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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IF we are unable to come to a settlement with Mr. Jinnah and his followers, what is one to say of those who assembled at the All-Parties Muslim Conference in Delhi, who adopted a resolution which can only be described as communalism run mad? They demand separate electorates and excessive representation not only on the provincial and the central legislatures but on all other statutory self-governing bodies; due share in the central and provincial Cabinets; adequate share in all services of the State and on all statutory self-governing bodies; and what not? Every fantastic demand ever put forward by any Mahomedan receives endorsement at the hands of this Conference. It is a pity that H. H. the Aga Khan should have lent his name and support to such a body; and it is a tragedy of Indian public life that Moulana Mahomed Ali, to win whose support Mahatma Gandhi made the whole country espouse the exploded cause of the Khilafat, seconded these demands and made an exceedingly truculent speech in its support. One's heart sinks at the thought that the Ali brothers should have been among the staunchest supporters of the Conference. It therefore rounds doubly to the credit of Mr. Jinnah that he steadfastly refused to join it and dissuaded his League from joining it either. With such Muslim leaders as these other communities must be able to arrive at a compromise; what, in making this compromise each community must consider is not how little it should concede, but how much it can, in the national interest. The All-Parties Muslim Confer-

ence will have served a useful purpose if the public realises from its proceedings what they will be bargaining for if they do not make up their outstanding differences with the saner section of the Muslims.

THE *Leader* of Allahabad has rendered a distinct public service by publishing a summary of the memorandum submitted by the U. P. Government to the Simon Commission. Though it has gone out to the Commission in the name of the U. P. Government, it embodies the views only of the two executive councillors, Sir Malcolm Hailey excusing himself on the ground of his newness to the province and the Ministers' views, if any, not accompanying the memorandum. A perusal of the memorandum will convince any unprejudiced reader that, far from conferring any new rights on the people, the U. P. Government is anxious to withdraw some of those already granted to them. There is not even the remotest trace of provincial autonomy in any shape or form nor even any definite suggestion of the transfer of more subjects to popular control, even the idea of transferring criminal tribes to popular ministers being a matter of disagreement between the framers of the memorandum! Not only do they look upon police and justice as security subjects, but also upon land revenue, which cannot be allowed to be touched by the profane hands of responsible Ministers. It need hardly be added that the idea of an Upper Chamber finds in them very strong supporters, so much so that, left to themselves, they would make it more powerful than the popularly elected House and would empower it to override the latter's decisions. Under the scheme propounded in the memorandum, the Governor would continue to enjoy powers of overruling his Ministers and would be enabled to defy an inconvenient popular House by inducing the Upper one to reverse its decisions. While nothing has happened in the past eight years which would warrant the belief that the Legislature has blindly refused supplies for the reserved half of the Government, the distinguished authors of the U. P. Government's memorandum would leave nothing to chance. They would either give the Governor-in-Council the power to take any demand refused by the Lower House to the Upper one with a view to getting it reinstated there or in the alternative vest the Upper House with the sole power to vote supplies for the reserved departments. This would be a distinct going back upon present conditions, under which the Legislature enjoys some control, however restricted, over those departments; and it is sure to be deeply resented by Indian public opinion. Lip homage has been done to the principle of joint ministerial responsibility; but so much is made of the difficulties in its way that one cannot be far wrong or even unfair to the U. P. Government if one inferred that they would not waste much effort over its establishment. According to the memorandum, the franchise

would be lowered only to the extent of adding a modest 30,000 to the voters' register while communal representation would continue to be the unenviable feature of our electoral arrangements that it has been in the past. Even in the new order of things the U. P. Government have no intention of ceasing to play providence to the Ministers and cannot afford to leave them to shift for themselves without official assistance. To this end, while the official bloc would be transferred from the Lower to the Upper House, it could run to the rescue of the Ministers, in case of need, by defending in the Lower House their actions and policies by speech, though not by vote.

* * *

PROF. V. G. KALE'S presidential address at the 12th The Indian Economic Conference.

session of the Indian Economic Conference was very suggestive and pointed out the lacunae of the present Indian study of economic theory, suggesting at the same time the lines of future improvement. After pointing out how the level of teaching and study of Economics has been low on account of the preoccupation of the professor with coaching the students, he expressed a hope that the post-graduate courses recently provided in our Universities would be widened in their scope so as to stimulate the spirit of search after truth and scientific accuracy and integrity in interpreting carefully marshalled facts. The desideratum in his opinion is the Western spirit of work in our Universities. He expressed satisfaction at the belated recognition by Government of the vital need of associating trained economists in the work of solving economic questions by the agency of Commissions and Committees of enquiry and warned the Press and the politicians against ignoring the teachings of economic science. The new economic awakening must be utilized for training the new generation in scientific ways of thought and enlisting the sympathy and support of the Government and the public for the cause of economic science and its teaching. Speaking about agreed conclusions Prof. Kale discards the view that economics ought to be a positive science dealing only with what is, without opening its mouth about what ought to be or about measures of political and social reform based on the application of its truths to problems of actual life. Coming to the trend of Indian economic thought he showed how Ranade was one of the first to break loose from the grasp of the powerful influence of English orthodox economics and gave a valuable lead. *Laissez faire* has been abandoned by the Government as unsuited to Indian conditions and the need for State action in the sphere of the advancement of agriculture as well as the advancement of industry by a policy of protection has been amply acknowledged. We may say in passing that the recognition has been very tardy and grudging; still it is a great step forward. But his great complaint is that this policy is not pursued by Government in relation to the forces of disturbance coming from outside the country—referring in particular to the currency and exchange policy of the latter day. Prof. Kale agrees with the Agriculture Commission in holding that the problems about the rayat have been handled piecemeal and that nobody studies the rayat as a whole; and he says, "The social, the organic, the national point of view must never be lost sight of in all such questions." The remedy according to him is the detailed investigation and research into all the branches of social life and based upon this the "scrutiny of measures of reform proposed and the formulation of policies for the guidance of Government and the public."

* * *

WE feel confident that the Press Conference which The Press Conference. has been recently inaugurated will do us a world of good by ventilating the grievances of journalists which handicap an already depressed profession. A few such grievances and handicaps were ventilated by Mr. Chatterji, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Press Conference and by Mr. K. Natarajan, the President. Mr. Chatterji dwelt on the great illiteracy of the people as the leading bar to the progress of journalism. He deplored the fact that India should not be able to supply cheaply indigenous paper, ink and photographic materials. One good suggestion made by him is the transfer of correspondents by mutual arrangement by the dailies in different provinces to serve on one another's staffs, which he thinks would cure them of their provincial angularities and broaden their outlook. The dependence of India on the foreign news agencies is, as he pointed out, a great factor tending towards perversion and manipulation of news. Mr. Natarajan emphasized the need of reorganizing journalism as a distinct profession and dissociating it from active political work and deprecated the notion that journalism was a profession for the waifs and the bungled who had failed in other walks of life. Mr. Natarajan thinks that the newspaper office is the best school of journalism and recommends every well-established newspaper to train up young men of promise year after year so as to be available for service. In spite of this we think that the idea formulated by Sir C. H. Setalvad of having schools of journalism attached to Universities is thoroughly sound and is not so utopian as many are inclined to imagine. We are afraid Mr. Natarajan's suggestions about a register of journalists and a register of newspapers with a view to consolidate the position of journalism is rather vague and we refrain from any comment unless definite schemes are adumbrated. He dwelt on the necessity for mitigating the severity of the criminal law in order to give a wider latitude to newspapers who may make mistakes in good faith and he thinks that they should not be penalised except in the case of deliberate malice. It was to be expected that Mr. Natarajan should raise a strong protest against the manner in which the Free Press in India was treated for publishing confidential information submitted to the Simon Commission and we endorse his objection to the censorship established by the President of the Commission. A resolution to this effect was passed by the Conference with only a few dissentients. It is high time that high-handed methods curtailing the liberty of the press should altogether cease to be tolerated in India.

* * *

THE Convention and the Congress overshadowed the numerous other conferences held at Calcutta during the national week and consequently the work of the latter received but scant notice. One such conference was that of postmen and members of the lower grade staff in the Postal Department in the whole of India and Burma. This had for its President Mr. A. Rangaswamy Aiyangar and for its Chairman of the Reception Committee Mr. N. C. Chunder. The latter showed how much leeway had yet to be made before the Indian postman's material prospects approximated to those of his brother in England. Before the War a postman in England started with a salary of 23s. a week, whereas now it has been raised to 53s. a week or Rs. 150 per mensem. On the other hand the starting monthly salary of the postman in this country is about Rs. 25. While the English postman has his salary doubled after 14 years' service, that of his compeer in India does not go up to that level even.

after 21 years' service! But though in respect of salary he occupies a position very much inferior to the English postman, the case is quite the reverse in regard to the amount of work expected of both. It is a matter for wonder that though the authorities in India are sensible of this state of affairs, as was apparent from the speech made by Mr. Sams, the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs at the last year's conference in Bombay, there is no definite inclination on their part to offer the hardworked Indian postman more attractive prospects and better conditions of work. We are of course not unaware that a revision of their salaries has recently taken place; but as the president rightly pointed out and as the conference itself subsequently affirmed, the revision falls considerably short of the postmen's demands formulated in 1925 and has failed to give satisfaction. If the Indian postman's efficiency is not to suffer and if he is to retain his well-deserved reputation for integrity in the midst of temptations, it is necessary that his reasonable demands as regards his salary and prospects should be met as far as possible. We hope this will be done without avoidable delay. Similarly, not much progress appears to have been made in carrying into effect the Ryan Committee's recommendation in favour of efficient and qualified postmen being appointed to lower division clerkships in the Department. Besides creating new channels of promotion to deserving postmen, the proposal had also the merit of effecting some economy in public expenditure and should on that ground alone have commended itself to the authorities, but somehow they have not taken too kindly to it. It is to be hoped that inquiries will be made with a view to finding out the obstacles that have prevented fuller effect being given to this recommendation. In the resolutions passed by the conference expression has been given to some of the postmen's grievances which seem to us to deserve sympathetic consideration at the hands of Government.

* * *

It is well-known that Rabindranath Tagore was one of the fiercest opponents of non-co-operation, but he never favoured the policy of those either who set out to give discriminating co-operation to Government. Tagore in fact was equally critical of both co-operators and non-co-operators, but he had no constructive policy of his own. The *Indian Daily Mail*, noticing the back of Tagore's letters (referred to by our European correspondent in this issue,) has some keen criticism to offer of Tagore's inconsistency. Our contemporary says:—

If non-co-operation was wrong, some form of co-operation was obviously the only right course open. The Post would not argue out the point. He somehow got the idea that Liberalism was inspired by expediency, and he disliked the thought of expediency. "The talk and behaviour of the Moderate Party in India," he wrote, "fail to inspire because of this—because their moderation springs from the colourless principle of expediency. The bond of expediency between the powerful and the weak must have some element in it which is degrading. It brings to us gifts for which we can claim no credit whatever, except, perhaps, persistency of expectation and unflinching employment of importunity. When our claims are feeble, and our method of realising them is altogether unheroic, then the very boons granted to us make us poorer. That is why the Moderates in India look so pitifully obscure by the side of the Extremists." The real issue, however, is not how the Moderates look by the side of the Extremists, but what they have been able to achieve. However inadmissible expediency may be in poetry, it is the very stuff of which politics is made. Only there is a large, as

distinguished from a petty, expediency and the statesman differs from a mere politician in that he prefers the former to the latter. The Poet, it is clear, has not understood the wisdom of moderation. True, there is nothing spectacular about moderation as there is about extremism. But the vital processes which sustain life and thought have very little of the spectacular about them. The Poet understands that "patriotism is proud of its bulk" and he says that, inasmuch as it has its passion for power, he himself is not a patriot. Then why rail at the Moderates, because their methods do not bulk large in the eyes of the sensation-loving public?

* * *

SPECULATION is rife about the effects of the enfranchisement of a large number of women on the distribution of parties and on the qualifications of men that are likely to succeed in ingratiating themselves into the favour of new voters. It was surmised a few months ago that the majority of the vote would be cast in favour of Socialists, but opinion is now veering round to the belief that the woman vote would be predominantly Conservative. Mr. Baldwin recently expressed his confidence in the judgment of the new women voters who would in his opinion vote Conservative out of sheer gratitude for the passing of the measure giving them the privilege. It is suggested that as a result of the reform good looks and upright carriage would carry more weight with the new voters than wisdom and intellectual accomplishments. But this would be paying a poor compliment to the enfranchised women. We ourselves do not think so meanly of the average woman in England as to suppose that she will easily succumb to the blandishments of a good face or a charming smile and prefer them to common sense or worldly wisdom. Apart from the sensitive vaso-motor system and her natural volatile temperament so much emphasized by those who have studied the physiological aspects of feminism, it seems difficult to believe that a woman with a vote would be so oblivious of the plain dictates of reason in the matter of the selection of a candidate for the honour of being a legislator. The idea that old foggies who cannot bring themselves to cultivate new manners should retire cannot be taken too seriously. This is just the time when they should stick to their posts if only to prove that merit is a better passport to a political career than good looks. Many are in expectation of an influx of women candidates who would be better adepts in the art of catching the votes of their own sex, but this so far is a mere speculation. In this connection we may quote the opinion of Mrs. Snowden expressed in the "Feminist Movement": "Women will have to submit to tests far more severe than any man would have to face, for women candidates would have to face not only the prejudices of the male elector but the hostile criticism of the average woman elector who will certainly not be inclined to favour one of her own sex. The standards women set up for each other are much higher than the standards which men set up for women." If this judgment can be relied upon we need not expect any cataclysmic changes in the environment of the polls or any eccentric tests imposed on the eligibility of a candidate. A slight adaptability will no doubt have to be displayed by the politician of the orthodox pattern, but there is certainly no need for a flutter in the dovecotes of parliamentary candidates who have the requisite amount of ability and self-confidence. The example of Norway and Finland and of Australia and New Zealand within the Empire shows that women will vote nearly on the same lines as men and follow the line of political evolution.

* * *

SEEK UNITY AND ENSUE IT.

IN a recent statement issued to the press, Mr. Subash Chandra Bose avers, and it is easy to believe him, that the support received in the Congress for his Independence amendment, though only two-thirds of the support received for the original resolution, amounted in fact to a moral victory, inasmuch as a number of those who voted for Dominion Status did so out of personal deference to Mahatma Gandhi who had to be specially put in charge of the resolution in order to pull it through. That there is landslide in favour of independence no one can deny, but in these discussions, whether within the Congress or without, too much emphasis is placed on the objective to be attained, and too little on the means to be employed in attaining it. To Congressmen at any rate independence is a far worthier goal than dominion status, and we think it will be granted that it will also cost us a keener struggle and will therefore demand a better equipment than dominion status will. What preparation has been made, or what is proposed to be made with a view to accelerating its advent? Or, to use an expression which is much in vogue at present, what sanctions lie behind the demand for independence? Mr. Subash Chandra Bose was studiously silent on this point in the Congress, and so is he in the later interview. He has a good deal to say about Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru having lowered the Congress flag, but he has nothing whatever to say as to how the independence for which he strives—verbally—is to be translated from the Congress record into an actuality. Independence suggests at once a struggle on the physical force plane, but this is forbidden to Mr. Bose as to others by the Congress creed of non-violence, to which no amendment has been proposed. How a non-violent movement is to secure independence none of the champions of independence care to tell us, unless of course it be that Great Britain of her own accord withdraws her sovereignty from India as the U.S. has promised to do from the Philippines. We may be unduly incredulous, but it seems to us exceedingly unlikely.

Nor is Mahatma Gandhi's plan of action—for the attainment within a year of the lower ideal of dominion status—quite plain to us. He no doubt is himself committed, and has committed the Congress, to organise mass civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes a year from now. But what preparation lies behind this campaign? Mahatma Gandhi had a cut and dried scheme before, when he first started the now defunct non-co-operation movement, in which certain first steps were to be taken before they could lead to the adoption of the extreme measure of mass civil disobedience. Whether those stages were in fact calculated to culminate in the final one is a different question; but to Mahatma Gandhi there was a regular gradation in non-co-operation. The people had to master a few preliminary lessons before they could graduate in the mass movement. And however irrational these first lessons might have been, and howsoever unrelated to the

ultimate objective of civil disobedience, they had one supreme merit, viz. that they habituated the people to self-sacrifice and self-suffering. The giving up by lawyers of their practice may have little to do with passive resistance; but it at any rate shut up those lawyers who, without undergoing any sacrifice in their own persons, incited the general mass of people to court terrible sufferings for themselves, and pushed to the fore men who had at least earned a claim to be heard by making some sacrifice in what they believed to be the public interest. The movement was thus based to a certain extent on self-abnegation and for this reason extorted an amount of admiration even from its bitterest opponents. It had also the further merit of providing the movement with an automatic check. A momentary enthusiasm would perhaps carry the people through the first stages; but unless the enthusiasm was sustained and a real spirit of self-sacrifice was in evidence continuously for a fairly long period, the people would not qualify themselves, according to Mahatma Gandhi's code, for the final plunge.

But all these items in non-co-operation are now given up. The public have lost faith in them and they cannot any longer be revived. This impossibility of revival of the earlier stages of non-co-operation does not however convince Mahatma Gandhi now, as it would have convinced him some years ago, of the impossibility of contemplating the organization of mass resistance. Apparently, the self-discipline and self-sacrifice obtained by practising the simpler forms of non-co-operation are no longer necessary, according to him, for initiating and carrying on the most difficult part of it. In the constructive programme now recommended to the people, there are none of those items which entail sacrifice on the workers. Prohibition of drinks; removal of untouchability; righting of social abuses; sex equality (a point which makes its appearance for the first time in the Congress programme); village reconstruction—these and suchlike items now form the means whereby the country is to be got ready for mass civil disobedience on January 1, 1930. This is, as Mrs. Besant says, a social reform programme. We do not condemn it; it is quite excellent. But what relation does it bear to mass civil disobedience? Nor is it intended to take the final plunge only if this programme is carried out—not in words, but in deeds. The present non-co-operation movement therefore is neither based on self-sacrifice, nor does it provide an automatic check as the former one to a certain degree was and did. Whatever the country's record may be in purging the country of untouchability, placing women on a footing of equality with men, redressing other social wrongs at the end of the year, the campaign of mass civil disobedience has to be started on the next New Year's day. It means that a challenge is to be thrown down to Government, irrespective of the extent of the country's preparedness to offer such a challenge. This defect makes the non-co-operation that threatens to come far more dangerous than the non-co-operation that was with us till the other day. Only one item had been included

in the draft resolution on constructive work, which if it had been retained as a test of the capacity of the people to start civil disobedience, would have averted the danger. This item was the payment by every member of the Congress of 5 per cent. of his income. But this item had to be eventually deleted owing to the insistence of some of the most forward advocates of independence. By the bye it affords an eloquent commentary on the genuineness of the inspiration which these advocates are said to have derived from Moscow.

The fateful event is to take place a year hence and nobody seems to worry about it just now. But, apart from the probability that the event, when it comes to pass, will inflict great suffering on the people, the comfortable belief that the necessary sanctions will be prepared automatically when the moment for applying them arrives can only lead people to neglect the only sanction which in our opinion it is both necessary and feasible to forge—the sanction of unity. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at the Liberal Federation gave weighty expression to this sentiment which all Liberals share. In moving the resolution on responsible government at the Federation, Dr. Sapru said:—

"I have been very often asked by my young friends in Calcutta and elsewhere as to what are the sanctions behind us for enforcing our demands. My answer is this. I radically differ from those who think that, by forging the standard type of sanctions which they have in view, they can achieve anything. I believe in one sanction only, that is, the united will of the country. (Hear, hear.) If once we can remove the communal misunderstandings, if once we can show to the minorities, and show to them most unmistakably, that the minorities stand to gain everything and lose nothing under a system of responsible government, if we can readjust our social relations, if we can broaden our ideas of economic questions, if we can bring about a general amount of unanimity on vital national questions, I personally think you will not require another sanction, because I feel absolutely persuaded on one point, and it is that the Englishman is such a practical-minded businesslike sort of man that when once he comes to know that India is in dead earnest about dominion status and responsible government, he will not wait for other sanctions. He will come to you and say—"Now come to a settlement". Therefore, when my young friends talk of other sanctions I always remind them that the very first sanction that has got to be forged by us is the sanction of unity, the removal of those differences which have disfigured our public life, the removal of those differences which have rent our society into pieces and if any effort is made in bringing about that harmony, in bringing about that co-operation between one section of Indian society and another section, I venture to say, not only on my humble behalf but on behalf of my party, that you will find the Liberals standing shoulder to shoulder with every other party, whatever may be its label in the country."

The unity which is such a great desideratum is not after all so difficult of attainment on the basis of the Nehru Report, if one looks rationally at the situation. With just a small amount of give and take, it should be quite easy to bring about unity among the progressive sections of our Hindu, Moslem, Sikh and other politicians. It is easy for Hindus to pick holes in the Mahomedan claims,

and for Mahomedans in the Hindu claims and for Sikhs in the claims of both. But we must not approach the question in the spirit of a judge dealing out an equal measure to all, but in the spirit of a statesman who would, if necessary, give a little more than is due to this community or that, in order that all communities may together enjoy their common heritage which is now in the possession of foreigners. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad impressed this on the minds of the Liberals in the opening and concluding speeches which he addressed to the Liberal Federation, viz. that "we ought to go to the farthest limit in making concessions to minorities consistently with national interests." "If we are able, during the year," he added, "to achieve unity between all creeds and races in this country, I do not see what power on earth can prevent our future progress towards the goal which we are determined to achieve." The Liberals, indeed, can console themselves with the reflection that they for their part have done nothing to hinder, but everything to hasten, a mutual settlement among the rival communities; and that if a settlement be not eventually effected, they at any rate will have nothing to be ashamed of in the part they took in the negotiations, if one may dignify by such a term the casual conversations that took place in the Convention. We cannot however think of this problem in the terms of parties and the paralysing thought haunts everyone who has the interests of the country at heart that the Nehru Report, which had in it such high promise of bringing about unity, has for the moment at any rate been laid aside and the prospect of unity has been rendered gloomy. Mrs. Besant has declared her intention to carry on a crusade as before in favour of the Nehru Report and no one will entertain the least doubt that she will carry out her resolve to the full. But she will find that her task is rendered very much more difficult by what happened in Calcutta. The difficulty, it is now plain, does not lie with the mass of the population at all, but with the leaders of the various communities, and the campaigning that is now required is much more necessary amongst the latter than amongst the former. Will it be too much to hope that the more advanced sections in the various communities will yet come to an agreement, on the strength of which alone it is possible for them to realise their national destiny as early as we desire?

LIMITS OF INTERVENTION.

THERE is a good deal of hard thinking to be done on the question of Indian States, and it is a great pity that Lord Olivier's urgent plea for such thinking was unceremoniously rejected by the House of Lords last month. The most ticklish aspect of this question consists in determining the exact limits of intervention in the States' internal affairs that is not only permissible to, but obligatory on, the agents of the Crown; and the processes by which the intervention should take place. That the Crown has the right of intervention in certain cases is common

ground between the British Government and the Indian States. But there is always a dispute as to the propriety of intervention whenever it takes place. H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala, in a paper read by him before the Royal Institute of International Affairs and published in the current number of the Institute's *Journal*, has given extracts from the writings of Lord Hastings and Lord Dalhousie to prove that the limits of intervention are extremely narrow. Lord Hastings, for instance, denies the obligation on the part of the British Government to interpose even when maladministration is rampant. He says, in answering the then Resident in Hyderabad who had urged intervention with a view to protecting the Nizam's subjects from oppression: "The fact of maladministration is unquestionable, and must be deplored. . . . (But) where is our right to determine that the amount of the evil is such as to demand our taking the remedy into our own hands?" Maladministration is not, according to Lord Hastings, a sufficient ground for interference; but only a serious risk of disorder being caused in British India. "It is admitted," he says, "that if convulsions rage so violently in one State as clearly threaten the excitation of ferment in a bordering one the latter may be justified in reducing to order the nation by which its tranquillity was menaced." Here, of course, Lord Hastings was merely considering when one country would be justified in interfering with another independent country for the sake of self-preservation. The peculiar case of Indian States which have been guaranteed internal security against malcontents amongst their subjects was not obviously before his mind. Lord Dalhousie, who too disclaimed the "moral duty of the British Government, as the paramount power in India, to assume to itself the Government of H. H. (the Nizam's) dominions, in order to correct the evils of his rule, and to rescue his subjects from the sufferings which are alleged to proceed therefrom," only recognised the duty of intervening for the purpose of maintaining peace within the borders of States. He says: "The acknowledged supremacy of the British Power in India gives to it the right, and imposes upon it the duty, of maintaining by its influence, and (if need be) of compelling by its strength, the continuance of general peace." But after this he adds, "It entitles it to interfere in the administration of native Princes if their administration *tends unquestionably to the injury of the subjects* or of the allies of the British Government." (Italics ours.) Even this advocate of circumscribing British interference within the strictest possible limits has to admit, it will be observed, the obligation resting upon Government to interpose its authority if a Prince's misrule causes "injury" to his subjects. This can only be interpreted as a guarantee given by the British Government to the subjects for their welfare and as an obligation undertaken by it to prevent the Princes from oppressing the people. But whatever Lord Dalhousie may have meant when he wrote this passage, the Princes object to a wide interpretation of it, and it is therefore of the utmost

necessity to define in precise terms what degree of misrule in States will justify interference with their domestic affairs on the part of the British Government. It is too much to expect that the Butler Committee will be in a position to give an authoritative definition of the limits of the suzerain power's right and duty of intervention. This is not so much a question for the jurist as for the statesman, and whatever the Butler Committee may or may not do, it is necessary that statesmen in England should think out this question and be ready with an answer. It will certainly not do to keep deliberately vague, as Lord Reading would have the British Government do, the circumstances which may be considered to afford justification for the Government's interposition. However it may suit Government to do so, the Princes would insist upon a precise delimitation of its power so that they would be enabled to resist any encroachment on the sphere allotted to them. The subjects of Indian Princes too would prefer to know definitely beforehand whether the British Government has given them a guarantee or not, and if it has given to what extent, for their material and moral well-being. The whole Indian States' problem revolves itself on this hinge, viz. whether or not the British Government has undertaken an obligation to prevent gross misrule in Indian States and what it regards as the characteristics of this misrule. British statesmen can no longer evade this question or keep on finessing about it.

MUSLIM CLAIMS.

HOW small and easily capable of adjustment is the difference between the proposals in the Nehru Report on the communal question and the claims put forward by the Jinnah section of the Muslim League will be manifest from a perusal of the masterly analysis of the two positions contained in the *Bombay Chronicle* of Friday last. Mr. Jinnah urged the Convention to make six modifications in the Nehru Committee's recommendations and in doing so, the *Chronicle* recognises that the Muslim League's delegates "went a little beyond the claims advanced by the League a year before" "evidently in the hope that the changes would secure a larger measure of support from their community." The proposed changes are:—(1) That the Muslims should have one-third representation in the Central Legislature; (2) that there should be reservation for Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal on the population basis in the event of adult suffrage not being established; (3) that the residuary powers should be left to the Provinces and the list of provincial subjects should be revised; (4) that the separation of Sind should not be made simultaneous with the enforcement of the Constitution, but should be acceptable even if it is not conceded earlier; (5) that the Constitution shall not be altered except by a four-fifths majority both in the two Houses of Parliament separately and in a joint session of Parliament; and (6) that the Lucknow Pact about the Punjab be embodied in the Nehru Report. The last two claims were readily conceded by the Convention. "As regards the separation of Sind," the *Chronicle* remarks, "it would obviously be dangerous for the Muslims themselves to single out this claim for separate acceptance as it would import a fissiparous tendency in both the communal and the national settlements. Similarly, with regard to the alternative

scheme of reservation in the Punjab and Bengal in the event of universal suffrage not being established it is no use imagining all such contingencies. There would then be any number of alternative proposals about various topics. We have reason to expect that the League will not insist on these claims."

On the extent of Federalism in the Constitution the League wants that the list of provincial subjects should be revised, that the emergency clause giving the Central Government and Parliament power to suspend and annul the Acts of a Provincial Government should be deleted and that the residuary powers should vest in the Provincial Governments. On this the *Chronicle* observes that, "the list of provincial subjects has not been finally decided upon and if the League would suggest specific alterations in it, it is very probable that the Convention will further revise the list. The emergency clause can be improved so as to restrict slightly the powers of the Central Government. But to do away with the clause altogether is dangerous." Our contemporary further adds: "The proposal to transfer all residuary powers to the Provinces is surprising indeed and it is nothing short of acute political myopia on the part of a responsible body like the Muslim League to advance it seriously. Judging from the Press report of Mr. Jinnah's speech, he does not seem to have given a single reason for this proposal. He merely says: 'We have applied our mind to it and we favour a system which will give residuary powers to the Provinces.' It would be best for Mr. Jinnah to suggest which particular powers should be given to the Provinces and show how those powers would benefit the Muslims or the country in general." On this question alone the Council of the Liberal Federation has come to a definite decision that it cannot distort the whole constitution for the sake of satisfying Moslem claims, and it has left all other questions open for further discussion.

"The most important claim advanced by the League," the *Chronicle* continues, "is the reservation of one-third representation in the Central Legislature. It is not clear from the Press report of Mr. Jinnah's speech how long such reservation is to continue. We assume that it will be just as long as the reservation of seats for Muslims in the Provinces where they are in a minority remains under the Constitution. With that assumption, the proposal seems to be that as a temporary measure the principle of reservation already conceded to the Muslims in Provinces where they are in a minority should be so adapted in the case of the Central Legislature, where on the whole they are in a minority, that the generally admitted probability of Muslims getting one-third representation should be converted into a guarantee, if only to reassure the Muslims, and that the excess representation which Muslims are likely to have in the Provinces where they are in a majority should be transferred to Muslims in those Provinces where they are in too small a minority. This proposal is one on which every section of the Muslim community is keen and it has won the sympathy of Hindu leaders like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Motilal Nehru." What the *Chronicle*, whose editor represents the finest Mahomedan specimen in the country, adds at the end is very remarkable. It says "It is difficult to defend the proposal on grounds of logic, nor do we think that Muslims need such a safeguard. But then on undeniable grounds of expediency—statesmanship cannot disclaim such grounds—the principle of reservation has already been conceded to Muslim minorities and the proposal in question is claimed to be only an adaptation of that principle. The complication comes in the shape of the virtual weightage of representation in excess of population strength; and if weigh-

tage is allowed in one case, other minorities like the Sikhs demand similar concessions. The subject is essentially one for negotiation between Hindu, Muslim and Sikh leaders. A generous concession to the Muslims or the Sikhs or to both would not be a high price for a full and permanent settlement of the vexed communal problem which has so long acted as a drag on the political and social progress of the country."

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA, December 20.

ENGLAND AND INDIA.

IN this correspondence, whenever opportunity has called for interpretation, an attempt has been made to explain events so as to bring out their significance. Letters going to India from Europe by mail must obviously serve this purpose if they are not to be wearisome repetitions of telegraphic reports. The Simon Commission and all that happened after, Lalaji's death and its sequel, have made this a time "when Britain and India have come to another parting of the ways." It is important that in the midst of all this complex situation something should be known in India of the real trend of opinion in England in this regard. Knowledge of this is far more urgent to us than the knowledge of the international situation such as was created in the meeting of the League Council at Lugano, for our relation with England is the key to that with the world outside.

Politically, there is little doubt that there is no realisation in England of the blunder involved in the appointment of the Simon Commission. Not only do the Tories with their unabashed belief in force, hardly disguised by the high-sounding invocation to "law and order," still cling to the old conception of India as a dependency, but the other two parties would scarcely be found lagging behind them in this policy should a real test occur. However vehemently the Liberals may oppose the Party in power at home, they cling to their nineteenth century maxims and cannot help looking upon a country like India, if not exactly as the white man's burden, as the burden of British Liberals. Indeed, the misfortune of the Liberal Party has been its bondage to dogma which makes it dull to the forces acting at the present time. The Labour Party, out to conciliate the electors, distinguishes itself by dropping the radical tone where India is concerned and takes a page from the history of the older parties, believing that no one can be mindful of it, when it does so on the ground that it is protecting the interests of Indian labourers from their own capitalists. So obvious are Mr. MacDonald's tactics in other matters as in this that the comments in the French press occasioned by his recent visit to Paris make curious reading. Paris dismissed that part of Mr. MacDonald's speech which was not political and which was rhetorical as non-conformist eloquence untranslatable into the French language, and the part which was political and clear was found to be little more than a plea for the traditional British foreign policy. The French Socialists could find nothing international in the British Labour leader's political programme, and they took note that he was concerned to stress the qualifying epithet when he described his creed as British Socialism. In the main what Mr. Gandhi said in his letter to "every Englishman in India" is still true. England will recognise India's rights politically not for justice or righteousness but for bravery.

Nevertheless, political as the British nation is, its real character cannot be judged on that plane alone. While no one—unless it be the Maharaja of Burdwan and his like—who knows England would dare to say that it will not be a long time before India can become a cardinal issue in the general election in Britain, there are signs that the British people are beginning to be alive to the change in India. They realise as never before that the East has its worth which cannot be shown to advantage from a European point of view. Dimly they feel that the traditions of the East are not antiquated on account of their age, like their own ancient traditions, that they are living, and consequently require to be interpreted from a perspective, organic matter than historical. Besides, being a proud but not a vain people, the British are not generally flattered by imitation. As an instance of my meaning I may quote the following passage from a recent issue of the *Spectator*.

"Hitherto we have been blind to half the world. Asia was a country of barbarians to us and we to it. Signs of a change are many. . . . The spiritual riches of Asia are not contained in dead languages, as is our own precious heritage from the Greeks and Romans. The creeds and ideals of Asia are living forces to-day—men and women are striving for them as we strive for our own. What India can teach us in philosophy will certainly leave us more sympathetic towards the outlook of other races towards whom we have assumed great responsibilities. Even if we are not convinced of the personal value to ourselves of Indian philosophy, that will be an incalculable gain. On the other hand, we may find that the ancient Sanskrit writings, when interpreted by humane and not scholastic standards, will give us a wider outlook on our own faith and reveal once again the interdependence of all humanity striving towards the light. The Vedas are, in fact, as much the property of the West as the East. For our own profit as much as for the sake of India we should keep alive the flame that was lit in Aryavarta so many centuries ago. From California to Iceland, and from England across Europe to Calcutta, one word is used by the race of mankind to denote kinship. It is 'brother'—a Sanskrit word."

The publication of "Letters To A Friend," Dr. Tagore's letters to Mr. Andrews, has also made Indian culture a topic of the day in England. The points which the reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement* selects for the praise of the poet are significant.

"He has said hard things of our people; but there is no man aware of the greatness of our record and the sublimity of spirit that individuals of our race have shown. And though (to use a favourite word of his) he can be 'ferocious,' in defence of his own people, he has been austere and unsparing in his chastisement of boastfulness and silliness and social wrongs."

And again,

"Where are we to find a parallel to the clearness of judgment and unflinching honesty with which, while rendering full recognition to Mr. Gandhi's genuineness and to the reality of the passion of despair and sense of justice behind the movement, he stood aside from the non-cooperation agitation? . . . How profound and terrible was the darkening of his soul by the Punjab troubles his friends knew. But not for one moment did he forget that hatred breeds hatred and that beneath all bitterness man keeps a brotherhood that must surely one day become effective."

The times are peculiar. In the West as in the East, Christ and his angels have gone to sleep. The brute forces of machines and systems have become powerful and cynically laugh at man. At such a time men look for light all the world over and res-

pect those who have faith in man and courageously declare it. If in the West the name of India is great to-day—it is frequently regarded with a feeling bordering on veneration—it is because of the faith in the human spirit which shows itself through the philosophy of such men as Tagore and Gandhi and Sastri. There is no other reason why India should be respected, and we Indians would do well to remember that the West, like a child, after having caused all this ferment in Asia, is now regarding us curiously to see how we live out philosophy at a time of crisis.

OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

DURBAN, December 15.

S.A.P. ON THE AGREEMENT.

REFERENCE has already been made to Gen. Smuts' attack on the Cape Town Agreement and the prompt chastisement he received from the *Cape Times*. Evidently wiser on that account, the General made no reference to the Indian question or to the Agreement in his opening speech at the S.A.P. Conference at Bloemfontein in early December. But Natal members insisted that a pronouncement should be made on the subject. The prospectus of the Party issued since does refer to the Asiatic question and in the following terms:—"The South African Party favours the maintenance of restrictions on Asiatic immigration, and of Government assistance for permanent repatriation." This might be interpreted to mean a total repudiation of the Cape Town Agreement. By including the word "permanent" the Party have disapproved the system of assisted emigration under which an emigrant may return within certain time limits and on refunding the assistance he received. It has not been proved—Gen. Smuts has not replied to Dr. Malan's challenge—that a large number of assisted emigrants are returning; as a matter of fact, there has not been even a single case so far. The South African Party, the party that professes to understand and realise Empire responsibilities, could not rest content with this result of the assisted emigration policy but wishes to revert to the old repatriation policy. Further, there is no reference to the upliftment section of the Agreement. Does it mean that the S.A.P. is opposed to it?

NATAL WORKERS' CONGRESS.

The Trade Union Congress that met on the 1st and 2nd December has adopted the name of Natal Workers' Congress, a more comprehensive name which will include not only the organisable skilled and semi skilled workers but also the not easily organised unskilled workers. The representatives of the Department of Labour did splendid service by explaining with great patience and clarity the law on trade unions. They yielded to none in their devotion to common unions, but they regretted that the prevailing colour prejudice necessitated parallel unions if maximum organisation was desired. The Congress was however very sceptical. And there can be no doubt that the action of the Registrar of Trade Unions in holding up the registration of the Natal Hotel Employees' Union organised by Indians created the inevitable suspicion that the Department was not playing the game with the Indians. The action of the Registrar had absolutely no justification on grounds of law or expediency or equity. The removal of this suspicion will clear the way to a dispassionate discussion of the question of parallel unions on its merits. The Congress was not convinced either about the workability of parallel unions or of their desirability. At all events, the European trade unionists must be a consenting party to the scheme, so that they may not put obstacles in

the way of Indians forming parallel unions when driven to it by the action of the European trade unions. The Congress, therefore, resolved that the matter should be discussed with the representatives of the European unionists in the presence of the representatives of the Department of Labour.

The question of organisation takes a secondary place when compared with the question of discovering a common wage for all races for the same job. The *Cape Times*, in a sympathetic sub-leader, recognises the justice of the Indian grievance, but confesses baffled by the question of a common wage.

The Congress passed another resolution requesting Government either to provide reasonable facilities for technical education required under the Apprenticeship Act or to exempt Indians from the requirement and instruct Apprenticeship Committees accordingly.

Since the holding of the Congress several unions have been organised among Indian workmen. The laundry workers, the tinsmiths and metal workers and the tobacco workers have been organised. The bakers' employees and the municipal employees will soon follow. The Chief Inspector of Labour has undertaken to get the Printers' Union to admit Indians and thus keep it a common union not only in outward form but in actual practice. One good result of the presence of the departmental officials is that they have realised the true nature and extent of the legitimate grievances of the Indians, and the depth and intensity of feeling on the subject.

THE LIQUOR ACT.

The Liquor Act is again causing considerable uneasiness in the Indian community with regard to the employment of Indians in licensed premises. When Sec. 104 of the Bill was dropped, it was understood that the principle that Indians may be employed in such premises as they have been in the past, had been vindicated. But it has since been discovered that certain sections of the Act tend to throw out the Indian from employment. It has been pointed out in a previous letter that Sec. 102 (2) prohibits the employment of Indians as barmen in the Transvaal. Not only is that profession in future closed to Indians as it is to European barmaids, but even the existing Indian barmen are put under the ban, unlike European barmaids, whose vested interests are expressly, by sub-section (4) of Sec. 102, saved. Even when Mr. Roos contemplated the exclusion of Indians altogether from the liquor trade under Sec. 104 of the Bill, he proposed to save the Indians already employed. He said in moving in the House the second reading of the Bill, on the 25th January last, "It may well be that the position we ought to take up in regard to that (question) would be to take your Indian waiters who are now functioning and who have been functioning for a certain time, and not take away their work from them, but not allow for the future waiters to be engaged, while not depriving the present waiters of the work that is in their hands." Nevertheless the existing law permits a step from which Mr. Roos then recoiled.

But that is not all. The section has an indirect effect as disastrous as the direct one. Since the dining room is excluded from the definition of "restricted portion", Indians may be employed as waiters in hotels etc. But under Sec. 95 (a) read with Sec. 102(2) (a), the Indian waiter is prohibited from carrying liquor from the bar to the diners in the dining room. For Sec. 95 (a) prohibits Asiatics in the Transvaal from being "in possession of liquor", which means that hotel-keepers will be compelled to employ a special European wine steward to serve liquors, while Indians may serve the meals. This may be

economically possible in large establishments, but in the smaller ones, it would be too expensive and wasteful. The result is that smaller hotels will find it an advantage to employ a European both as wine steward and as waiter. The Indian waiters will soon be thrown out of employment.

Some 80 Indian waiters in the Transvaal are affected. Pending further representations to get the Act amended, these waiters fell back on Sec. 101 of the Act which empowers magistrates to exempt for a period not exceeding twelve months an Asiatic "from any discrimination imposed therein or under the authority of this Act." Several of the waiters secured exemptions, which are, however, valid only till the 31st December 1928. The power to grant exemption was, however, subject to regulation made by the Minister. When it was published, it disclosed that the exemption was confined only to authority to purchase liquor and did not cover any and every discrimination imposed by the Act. Thus the Regulation whittled down the scope of the Act. The magistrate immediately notified the Indian waiters that he could not renew the exemption regarding employment after the 31st December. Under these distressing circumstances, application was made by the Licensed Victuallers' Association in collaboration with the Transvaal Indian Congress to the Minister of Justice to permit an extension of the exemption till the question of their fate was finally decided. The Minister has turned a deaf ear to their plea. The correspondence is published in the *Indian Opinion* of the 23rd November 1928. The New Year's day will see these 80 Indian waiters on the streets! The promise of upliftment under the Cape Town Agreement must be a mockery to them when they find that, even after dropping clause 104 of the Bill, a profession should for the first time be expressly barred to them: and another by implication, and that people in actual employment should be flung out into the streets.

So much for the danger that has already befallen them. But more may come to pass. It has been explained in a previous letter that the same Section 102 had a different effect in Natal. Section 74 (2) (c) prohibits non-members from paying for accommodation or refreshment in clubs. Section 102 (2) (a) prohibits the employment as barmen persons who cannot obtain liquor for themselves on particular premises, which means only members of clubs can be employed as barmen! This, of course, applies both to Europeans and Indians. An amendment of the law is necessary. It is hoped that in so doing no racial discrimination against the Indian will be introduced.

Section 78 (b) of the Act provides that the licensing board may "impose a condition that liquor shall be supplied to any particular class of persons only in a bar or other place upon the licensed premises specially set apart for such particular class of persons." Which means that the Licensing Board can officially recognise different bars for different races—European bars, Indian bars, Coloured bars, etc.—in each of which a person not belonging to that race may not obtain liquor. If Section 102(2) (a) is now brought into operation, an Indian may not be employed in the European bar, nor a European in an Indian bar. The large majority of bars are European in which Indians are now employed. It is, therefore, open to the Licensing Board to put out the Indian employees by the simple expedient of operating Section 78 (b). It would be a catastrophe if the Board chose to do so. Old Section 104 could not have achieved more.

It will be recalled that when Mr. Tielman Roos consented to withdraw the obnoxious Clause 104, he consoled his white Labour friends that he would still achieve the purpose of the deleted section by means of the Wage Act. On the 11th February the *Cape*

Times was informed that the Minister had reached the decision "that the whole question of employment in the liquor trade may be adequately met under the Wage Act, without the necessity of any legislation specially discriminating on the grounds of race or colour." The Wage Board has now been asked to recommend wage etc., in the liquor trade. The Indian employees are getting apprehensive of the results. They fear that the Wage Board will, as usual, pitch the wages of skilled and semi-skilled occupations so high that Indians will be displaced by Europeans. It may be that there will not be wholesale displacement at once, if only for the reason that there is not an adequate supply of European employees in this trade.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY IN DURBAN.

Mr. Sastri delivered a course of three lectures on Indian Philosophy to appreciative audiences in Durban under the auspices of the Durban Library Group and the Workers' Educational Association. At the end of the lectures he made a presentation from his private library of some 130 volumes on Indian philosophy, literature, history and art to the Durban Library Group. The Municipal Library is not open to Indians; but the Durban Library Group, which is a different body, has risen above colour prejudice; and it is to that body that Mr. Sastri has presented his collection.

INDIA HOUSE.

This gracious act of Mr. Sastri will no doubt touch the hearts of those capable of generous impulses. But so small a collection of books will not go far to enable the Europeans to obtain a true picture of Indian culture. It is highly desirable that an "India House" should be established in South Africa. The Agent of the Government of India should be provided with a house, which should be furnished with Indian art-ware, and equipped with a fairly large Indian Library. Cape Town would be an ideal place for such an "India House", but its need is greatest in Durban.

CULTURAL INTERCOURSE.

Of the utmost value as the "India House" will be, even more useful in bringing about a truer cultural understanding between the two countries will be the visit to South Africa of Indian *savants* and and to India of South African *savants* and similar interchange of visits of prominent politicians and businessmen and press representatives.

REVIEWS.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ROOTS OF MARXISM.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIALISM. By HENRY DE MAN. Translated by EDEN and CEDAR PAUL. (Allen & Unwin.) 1928. 8¾ × 5½. pp. 509. 16s.

THIS is a remarkable work by a Belgian writer. It is at once a piece of spiritual autobiography and an acute psycho analysis of Marxism. As he tells us in the preface to the first edition of the German original, the author began life as a doctrinaire Marxist but his experience as a worker in the Belgian Labour movement opened his eyes to the weakness and limitations of Marxism. Then came the war, in which the author served as a Belgian volunteer, and his disillusionment was complete.

"It is war-time experience which entitles me to say that my book has been written with blood, though I cannot myself be certain that I have been able to transform that blood into spirit. The conflict of motives whose upshot was that I, an ardent anti-militarist and internationalist, felt it my duty to take up arms against Germany;

my disillusionment at the collapse of the International; the daily demonstration of the instinctive nature of mass impulses, thanks to which even Socialist members of the working class had their minds poisoned with the virus of nationalist hatred; my growing estrangement from most of my sometime Marxist associates, who went over to the Bolshevik camp—thanks to all these influences conjoined, I was racked with doubts and scruples whose echoes will be heard in this book".

Profoundly disturbed in mind, he left Europe after the armistice and spent two years of nomadic and adventurous existence in America seeking a new spiritual anchorage. On his return to Europe he spent another two years as a helper in the Belgian working-class educational movement. He withdrew from public life in 1922 and this book is the fruit of the subsequent years devoted to quiet reflection.

In the first three parts of the book, the psychological roots from which Marxism sprang are mercilessly exposed to view and this is in many ways the most interesting part of the book. The foundations of Marxism are traced to certain philosophical tendencies dominant in the middle decades of the nineteenth century such as "determinism, casual mechanism, historicism, rationalism and economic hedonism". Marx and other founders of socialist philosophy were bourgeois intellectuals whose dialectic was derived from those philosophical tendencies which had no relation at all to the mind of the actual worker. Hence the idolisation of the working classes. Hence the false identification of the coming struggle of the class-conscious proletariat with the establishment of the Socialist utopia.

But what do we actually see? The working class is tending to accept bourgeois standards and to adopt a bourgeois culture. This is traced to the social inferiority complex of the working class. The ties which connect the workers with the political and economic institutions of the existing order are growing increasingly intimate. The revolutionary fire is quenched and gradual peaceful reform becomes the objective. National differentiations are accentuated in the Socialist Labour movement and bureaucratic and oligarchic tendencies grow within the Labour organisations.

Individually these points have been made before by critics of Socialism and there is perhaps nothing new in them. But the ensemble is certainly fresh and impressive.

In the last Chapter of the book the author makes a declaration of his faith. He is a Socialist but he has no use for the class-war theory. "A theory which describes the fundamental motive of Socialism in the moral judgment inspired by the community sentiment *understands* more than theory which can see no deeper than the struggle of interests on the surface of things; and the former theory is more vivifying than the latter." Or again, "I am a Socialist not because I believe in the realisation of a Socialist vision of the future more than I believe in any other ideal you like to mention but because I am convinced that the Socialist motive makes human beings happier and better, here and now".

C. V. CHANDRASEKHARAN.

CHINA AND THE POWERS.

CHINA AND WORLD PEACE. By MINGCHIEN JOSHUA BAU. (Fleming H. Revell Co., New York.) 1928. 8¼ × 5½. pp. 194. \$2.00.

NOT the least interesting of the many books on Modern China is that of Dr. Bau. 'China and World Peace' is the suggestive title of the book and it suggests to us the central theme of the author. If anti-foreignism is to cease, if good will is to prevail

between China and the Powers, the numerous obnoxious foreign rights which are impairments of her sovereignty must go. World peace would gain by China's entrance into the family of nations as a full equal.

The pressing need of China is therefore the abolition of foreign rights. The Washington Conference of 1922 agreed to the abolition of the foreign rights in proportion to China's ability to fulfil international obligations and establish a strong central government. It may therefore appear that the domestic problem, the problem of overthrowing militarism and establishing a strong central government is by far more important than the problem of external relations. But the author rightly regards the solution of the external problem as the more important, for on its solution depends the solution of the internal problem. The concessions and settlements afford refuge to opponents of the Government, and from within the territorial limits of China, the exiles are enabled to plot against a regularly constituted government. The abolition of these concessions and settlements will increase the dangers of civil war and so lessen its duration. Besides an early solution of China's treaty relations "would remove one objective of Chinese nationalism and turn it therefore wholeheartedly to the task of putting down domestic militarism and building up constitutional democracy."

For these reasons Dr. Bau puts forward in this book a vigorous plea for an early solution of China's relations with the Powers. "The purpose of the work," says the author, "is to review the main factors in the arena of Chinese international politics since the Washington Conference, to treat of the leading issues involved in the situation and to point out a way for readjustment of China's foreign relations, with a view to hastening China's entrance into the family of nations as a full equal, averting any unnecessary conflict of ideas, policies and forces, thereby in a small way promoting world peace".

The author first examines the unequal treaties and points out how they have impaired the sovereignty of China. Speaking next about China's nationalism the author declares that the powers acquired their rights when Chinese nationalism was asleep. But the international scramble for concessions and leases and the defeat of Russia by Japan rudely woke up China's nationalism from its slumber. The author takes us through the Revolution of 1911, the *coup d'état* of Yuan Shi Kai, China's participation in the War and her disappointment at the Paris Peace Conference to the Washington Nine-Power Conference of 1922. He then explains Russia's influence in China. Russia has been able to exert a great influence on Chinese leaders for Soviet Russia voluntarily surrendered her rights in China in 1917, and she has made China believe that she could overthrow foreign imperialism with Soviet help like Turkey. "Thus," says the author, "Chinese nationalism fell into the embrace of the most alluring approach of Soviet Russia."

There are two policies before the Chinese. One is backed up by Soviet Russia and that is the immediate and complete abrogation of treaty rights. The second is that proposed by the Powers signatory to the Washington Conference and that is the programme of "a gradual, progressive, and evolutionary restoration of the several impairments of China's sovereignty". To prevent China from a headlong plunge into the abyss of Bolshevism the author suggests the immediate revision of the treaties either by individual or collective negotiation.

In his review of the main issues between China and the Powers, the author gives an impartial

account of the Shanghai affair of May 30, 1925, and condemns the attitude of the British in a strong and dignified passage. He also exposes the fallacies of the stock arguments of 'Shanghai-minded' writers regarding concessions, extra-territoriality and maritime customs administration.

In this brilliant work one finds that facts are often unnecessarily repeated. The Washington Conference looms large in this book and its resolutions are quoted and commented on in more than three chapters.

The book is splendidly got up and has an appendix of all the related international documents. We congratulate the author on his splendid achievement and we heartily recommend the book to every student of Modern China.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

MISS MAYO SHOWN UP.

SISTER INDIA. By "WORLD-CITIZEN." (Sister India Office, Bombay.) 1928. 7½ × 5. pp. 242 Rs. 2-8.

THIS is a fresh reply to "Mother India"; but it avoids attacks on Western Civilization with a view to malign the social life of the West. This is as it should be. The author's conclusion that the main object of the book is to vindicate British rule in India is undoubtedly correct. The universal reception given to such a blasphemous book is according to the author the measure of their mental and moral degradation. As for the charge of Miss Mayo that India is a physical menace to the West, the author reminds us of the influenza epidemic of 1918 and another unnameable disease, which shows that it is Europe that has proved to be a menace to India. Miss Mayo's grand survey is shown by simple arithmetic to be physically impossible; so she makes up by spinning yarns. It is pertinently asked, "Why did Miss Mayo avoid seeing Mr. Natarajan, as any one from the West investigating social matters is expected to do?" Anent the charge that inertia, helplessness and lack of initiative are ingrained in the Indian race the author refers to Prof. Max Muller and Col. Tod for the disproof of this assertion. The real reason of this inertia he says is lack of opportunity; quoting from Mr. Martin and Prof. H. H. Wilson he shows that under the pretence of free trade England compelled Indians to accept British products from the steam looms; in addition politically they are denied all responsible posts. As for Miss Mayo's insistence on the social evils it is pointed out that Indian leaders are not unmindful of them; apart from that it is regarded as certain that the grant of larger political powers would be followed by the requisite social reform. As for the good activities of Government the author shows conclusively that the driving force in their case was supplied by enlightened Indians.

As for Miss Mayo's attribution of India's social ills to sex delinquencies the author expresses surprise that she is such a highly fortunate tourist that everybody speaks to her about sex in the frankest manner. The wonder is, he says, that she does not proclaim direct revelation from God in this matter. As for her interpretation of Hindu religious marks he thinks that she must be more scholarly than all the scholars put together who have tried in vain to explain them. The author disproves by means of quotations Miss Mayo's statement that Dr. Tagore apotheosizes child-marriage. As for her conversations with leading Indians the author has shown that the most of them are deliberate fabrications. As for the position of woman in India the author thinks

that much of what is written in this connection has been vitiated by misunderstanding and superficial observation by European observers and writers. He gives several quotations from Mr. Rothfield's "Women of India" of which we reproduce one here. "The worth of a nation's womanhood can best be estimated by the completeness with which they fulfil the inspirations of love and its devotion; and judged by this standard the higher types in India need fear no comparison." The author also quotes Mr. Mayhew who in his "Education of India" holds Government responsible for the illiteracy of Indian women.

With regard to the large incidence of disease in India the author points out that the vast improvement in public health in the West has been due to the action of the State "which has spent money like water to stamp out disease." Describing the history of the health campaign in England since 1875 in a separate chapter he draws the obvious moral that the difference between India and England is due to the different attitude of the two Governments in this matter. On the cow question the author shows that Miss Mayo's estimate of 50 p. c. cattle as totally unprofitable is definitely wrong, the real percentage being in the neighbourhood of 10 p. c.; as for her remedy of raising fodder crops for the cattle he says it is perfectly utopian under the conditions of rural economy in India. With regard to Miss Mayo's conundrum about India's plight 'if the British withdrew' the author says that India only desires responsible government under British rule and does not regard the withdrawal as a question of practical politics; and quoting from Dr. Tagore he says that Miss Mayo ignores the fact that Indians have maintained their life and culture for centuries without the help of British soldiers when she declares that it is the 60,000 British soldiers that protect the Indians from extinction. As for Miss Mayo's picture of Afghanistan pouncing upon India as soon as the British withdraw he thinks it is overdrawn and supposing it is correct he thinks that the position would be infinitely superior to the present one of growing emasculation. Miss Mayo charges men of high position in India with making false statements without compunction; as a retort the author refers her to Mr. Spender's "Public Life" which bears ample evidence to the habitual disregard for truth shown by public men and politicians in the West. As for the small electorate in India the author retorts that in 1832 even under an electoral system enfranchising only 3 p. c. of the people in England, Parliament enjoyed sovereign powers; why then, he asks, should this be an impediment to political advance in India? Anent the depressed classes over which Miss Mayo makes so much fuss he asks, what have Government done for these classes all these years? In fact he says that until the Reforms all work for the depressed classes was voluntary and unaided by the State and mostly conducted by the politicians who are an anathema to Miss Mayo. In the epilogue the author earnestly appeals to all nations and peoples not to be misled by the rantings of calumniators like Miss Mayo who spread about the malignant contagion of race hatred. The author has succeeded remarkably in refuting fallacious statements and positions of "Mother India" and this too without venting undue spleen and the volume is throughout well-supplied with very apt and telling quotations from standard authorities whom hardly any one would dare to question. We feel that the "World-Citizen," has done a distinct service to India by writing the present rejoinder to a mass of calumnies about India.

V. N. G.

A GLIMPSE AT BAPU.

SEVEN MONTHS WITH MAHATMA GANDHI.

Vol I. By KRISHNA DAS. (S. Ganesan, Madras.)
1928. 7½ × 5. pp. 449. Rs. 3-8.

THIS book is intended to give an inside view of the non-co-operation movement. Though the book was written in 1924 and the events portrayed in it took place in 1921-22, there is much in it that is of lasting interest to students of Indian politics and the personality of the great leader whose movement is portrayed in its pages. The period covered by the book is only a short space of seven months ending with the incarceration of Mahatmaji. But the work undertaken by Krishna Das promises to be quite a bulky one, particularly in view of the fact that in the present volume the author has been able to cover only half of his narrative. This voluminosity is partly caused by the considerable details that are crowded into the book and partly also by the somewhat loose diary-like form of narrative adopted by the author. This may seem to some to involve too heavy a demand on the reader's time and patience. But it should be remembered that the lovers of 'Bapu'—to whom the work is aptly dedicated—have an appetite for details about the daily life, doings and words of their hero that is not easily satiable. So what seems to be a drawback to the student of dry politics and personalities may prove quite the reverse in the eyes of avid hero-worshippers.

Coming to the contents of the volume we have no hesitation in saying that it is a highly interesting and valuable contribution to the literature that is steadily growing round the towering figure and teachings of Mahatmaji. The reader will find in its pages an impressive and reliable picture of the mighty upheaval that revolutionised the life and thoughts of nationalist India in less than a year. No less true and vivid are the many glimpses that we get in the volume of Gandhiji's saintly personality, the secret of his spiritual power and wonderful hold on the Indian mass mind as well as the magnitude and sincerity of his sufferings and sacrifices for the cause he stands for. The book also throws a flood of light on some of the little known sides of Gandhiji's personality that are of purely human interest, such as his relations with the members of his family, his intimate workers and associates in the Asram, and numerous details of daily life, habits and routine that are of interest only to the ardent hero-worshipper and the over-curious student of great personalities. Many of the chapters in the second part of the book, such as those on "Hard as Adamant," "The Sabarmati Asram," "The Asram Prayer," "Foundations of Mahatmaji's Religious Life," "Mahatmaji's Spiritual Discipline," "Mahatmaji's Family," "Preparing to bid Fare-well," "Bombay Riots," and the fast that followed deserve mention in this connection. Indians will easily appreciate the value of the book. We wish to add that foreign students of Indian nationalism and the Gandhian gospel will find in the book a reliable and invaluable guide for the understanding of modern India and her prophet.

M. R. RAMASWAMI.

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