restraints of social ethics and very soon to find even a justification for the selfish capitalist? Did not the tenet of private judgment as sole interpreter in faith matters pave the way to private interest as sole rule of commercial morality? Was not the revolt against Church authority bound to make easy the revolt against any other restraint? The Reformers of course never had any clear foresight of what was to happen, nor did they realise the bearing of the deep furrowing economic activity of the times and it would be unfair to charge them with evils they did not foresee. But we regret the author has not stressed to our satisfaction this indirect influence of a philosophical and religious principle in the humbler realm of economic activity.

We must however keep well in mind that the capitalistic evolution is not a monopoly of Protestant countries, and that the movement may be traced to the pre-Reformation period. But in Protestant countries, in a more particular way in England, which the author studies with more details, the pace was hurried on partly because of success in commercial enterprise, partly because of new Church conditions. "The social teaching of the Church of England had ceased to count because the Church had ceased to think." "From the beginning of the last quarter of the sixteenth century ecclesiastical authorities who attempted to enforce traditional morality had to

reckon with a temper which denied their right to exercise any jurisdiction at all, above all, any jurisdiction interfering with economic matters." And there should be no surprise expressed that the Church of England should not have been more effective in giving inspiration and guidance during the "Industrial Revolution"; "it did not give it because it did not possess it."

In short,

"The quality in modern societies which is most sharply opposed to the teaching ascribed to the Founder of the Christian Faith, lies deeper than the exceptional failures and abnormal follies against which criticism is most commonly directed. It consists in the assumption, accepted by most reformers with hardly less naïveté than by the defenders of the established order, the attainment of material riches is the supreme object of human endeavour and the final criterion of human success. . . . Compromise is as impossible between the Church of Christ and the idolatry of wealth, which is the practical religion of capitalist societies, as it was between the Church and the State idolatry of the Roman Empire."

Capitalistic evolution is a phenomenon which developed outside the Church and against the teaching of the Church; it grew more rapidly and assumed a more acute character in the nations as they became saturated with religious indifferentism. The Reformers preached no capitalistic doctrines: but they turned the Christian Church which is a social organism into an individualistic concern; the over-emphasised individualism naturally drifted into selfishness, which is the bane of capitalism. Moreover the Reformed Churches lost their hold on the ever-changing mentality of business-evolving society and they at times grew intellectually atrophied in keeping aloof from altering circumstances.

This is, we believe, a fair summary of the admirably constructed theory of Mr. Tawney in his most illuminating book.

A. LALLEMAND.

### JOHN MARSHALL'S NOTES.

JOHN MARSHALL IN INDIA-NOTES & OBSERVATIONS IN BENGAL. Ed. by SHAFIAT AHMED KHAN. (Oxford University Press, London.) 1927. 9 × 5¾ pp. 471. 21s.

THE editor is an acknowledged authority on the history of British beginnings in India, having already enriched the study of the period by a valuable bibliography of the sources and materials available in the various archives of Europe. John Marshall was a humble servant of the East India Company who came out to India in the year 1668 and later served in the factories of the Company at Balasore, Hugli, Kasimbazar, and Patna till the year of his death in 1677. He had opportunities of travelling from place to place, and came into contact with all sorts and conditions of Indians, and observed several aspects of life in India. The special interest that attaches to him is that, unlike many other foreign merchants in India who confined their attention to the immediate tasks and duties of their company or of their own, John Marshall was attracted by the culture of the mysterious East, so much so that an Anglo-Indian historian characterised him as credulous and superstitious. It is true that Marshall tried to understand what the Hindus knew of charms, incantations, spells, witchcraft, good and bad omens, astrology, &c. but he was prompted more by curiosity than by belief in all these. On the whole he was a keen observer who was eager only for knowledge of the most important aspects of life. He gathered information about Hindu religion and philosophy by holding conversations with a learned Brahmin while he was staying at Kasimbazar. Later on, he attempted to write a translation of the Bhāgavata Purāna

out of a Persian work that he specially got for his purpose. He wanted to master Sanskrit so that he might dive into the Hindu scriptures themselves, but the progress he made therein was not appreciable. While staying at Patna he turned his attention to Muslim laws and customs and collected much valuable information. Thus Marshall's place in Indian history is that of a pioneer Oriental scholar. It is noteworthy that before his death he managed to get together a library of printed books in Arabic and Persian, and it was a pity that his useful labours were all too soon cut off by an epidemic which carried him away along with several other Englishmen who were then at Balasore.

The book under review is an edition of the notes and observations of Marshall contained in two MSS. preserved in the Library of the British Museum, but the material has been thoroughly overhauled by the editor. The jottings made by Marshall covering the first four years of his life in India (1668-1672) are found in the MSS. in a haphazard manner with no sort of order either of subject matter or of any other. Besides the original notes are such that in many cases special annotations are necessary for the modern reader. The publication of the original MSS. as they were would have served no useful purpose and Dr. Khan has done wisely in rearranging the material according to subject-matter, dividing the book into thirteen chapters. The seventeenth century character of the writing is however preserved by the retention of the old mode of spelling and construction, the modern equivalents being given side by side for clear understanding. An introduction of 36 pages gives an eminently readable and satisfactory account of the traveller and his writings. The first four chapters consist of an interesting diary of Marshall's voyage to India, and of his journeys in Bengal by land and river. The remaining chapters consist of geographical notes, an account of the famine at Patna, Hindu religion and philosophy, astrological and mathematical notes, folklore, medicine, Muslim laws and customs, productions, merchandise, &c. All the chapters are accompanied by elaborate and learned annotations at the end, some of them contributions of specialists in the field. The longest chapter is chapter ix consisting of astrological, astronomical, meteorological, mathematical and chronological facts, which clearly reveal that Marshall was an intelligent and mathematically equipped observer.

As regards the value of the book for general political history, it may be acknowledged that we have many incidental references to the internal condition of Bengal, facilities for travel at that time, the authority of the Moghul potentates, prevailing prices of commodities, numismatical notes, a description of the famine of Patna in the year 1671, besides many notes of sociological and geographical interest. Though many details may at first sight, and taken individually, appear to be inconsiderable, cumulatively they may amount to a valuable addition to historical knowledge, and we therefore endorse the editor's view that "the book will revolutionise our conception of 17th century India."

R. RAMAIAH.

### PRESENT DAY CHINA.

CHINA TO-DAY. (Student Christian Movement, London.) 1925. 7 × 4¾ pp. 151. 2s. 6d.

IT was in November 1922 that the Student Christian Movement brought out "China through Chinese Eyes," which dealt with the intellectual, religious and economic forces, moving Chinese life and thought. The present volume is a sequel to it and treats some fresh aspects of the situation, bringing the story upto

date. It is an attempt to get, from a detached point of view, at the powerful forces or influences behind the present political, industrial, intellectual, and religious movements in China. The publication of the book at a time when the affairs in China have aroused considerable public interest, has supplied a real want.

The book contains ten essays, all written by eminent persons. The subjects dealt with include: The Present Political Outlook in China, Industrial Situation and Labour Movement, Intellectual Movements, Religious Thought and Life, The New Culture Movement, Synthesis of Cultures of East and West, Educational Conditions and Student Life, etc. In the first chapter Mr. David Yui has discussed the present political situation in a forceful manner. He has denounced the Militarism in China. In his opinion the few militarists who are attempting to unify China by force are wrong in their conviction and are guided by selfish motives. The politicians in China have therefore condemned them. The general belief that the Chinese people are divided among themselves does not seem to be correct. They are essentially a homogeneous people and their spirit of unity is steadily growing in strength. The political tendency in China is clearly to decentralise authority by giving back to the provinces the rights and responsibilities which are their due. The faith of the whole country lies in provincial autonomy and a federal government.

The second chapter deals with the development of big industries, of which the following are the principal types: cotton spinning and weaving, mills, silk filatures, cigarette factories, flour mills, tanneries, etc. The factories have sprung up mostly in cities which are either treaty ports or are provided with modern communications. Certain vices of the modern industrial system have also crept into China. There is no effective industrial legislation in the country and no provision for the safety of the workers while at work. Compensation in case of accidents is not enforced, housing arrangements for labour are inadequate, overcrowded and insanitary slums have begun to look for betterment of their conditions and have started labour unions. The labour movement has certain drawbacks and defects, which are mostly due to lack of wise leadership and harmony and prevailing illiteracy.

The intellectual movements in China received an impetus by the adoption of Western science and democracy. The literary revolution, which signifies the adoption of a new and more effective medium for the expression of new ideas than the outworn style known as *wen-li*, was of great help to the Chinese renaissance. Side by side with the intellectual movements has proceeded the growth of religious thought and life. Christianity is thought to be the running dog of foreign capitalism and imperialism. Hence an anti-Christianity movement has been started.

The authors have tried to be fair-minded in their conclusions and suggestions. A perusal of the book is sure to promote sympathetic understanding between the leaders of China and the foreign powers.

R. SANDILYA.

#### SHORT NOTICES.

**ESCAPE.** BY J. L. HARDY. (John Lane the Bodley Head, Ltd. London.) 1927. 7½ × 5¼. pp. 260. 7s. 6d.

FOR nearly 3¼ years—December 1914 to March 1918—Captain Hardy was a prisoner-of-war in

Germany. The period was not quite uneventful having been characterised by many unsuccessful attempts on his part to escape to England. These were dictated not by any desire to lead a quiet humdrum life at home while the future of civilisation hung in the balance, but by a patriotic impulse to place his services, whatever they were worth, at the disposal of his motherland in her hour of need. According to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle who has written a brief introduction to the book, "Hardy got back to his job, was twice wounded, got his promotion, his D.S.O. and his Military Cross with bar. The second wound involved the loss of his leg and he is now on the retired list, but a man with such inventive power and desperate energy will surely make his mark in peace as well as in war." War stories are proverbially thrilling: and when they are told in Capt. Hardy's fascinating style, they make extraordinarily interesting reading, besides giving the reader some idea as to the thoroughness of German military organisation.

D. V. A.

**BABUR. DIARIST AND DESPOT.** BY S. M. EDWARDES. (A. V. Philpot, Ltd., London. 7½ × 5. pp. 138. 6s.

THOSE who cannot find time to read the surprisingly 'modern' autobiography of Babur can profitably turn to this brilliant sketch of the life of that great hero. The most salient points of Babur's career are here described in a lucid style, his military greatness is clearly brought out, as well as the more subtle traits of his character, such as his contempt for wealth, his love for fair gardens, swimming and bathing, his passion for sight-seeing and investigation and his light-heartedness in adversity. Suitable extracts from the translation of the original Diary are inserted now and then to support the statements. Babur as a private individual, is also represented to us here in the chapters on 'Wine, Woman and Song' and 'Art and Nature.' The book is an excellent addition to the literature of the Mahomedan period and will be found exceedingly interesting both by the student of Mahomedan history as well as the general reader.

V. N. K.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

**POLITICS AND EDUCATION.** By LEONARD NELSON. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. 7s. 6d.

**BRITAIN'S INDUSTRIAL FUTURE BEING THE REPORT OF THE LIBERAL INDUSTRIAL INQUIRY.** (Ernest Benn, Ltd., London.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 503. 2s. 6d.

**OUR ANCIENT LIBERTIES.** By LEON WHIFFLE. (The H. W. Wilson Company, New York.) 1927. 7½ × 5½. pp. 153. \$1.50.

**THE DISINHERITED FAMILY.** By ELEANOR F. RATHBONE. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1927. 7½ × 5 pp. 345. 6s.

**AN ENGLISHMAN AND THE MEXICAN INQUISITION. 1556-1560.** By G. R. G. CONWAY. (Privately Printed in the City of Mexico.) 1927. 9½ × 6½. pp. 167. \$5.00.

**ALONG THE MISSION TRAIL IN CHINA AND JAPAN.** Vols. IV and V. By BRUNO HAGSPIEL. (Mission Press, S. V. D. Techny, Illinois.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 392, 313. \$4.00.

**CHINA'S INDUSTRIES AND FINANCE.** By D. K. LIEU. (The Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information, Shanghai.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 238.

**ECONOMICS OF KHADDAR.** By RICHARD B. GREGG. (S. Ganesan, Madras.) 1928. 7½ × 4½. pp. 226. Re. 1-8-0.