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Topics of the Week.

Rajkot leads the Way.

THE agreement between the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot and Sirdar Vallabhbhai Patel regarding constitutional reforms in Rajkot which was announced on December 26th last brings to a happy conclusion a struggle which was full of dramatic and intriguing incidents. The most important part of the agreement is the appointment of a committee by the Thakore Saheb which is to recommend, by the end of January next,

A scheme of reforms so as to give the widest possible powers to our people consistently with our obligations to the Paramount Power and with our prerogative as a Ruling Chief.

The Committee is to consist of ten citizens of Rajkot, three of whom are to be officials of the State. The Thakore Saheb gave an undertaking that he would give effect to the recommendations of the Committee. As a result of the agreement *satyagraha* on the part of the people and repression on the part of the State have been suspended, political prisoners have been released and fines refunded.

THE Rajkot agreement is of surpassing significance for many reasons. It sets at rest all doubts regarding the constitutional possibility of responsible government in the States. The terms

of reference to the Committee are as wide as can be conceived of in the circumstances. It is open to the Committee to recommend in the sense advised by Prof. A. B. Keith, namely, the transfer of all responsibility to a cabinet and legislature responsible to the electorate, subject to the obligation to carry out all legitimate wishes of the Paramount Power. The report of the Rajkot Committee will be the first of the kind, and will be a precedent for other States. A great responsibility, therefore, rests on the Committee.

RAJKOT is a test case. It is true that other and smaller States, particularly in Maharashtra, have declared that responsible government is their ultimate goal. But those declarations had not the same all-India significance that the Rajkot agreement has. They passed almost unnoticed because, in the first instance, they were pious statements of some ultimate and far-too-distant goal. They were not arrived at after a conscious and live discussion regarding the constitutional issues involved. The Rajkot agreement was otherwise. In the discussions leading to it there participated not only the Thakore Saheb and the Praja Parishad, but the representative of the Paramount Power and Sir Patriok Cadell, Mr. V. Patel and Mahatma Gandhi, each representing a different view and interest.

ANOTHER very significant aspect of the Rajkot settlement is that it is an agreement reached between the Thakore Saheb and Sirdar Vallabhbhai Patel. The theory that no outsider should intervene between the ruler and his subjects has been given the go-by. The official statement issued by the Thakore Saheb specifically refers to the discussions of the Thakore Saheb with Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel.

IT is also of supreme significance that the final agreement is very much on the lines of the draft originally prepared by Mahatma Gandhi. It indicates the Mahatma's real attitude; he is for full responsible government in the Indian States.

THE Rajkot agreement is a triumph for *satyagraha* and Mahatma Gandhi. It is also a personal triumph for the Sirdar himself. Rajkot has shown the way. Subjects of other States will be greatly encouraged by it, and its influence will spread far and wide until all the States come into line.

Sangli.

HIS Highness the Raja Saheb of Sangli deserves to be congratulated on the administrative and constitutional reforms which he announced on December 22nd last and in particular, on the zeal and earnestness which he displayed in the matter. The administrative reforms themselves are of no mean significance, specially the principles on which some of them are based. The incidence of land revenue in Durbar villages is to be approximated to that in the neighbouring British Indian districts, which is a very commendable first step. The landholders, like inamdars, are to be advised about the wisdom of a similar approximation, which means even greater relief to the peasants because the rents exacted by the landholders from their tenants are generally much higher than the land revenue that the Durbar collects from its ryots. We trust that if the landholders fail to act promptly on the advice, Durbar will not hesitate to intervene effectively. In certain areas the Durbar decided to remit arrears of land revenue. Actual cultivators of land under 20 acres will be given remission of two instalments and above 20 acres one instalment. The principle of assisting the actual cultivators and in accordance with the area of their holdings is most commendable. These, and some other comparatively minor fiscal reforms will be much highly appreciated by the agricultural population, which forms the vast majority of the people of Sangli.

MUNICIPALITIES and local boards are to have three-fourths elected members. The municipalities are to have elected presidents, while the local boards are to have revenue officials as *ex-officio* presidents. The privy purse is to be limited to Rs 2,45,000, exclusive of charges on account of religious and charitable purposes and hospitality.

EVEN more significant than these administrative reforms are the constitutional reforms announced by the Ruler. The State Legislative Assembly is to consist of 45 members, of whom 30 are to be elected. The Raja Saheb is to choose a member who will be in charge of the departments concerning education, medical affairs, co-operation, rural uplift and, in part, public works. The Legislative Assembly is to have the powers to vote on the demands for grants of the budget of the transferred departments, except the salaries etc., of officers drawing more than a minimum prescribed salary. A committee is to be appointed to report on franchise problems, etc.

THESE reforms mark a decided improvement on the present constitution. It is progress from autocracy to dyarchy. More hopeful than the actual constitutional advance is the spirit that animated the Raja Saheb. He said:

I welcome such an awakening among the people. I have never staked my security upon a resolve to thwart the awakening and the reasonable endeavours of the people to better their lot. In them I visualise not the opening up of new terrors, but a new and reasonable hope of stabilisation and harmony so essential to the progress and well-being of the State.

In the case of Sangli constitutional reforms have not been wrung out of a reluctant ruler by bitter and prolonged agitation, but by the constitutional persuasion of an enlightened ruler who saw his

best security in the contentment of his people. The Raja Saheb has shown his zeal for the constitutional reforms by anticipating them, in one fundamental matter, for without waiting for the report of the committee and preliminaries incidental to the introduction of the reforms, he has nominated Mr. A. R. Mahishi, a non-official elected member of the present Legislative Assembly, as Minister in charge of transferred subjects from January 1st, 1939.

WHILE congratulating the Raja Saheb and his advisers on the progress achieved, we cannot help wondering whether the progress could not have been greater and whether dyarchy will be successful in achieving harmony and stability, as the Raja Saheb desires. Dyarchy has been discredited in British India by British commissions predisposed to defend it. Notwithstanding Sir Shanmukham Chetty's opinion that dyarchy will be more successful in Indian States than in British India, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is nearer the truth when he said that there is no half-way house between autocracy and responsible government. Instead of copying Cochin, Sangli might have led the Indian States and achieved a unique distinction. Rajkot has beaten Sangli.

Travancore Memorandum.

THE signatories to the Memorandum which was submitted to the Maharaja of Travancore and to which the Dewan, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, had taken serious objection because of certain personal references to him, have now decided to withdraw it. It will be recalled that the Dewan had demanded its withdrawal, and the signatories declined to do so, but offered to prove their allegations, if given a chance. Mahatma Gandhi had also advised the signatories to withdraw the Memorandum if only to concentrate on the much more major issue of responsible Government in Travancore. The advice was not immediately acted upon. Ultimately, the Dewan accused the signatories of sedition and appointed a special tribunal to try them. At this stage the signatories decided to withdraw the personal references to the Dewan in the Memorandum. It would have been more graceful and helpful if they had done so when the Mahatma first advised them. Now that they have decided to withdraw the Memorandum, we hope that the Dewan will withdraw the preposterous charge of sedition against them and pursue the path of conciliation.

Amazing if True.

REPLYING to an interpellation by Mr. Thomas Williams in the House of Commons on Dec. 22 Col. Llewellyn said that British Government was not in a position to supply concrete information regarding the Indian States in which measures of democratization had been introduced. All that the Government could say was that in many States representative institutions had existed for some time and that recent grant or further development of such institutions had been announced in others. If the report is correct, it is an extremely misleading one. It would suggest that between *many* States which had already representative institutions, and *others* in which they have recently been granted, *all* the States had *today* representative institutions. As far as our knowledge goes, nothing is further from the truth.

IT is equally amazing that Col. Llewellyn pleaded inability to supply concrete information on the subject. It is amazing that the British Government, the Paramount Power with responsibilities not only towards the Princes but also towards the subjects of the Princes, has so far not collected information regarding the character of the governments in the Indian States, particularly as the agitation for democratization is of some years' standing. Even if the incredible were true and the Paramount Power had not yet collected the information, it could have collected it when it had to reply to Mr. William's question. It might at least have promised to collect the information immediately and publish it.

IT is impossible to believe that the Paramount Power has no information. The only possible conclusion is that it is unwilling to publish the information it has. The truth, if published, will reveal to the world the utter indifference of the Paramount Power to its obligations towards the subjects of the Princes and will constitute a most severe indictment of its policy.

THE Butler Committee, which reported in 1929, estimated the number of States and Estates at 562. It divided them into three classes with reference to their relation to the Chamber of Princes. The first class consisted of States which were members of the Chamber in their own right. "Of the 108 Princes in Class I, 30 have established legislative councils, most of which are at present of a consultative character only." (para 15.) If only 30 of the 108 State of the first class had introduced legislative councils, albeit only consultative, the democratization of the States of the second and third classes may well be imagined. As far as the people are concerned, it makes no difference to them whether a Prince is a member of the Chamber of Princes in his own right or by representation along with other Princes; they seek democratisation irrespective of the Prince's standing in the Chamber. If the Butler Committee had classified the States on the basis of representative institutions, which is more significant to the subjects of the States, it would have put only 30 states in the first class and all the other 532 in the second class.

EVEN with regard to the States which had instituted the reforms enumerated by it, the Butler Committee said: "Some of these reforms are still no doubt inchoate, or on paper, and some States are still backward." (para 15.) The Committee has, for diplomatic reasons, put it very mildly. Truth warrants much less credit to the democratization in the States in 1929.

"Grave Danger of High Taxation."

IN its recent annual meeting, The Associated Chamber of Commerce has passed a resolution viewing with grave concern the high level of taxation as it affects them in India and calling for an early review of its incidence. The Associated Chamber of Commerce is an association of the big industrialists and business magnates of whom not an inconsiderable number are Englishmen. For these people to complain that the tax-burden of India weighs heavily on them is the least provoked and uncalled-for. But the business community, the shrewd people that they are, have decided to establish their case by sheer repetition. They perhaps feel that though India has not gone to the lengths to which other countries have

gone in respect of taxing the rich people's income, still conditions in India are worsening for them. How glorious were the days when the East India Company was the master of the land and Englishmen had a monopoly of trade and business! The inland trade of Bengal was their monopoly; so also the business in indigo and cotton. The sons of the soil were simply debarred from competing with them. But what a change! Though the commercial discrimination clauses are there in the Government of India Act, khaddar-clad ministers have come into office and they profess open sympathy for the poor man! Again by an irony of fate, The Government of India is following a policy of placating the people and thereby increasing direct taxation. Recently, the Income-tax Act has been amended to screw a few more crores from the rich. A special officer is touring the country to explore the possibilities of imposing death duties. It is time, thought the clever business magnates, that they began to howl and did not stop till their demands were met even partially.

WITH due respect to their business acumen, we must say that our business magnates are going to be disappointed in this game. The Government has discovered their trick and does not pay any heed to them. It might have, but great odds are against it. The most authoritative experts have definitely found that the business community in India is much less taxed than its compeer in most of the civilized countries. With regard to the only direct tax levied on the business community of India, The Taxation Enquiry Committee observed:

It will be observed that in the case of incomes up to £ 500, the Indian rates are comparable with those in other countries, and that on the largest incomes they do not fall far short of them, but that in the case of incomes from £ 1,000 to £ 10,000 they are decidedly low by comparison.

With regard to the death duties, the Committee observed: "In Great Britain, they form 6.9 per cent of the total tax-revenue of the State, occupying the fourth place after income-tax, excises and customs duties." But in India, death duties, are so to say non-existent. The only kind of death duties imposed in India are the probate duties which yield a revenue of Rs. 50 lakhs a year, whereas the total tax-revenue of India is nearly Rs. 250 crores. So, the business community of India is left with no excuse what so ever to complain of heavy burden of taxation. But some of the business magnates may argue that the findings of the Taxation Enquiry Committee are old and therefore obsolete. Sir Otto Niemeyer reported as late as 1936. He said:

After the abolition of the tax on smaller incomes and the two successive reductions in the rates imposed in 1931, the rates of income-tax and super-tax in India, especially on the higher incomes, are by no means excessive. The general scheme of Indian taxation (Central and Provincial) operates to relieve the wealthier commercial classes to an extent which is unusual in taxation schemes.

IN view of this finding, which has not been effectively challenged, nobody need pay any heed to the howl of the rich.

The Obstinacy of the Madras Ministry.

WE have commented in our columns on several occasions on the violation of all principles by the Madras Ministry in invoking the

assistance of the Criminal Law Amendment Act to put down and suppress the Anti-Hindi agitation. We have not been alone in saying so. All lovers of democracy, including Congress leaders of high standing, have deprecated this new despotism of the Madras Ministry. The latest Congressman to join the rank of such critics is Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, an ex-President of the Indian National Congress. Presiding over the anniversary of the Sowcarpet Congress Sabha, Mr. Iyengar expressed the following views on the use of the Criminal Law Amendment Act by the Madras Government:

"I have been asked by a member from the audience about repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Certainly the Act should be repealed. This is my personal view. I do admit that peace and order should be maintained. But the question is whether this Act should be invoked. This is absolutely unnecessary and we can get on without it for maintaining peace and order."

THIS is the opinion not of a carping critic of the Madras Ministry but of a veteran Congressman, well-acquainted with the political atmosphere of the presidency. Still, the Madras Ministers do make an attempt to beguile the innocent public with regard to the real state of things prevailing in Madras. Speaking at a tea-party arranged in his honour by the Bombay branch of the Servants of India Society, Mr. Giri is reported to have said that the Criminal Law Amendment Act was being very cautiously applied by the Madras Government. He is reported to have said further that if his audience knew the type of people the Madras Ministry had to deal with, they would not accuse the Ministry of applying the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Mr. Giri, evidently had manufactured this stuff for the consumption of the Bombay public. That is always the best way of getting out of a nasty corner. But what answer has he to give to the accusation of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar. Surely, he cannot say this time that Mr. Iyengar is ignorant of the conditions of the Madras Presidency. The fact is that the Madras Ministry has got into a wrong hole, and having once got in, cannot make up its mind to get out of it. A sense of prestige stands in its way. How we wish that the Madras Ministry rose above these petty considerations and, admitting its mistake, started a new chapter in its official career. Nothing can be gained by sticking obstinately to a wrong policy.

Indians in Kenya.

IN the *Servant of India* of Oct. 20th, reference was made to a board which the Government of Kenya proposed to constitute for the purpose of advising the Police Commissioner on questions that might be referred to it in connection with immigration into Kenya. The Board was to include members recommended by the Kenya Association and the Associated Chamber of Commerce. The Board is an all-white board with no Indian, much less African, representation on it. In reply to an Indian representation, the Government of Kenya replied that the Board was not concerned with Indian immigration and that, therefore, there was no need for Indian representation on it. The reply is unsatisfactory. In the first place, there is nothing, beyond the assurance of the Government, that Indian immigration will not be referred to the Board. The Government of Kenya has not won so much of the confidence of the Indian community that the latter can rest content with the

Government's assurance. In the second place, and this is really the more important objection, there is a presumption in the Government reply that Indian representation on the Board is irrelevant unless Indian immigration is under discussion. Indians form part of the general population of Kenya and they are interested in all questions which affect Kenya. They cannot but challenge the view that the white people alone, both official and un-official, have responsibility for the general welfare of the country, and that Indians are merely aliens with restricted interests. Even if no Indian interest were remotely affected, still as citizens of Kenya, Indians have a right to share in the control of the destinies of the country. In the particular instance it is not so certain that Indian interests will not be adversely affected. It is clear that the Board has much to do with Europeans and admit only such as will compete with Jewish immigration. It might keep out Jewish immigrants who, when admitted, will compete with Indians. Apart from general interest, Indians have a very special interest in the type of immigrants. On both grounds, therefore, Indians should be adequately represented on the Board.

A STRAW will show which way the wind blows. The Government of Kenya have published on November 22nd a bill to amend the Shops in Rural Areas Ordinance of 1933. On August 13th, 1937, Col. Kirkwood moved a resolution which sought to transfer the power of issuing and revoking trade licences on alienated land from the Licensing Officer to the District Council. The Act of 1933 asked the Licensing Officer to consult, but not necessarily accept, the opinion of the local District Council in issuing licences. In the case of the revocation of licences, however, he was bound to accept the opinion of the District Committee. Col. Kirkwood wished that both the issue and the re-vocation should be with the consent of the District Council. The motion was withdrawn on the Government undertaking to consult the District Councils.

IN introducing the amendment as suggested by Col. Kirkwood, the Government contend that all the District Councils, except one, had approved of the amendment. It did not, however, disclose the identity of the dissenting Council. It appears that all District Councils, except one, consist only of whites, and the attitude generally of the white planters towards Indian traders is well-known. The dissenting Council is perhaps the one which has an Indian on it. The proposed amendment puts in the hands of the anti-Indian whites large discretionary powers, which they are most likely to use for the disadvantage of Indian traders and to the advantage of the Jewish immigrants. Considering that a licence, once granted, is valid only till the subsequent 31st December, and that a fresh application is necessary every year, and the power to grant or revoke is to be given to the District Councils which, except for one, have no Indians on them, it is easy to understand what will happen to Indian traders, particularly when scope has to be found for Jewish immigrants, who will not compete with the local whites. Indians should, therefore, be given effective place on the Immigration Board and the District Councils, and the power to grant or revoke trade licences should vest in the Licensing Officer, and licences should automatically be renewed until the licence is proved guilty of a crime.

DR. MAHAJANI ON THE TENANCY BILL.

THE avowed aim of the Bombay Tenancy Bill is to fix the tenant in his holding so long as he pays his rent, but this unexceptionable principle of perpetuity of tenure is almost entirely frittered away in the Bill by various unheard-of restrictions, the result being that the landlord's power of wanton and arbitrary eviction will remain nearly complete even after the Bill is passed into law. No more convincing proof of this can be given than the fact that even those who may be regarded as landlord's representatives or who at any rate are fully sympathetic to the landlord interest are also suggesting modifications in the Bill which, if effected, will give far greater security to the tenants than the Bill itself. Dr. Mahajani, M. L. C., has for instance, issued a statement which, though it begins by impugning the Bill on the ground that it is expropriatory and will "hit the landlords badly," ends by making suggestions designed to tighten up its provisions preventing the landlord from turning the tenant out of his holding. Dr. Mahajani's practice is in this matter more sound than his theory. The cry of expropriation rises because of the belief that the landlord is the absolute owner of the land free to do what he likes with it; but it is now recognised that his rights in the land are limited and that the tenant has an equitable right in it and has in fact a co-partnership in the land with the landlord. Dr. Mahajani cannot be unaware of the Palmerstonian epigram that landlord-right is often tenant-wrong, and in the deepest interest of social order we cannot allow landlords to arrogate to themselves rights which do not belong to them and which, if conceded, will work untold mischief on the peasantry. But with Dr. Mahajani's theoretical doctrines we have no wish to deal on the present occasion. It would be far more profitable to consider the concrete suggestions which he has put forward, presumably with a consensus of general approval by the more enlightened and far-seeing landlords.

He does not approve of either of the two limitations in the Bill, viz. (1) that the status of a protected tenant is capable of attainment by the tenants of only such landlords as have a holding of 100 or more acres of dry land, and (2) that even such landlords will have a right to re-enter on the land if they wish to bring it into personal cultivation. These limitations will evacuate the Bill of all its virtue. Without doing any practical good to the tenants, the Bill will only strike a theoretical blow at the cherished rights of the landlords. Dr. Mahajani would, on the contrary, preserve the theoretical rights of the landlord class but bring much practical benefit to the tenantry. To this end he proposes that the prevailing practice of annual tenancies should be stopped, and that a minimum period of five years in the case of dry lands and of ten in the case of wet should be fixed by law,

the minimum being 'made applicable to all lands irrespective of their extent. This would obviously give a longer security to the tenantry over the whole Presidency than they at present possess. But Dr. Mahajani does not stop here. He would give the tenants the right to an automatic renewal of the lease for a further term of five or ten years over an indefinite period, provided they paid the rent either mutually agreed upon between themselves and their landlords or, in the event of a dispute between them, fixed by a civil court. That we suppose is the meaning of his somewhat vaguely formulated proposal in this behalf. Thus, as we understand it, Dr. Mahajani's proposal would in effect give to the whole tenant class a perpetual tenancy in their holdings. Only, instead of conferring this right once for all, he would have the ceremony of conferring it gone through periodically; and inasmuch as he would inhibit the landlord from withholding this right from the tenant if the latter was agreeable to pay a reasonable rent the right would to all intents and purposes be perpetual. For, even if a hereditary tenancy right is bestowed in one swoop as it were, as the Bill proposes to do on a very small fraction of the tenantry, the right would still be subject to the payment on the part of the tenants of any modified rent that the court may decide upon in the case of a dispute between the landlords and the tenants. Thus Dr. Mahajani's proposal would put no greater restrictions upon the right than what the Bill contemplates, but would make the right accessible to all instead of to a minute fragment of the tenants. Practically, therefore, the tenants would stand to gain far more under this proposal than under the Bill as drafted.

Nor would Dr. Mahajani allow a general right of resuming the land to accrue to the landlord. Our interpretation of his proposal is that the landlord would be unable to re-enter on the land given away to a tenant not only during the currency of a lease but even afterwards if the lease is renewed on its termination, the renewal of the lease not being subject to the condition that the landlord does not want the land back for his personal cultivation. In this respect also Dr. Mahajani's proposal, if accepted, would make a great advance on the very puny measure that the Government have framed. Dr. Mahajani, however, suggests that if a landowner owns land less in extent than what may be considered an economic holding and wants to cultivate it himself, he should be empowered to take it away from the tenant on one year's notice after the termination of a lease. This would be quite an unnecessary complication. The suggestion would certainly not put an end to uneconomic holdings. They would remain; only instead of being cultivated by tenants they

would be cultivated by landlords. And what would a landlord do with an uneconomic holding? The question of uneconomic holdings is indeed a grave one and must be brought to a solution. But it must be solved by separate measures; it would not profit us to complicate a tenancy law with provisions like what Dr. Mahajani suggests, which in any case will do nothing even to mitigate the evil of uneconomic holdings. Barring this, Dr. Mahajani's proposals for altering the provisions of the Bill are such that they would sweep away the severe limitations introduced in the Bill on the perpetuity of tenure which is the declared object of the Bill and would confer permanent occupancy right on all tenants in the Presidency.

It may be asked: How can the landlords then support the Bill in this expanded form when they are opposing the Bill in its present restricted form? And how could Dr. Mahajani himself propose the modifications in the interest of the landlords? To such a question the answer is easy. Dr. Mahajani preserves to the landlords the theoretical right which they think belongs to them and which apparently they value very much, viz. the right of absolute ownership of the land and the consequential right to dispose of tenancies on the expiry of the term of the leases. The land goes back to them every five or ten years; then they again enter on a fresh contract. It may be that, in entering on these new contracts, their hands are not altogether free. If the old tenants continue to pay the old rents or are willing to pay enhanced rents, assuming that they are fair, the landlords will be unable to exercise the power of ejection which in theory remains with them. But sensible landlords would say to themselves: "Why are we to eject tenants who not only pay their rents regularly but are also willing to pay increased rents, provided the increase is not excessive? We may object to a law depriving us of rights which are incidental to our ownership of land, but we may nonetheless impose a self-denying ordinance upon ourselves not to disturb tenants who make good use of the land and are willing to pay a reasonable price for it." We suppose Dr. Mahajani's appeal is to this class of landlords who are rather sticky about their traditional rights and are yet ready to do the right thing by their tenants. If such a class is numerous and if its opposition could be conciliated by conceding to them their supposed right of absolute ownership or rather by not raising the question of ownership right at all, then Dr. Mahajani's proposal has some promise in it. In any case we are free to admit that, whatever weaknesses Dr. Mahajani's proposal may contain in its theoretical aspect, it will certainly do far more tangible good and widen the protection of the tenant than the Bill aspires to do. As it is, the Bill is almost valueless.

THE COMMUNISM SCARE.

THE employers of India, specially the Upper India group of them, seem to be suffering from a communism scare. It was as early as July last that the Employers' Association of Northern India approached the Government of the United Provinces with the request that it should take active steps to check the spread of communistic propaganda. The Government of U. P., however, was in no mood to oblige its employer friends. In its reply to the communication of the employers, the Government said:

Communism as a doctrine or as a school of political thought, however, much one may dislike it cannot be suppressed by coercive methods alone. There is no ban on it in civilised states such as the United Kingdom, where the communists have been openly carrying on their propaganda and seeking elections to legislatures on communist tickets.

Defeated in their attempt to make the U. P. Government a pawn in their game, the U. P. employers raised the same bogey again on the jubilee day of their Chamber of Commerce when His Excellency Sir Harry Haig was their guest of honour. This time their fulminations were not without effect. Sir Harry Haig, the sun-dried bureaucrat that he is, showed greater concern for the employers and threw out dark hints that

If the natural aspirations of the workers are utilised not for the purpose of improving their conditions, but for a quite different ultimate aim, namely, the destruction of the existing economic order", then "I should feel that the outlook of the future was indeed dreary.

This put Mr. Horsman, the leader of the employers in Northern India, on his mettle and he waxed eloquent over the so-called crimes of the communists. He said:

Personal contact between the heads of employer firms and employees may not in the past have been as close, or perhaps as understanding, as it should have been, but the events of the last two years have demonstrated very plainly our deficiencies in this respect, and I wish to say that to-day there is all the contact between the employers and their employees which we, the employers, can ourselves contribute and I hold the view that this contact would be complete were it not for the fact that difficulties have been created, misunderstandings magnified, discord sown and disagreements fostered by those whose purpose and profession it is not to further the cause of labour but, if I may use Your Excellency's own words, to promote class warfare, to exploit discontent and ultimately to bring about revolution.

The leader of the employers, however, did not tell the Governor why, in spite of their close personal contact with the employees, the latter were found in the communists' camp. He did not say what methods the Employers Association had adopted to counter the so-called dangerous propaganda of the communists but helplessly implored the Government to adopt methods "to combat and defeat these forces of disruption." This speech of Mr. Horsman reveals a queer psychology of the employers. It shows that the employers have not

the courage to enter into a straight fight with the communists. They have no hope that they can maintain their own inspite of the propaganda of the communists. They have abjectly acknowledged defeat and want the Government to prop them up.

The same mentality again is revealed by the resolution which has lately been passed by the Associated Chamber of Commerce. It runs :

Despite the fact that certain of the provincial Governments have severely discountenanced the Communist activity within their borders, the spread of Communist propaganda continues in India. The events of the past year have shown that incalculable damage is being done to the industries of the country and to the workers dependent there on by the dissemination of Communist doctrines and the intimidation by which it is accompanied. The Association, therefore, calls upon all the Governments concerned to ensure the enforcement of more stringent precautions to discourage Communism by all means in their power in the interests of the industrial progress and the general peace and welfare of the country.

Our employer friends do not realise, or if they do so, conveniently ignore, that the Government is not their paid agent, so that it will always run to their succour. The Government is responsible for the well-being of all the citizens under its control. It has to see that both the employers and the employees, more so the employees, get a square deal under its administration. The employers are a rich community. They have the economic power to purchase submission. Poor employees with nothing except their labour power are more liable to be oppressed. Therefore, it is the duty of the State to see that the employers do not misuse their economic power. The modern States, however democratic they might be, cannot achieve this object unless they bring both the employers and the employees to a footing of equality. The different provincial governments of India have not done so. Why, the Indian provinces are not even democratic in the accepted sense of that term. Still, the Indian employers complain that the state has been unsympathetic towards them. They want that communistic propaganda should stop altogether and their propaganda should flourish under state protection. Evidently the employers, many of whom are Englishmen, forget the state of things prevailing in England. In England, communism is not preached

covertly as is done in India to-day but is preached openly and under state protection. The communist Party is a legalised party in England, whose representatives sit in the House of Commons, take part in the administration of the state and may some day occupy the Treasury Bench. They enjoy this position in most of the civilised countries of the world, while in Russia they hold the reins of the government of the country. It is, therefore, absurd to suggest that the new democratically governed provinces should put a ban on the preachings of communism.

The employers advance also another argument. They suggest that most of the strikes in their industries are engineered by the communist leaders. Strikes are a great handicap to the growth of industries and to the prosperity of both the employers and the employees. Therefore, even if the state wants to benefit the employees, it must discourage communist leadership. We must say that we are not at all convinced by this argument. Strikes are a natural outcome of the ill-treatment by employers of the employees. They cannot be engineered by any individual, or group however influential they may be with the working class. Strikes may mean loss of profit to the industrialists but they mean unemployment and starvation to the mill-workers. Therefore, it can be asserted without fear of contradiction that the workers will not resort to a strike unless they are forced to do so by the ill-treatment of the employers. Let us take the case of the strike in the Jute mills of Bengal. It is an undeniable fact that by the promulgation of the notorious "Jute Ordinance" the workers have suffered considerable loss equalling to about 16 per cent. of their wages. Secondly, by the abandonment of the night-shifts by the jute mill-owners, nearly 25,000 jute workers have been thrown out of employment. Do the employers suggest that the jute-workers should suffer all this injustice without a demur and go on slaving still in their factories, and if they refuse to work, Government should intervene to enforce their submission? We should have thought that no sane man would take up such a position. But curiously enough, it is just this attitude that has inspired the speeches of the employers of India. We leave the provincial governments to judge for themselves how far, under these circumstances, the employers of India deserve their protection.

THE MADRAS ZAMINDARI REPORT.

THE LAND-HOLDERS' ENROACHMENTS ON TENANTS' LANDS.

UNDER the Madras Estates Land Act of 1908 rayati land can never become private land of a zamindar except under certain conditions. If a rayat dies without heirs, his occupancy right shall cease, but the land will not become

private land. (Sec. 10. 2). If he has reclaimed land by his own labour, he may "by contract in writing prevent any person from acquiring a permanent right of occupancy in respect of the said land during a period of 30 years from the date of the first cultivation after reclamation." (Sec. 6. 1. Explanation 4). Further, a landholder may sue before the Collector for the ejection of a rayat when

agricultural he has materially impaired the value of an holding and rendered it substantially unfit for such purposes. But such land cannot become his private land. He can file a suit in the Civil Court for ejectment for unauthorised occupation of land within 12 years (Sec. 163 A), provided he has not recovered any payment for such occupation. If he has received a payment and does not sue within 2 years, the unauthorised occupant shall be deemed as a ryot. (Sec. 9. 1. Explanation 3). The Collector may award damages not exceeding one year's rent to the landholders in cases of unauthorised occupation (Sec. 163). Such land after the ejectment of the occupier cannot become the private land of the landlord. But lands reserved *bonafide* by a landholder for raising a garden or tope or forest, and which are let for temporary cultivation under a contract, or waste lands let for pasturage of cattle under a contract, shall not become rayati lands. (Sec. 6. 1. 2. Explanation). Further a landholder may bid in auction for the land brought to sale by him for arrears of rent, purchase it and convert it into private land. (120 A).

We will now examine how these rights are affected by the provisions of the draft bill of the Madras Estates Land Act Committee. This bill does not recognise the right of a zamindar to sue for ejectment of a rayat on the ground that the holding has been rendered unfit for cultivation by him. Secondly, the new clauses 154 and 155 of the bill prohibit the collection of any damages for unauthorised occupation.

A suit by the landholder for trespass by a person should be instituted under the new bill within three years before the Collector and not the Civil Court. The landholder would be entitled to mesne profits only if he had not collected any land revenue. Thirdly, the landholder cannot hereafter reserve waste lands either for growing pasture or raising topes, garden, or forests, for all lands are divided by the bill into three classes as waste lands, communal lands, or forests, none of which he can appropriate for private farming. But he can grant Pattas under Sec. 17 of the new bill for erection of buildings, or for gardens, or to clear and bring waste lands under cultivation. The existing Act permits him to keep such reclaimed waste lands for 30 years under his management without the accrual of any occupancy right in them. No such restriction is mentioned in the new bill. The U. P. Tenancy Bill of 1938 as amended by the Select Committee expressly prevents the growth of any tenant rights over reclaimed lands only for a period of 14 years, lands lying uncultivated for 7 years being deemed as lands to be reclaimed for the purpose of this section. (U. P. Tenancy Bill Ch. 7. 4. 3 A). Some time limit in the case of reclaimed lands is essential if they are not to become the zamindar's private farms.

Another right which the draft bill gives to the landlord is that a ryot shall not cut the

trees in his holding if there is local custom to the contrary. We hope that the Committee having said that the Estates Land Act has been a prolific source of litigation will not perpetuate it in regard to the right of cutting trees. Clause 8 of the bill which saves this customary right to the landlord should be deleted.

One important improvement in the bill is that a landlord cannot hereafter hold a rayati land as an occupancy tenant. The Estates Land Act allows a co-landholder to be an occupancy tenant in rayati land. Secondly, if a landholder gets rayati land by inheritance, he can admit in such land any person on any terms for a period of 12 years. These two rights are taken away in the new bill. Hereafter, 'whenever the occupancy right in any rayati land vests in the landholder he shall have no right to hold the land as a ryot but shall hold it as a landholder.'

The Bill is an improvement in three respects, that the landlord cannot collect premium when admitting a ryot to rayati land, cannot reserve mining rights in the ryots' land (Cp. Sec. 7 of the Estates Land Act and 12. 4 of the draft bill) and cannot convert tenants' lands taken by him in auction into private lands. (Sec. 18 of the draft bill).

The latter provision will hold out no inducement to the land-holders to accumulate arrears of rent, and to recover them by summary procedure with the aid of the Revenue Department by a public auction of the holding. But it does not solve the restoration of lands already acquired in public auction by the landlords particularly after the depression of 1930.

II.

RESTORATION OF AUCTIONED LANDS.

A study of the memoranda submitted by the landholders reveals the area of private land which has been acquired by landholders in public sales. Some of the zamindars did not state the exact area so acquired, or have not answered the questionnaire of the Committee in this respect. But none the less, the information supplied is sufficient to show how lands have been acquired for a nominal price by the zamindars. As Pattas are not generally granted when a holding is partitioned, it generally happens that the land of a rayat who has paid his rent for a joint holding is brought to sale for the non-payment of rent by another.

In the Southern districts, Elapannai special private farms are maintained called ('auction farms') in the local vernacular. The Andhra Zamin Rayats' Association refers to an increase under private farms owing to relinquishments and evictions. A vigorous administration is generally carried on by the Courts of Wards with a view to clear the prior debts on the estates, and as revenue officers themselves are in charge of

them they easily apply coercive processes and sell the lands. Sale of lands became more common in estates which introduced money rents at a time of high prices and which could not be collected after the depression.* One of the estates mentions the addition of assessed wastes to private farms by the land-holder (Part III p. 265). The information given by the zamindars in their memoranda is not complete. But it can be easily collected by the Government, as revenue officers will have a record of public sales of rayats' holdings.

We are stating these facts to show, that Government should lose no time in restoring the lands auctioned and purchased by the zamindars since the depression of 1930 to the original tenants. The Madras Government have already wiped off the arrears of rent due till 1935-1936 on condition of payment of rent for the two years 1936-37 and 1937-38. A rent decree can be kept alive in law for 12 years. A suit for arrears of rent can be instituted within 3 years. Yet under the Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1938 all the rent debts due for the years 1935 and 1936 and rents due under decrees since 1926 have been wiped out. This provision means that those who have not paid their rents till the passing of the Act will get substantial relief. But those who have paid it at the cost of their holdings will get no relief.

It is exactly with the object of giving relief to those whose lands were bought by the zamindars after the depression, that the Bihar Congress Ministry passed an Act (Act IX of 1938), which provides for the restoration of these lands to the original tenants. The Act was not to apply to petty landlords who were not liable to pay local cess of an amount exceeding Rs. 375 per annum, and to lands taken in auction before 1929. Greater relief by way of restoring the whole land auctioned was to be given in the case of rayats whose rents have been enhanced or commuted after 1911. The proportion of auctioned land to be restored should be not less than six acres, and would inversely vary according to the extent auctioned in each case. (Sec. 9) The ryot should pay 50% of the arrears of rent for which the land was auctioned and the costs. (Sec. 8). The amount due might be repaid in five years in instalments. The Collector would determine the plots to be restored and their rent (Sec. 10).

We hope that the Hon. the Premier who stuck to his provisions regarding the remission of rents in the Agriculturists' Relief Act in spite of all opposition, and who set aside constitutional rules

* The reader may refer to the memorandum submitted by the under-mentioned estates to understand the real situation. Estates of Kottam and Tarlipet vide (Part I), Gangole and Myvadi (Part II), Ettayapuram, Sivagiri, Kadambur, Marungapuri, Sivaganga, Walajnagaram, Turaiyur, (Part III), South Valluru, West Sherma-hammadapuram and Polegarni (Part IV.)

of procedure by hurrying the bill through, lest delay might lead to sale of holdings of tenants, would bring forward immediately a measure similar to the one in Bihar, and earn the eternal gratitude of those tenants who are to-day either labourers or tenants-at-will. We hope too that the Hon. the Revenue Minister who has impressed into service law and history from the old archives of the Secretariat library to protect the elementary rights of the cultivator, and who has shown a breadth and a dash which are peculiarly his own, will add one more measure, which will be to the lasting benefit of the agricultural class, to whom land is everything, and whose pathetic continuance of cultivation on the same plot at a higher rent or for wages even after its sale, cannot but awaken the active sympathy of any publicist or social worker.

K. G. SIVASWAMY.

Reviews.

THE NEAR EAST.

SEARCH FOR TOMORROW. By ROM LANDAU. (Nicholson and Watson.) 1938. 22cm. 404p. 10/6.

THERE are few subjects which better repay investigation than the political and economic conditions of the Near East. The tribes and races thrown together on that spot, which has been the cradle of Western civilisation, have shown a wonderful capacity for endurance and development which has enabled them to exercise an influence on international politics wholly disproportionate to their numbers. Any contribution which enables the student and the politician to comprehend better the confused politics of the Balkans and the Middle East should be warmly welcomed.

Rom Landau, the learned author of the book under review, made an investigation of the problems of the Near East by visiting most of the countries and meeting all the leaders who shape the policies and fortunes of the states in that region. The author interviewed Ibn Saud of Arabia, George II of Greece, the Amir Abdullah of Transjordan, the President of the Republic of Lebanon, General Metaxas of Greece, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem as well as many other spiritual leaders, monarchs and statesmen. In the countries which he visited, Rom Landau was given all facilities to pursue his inquiry. The book before us contains what he saw and heard in those countries as well as what he thinks is best for them.

Among the various sections in the book, that dealing with Palestine is the most interesting and important. Reading through Chapter VI of this book and then scanning the recent statement of Malcolm Macdonald on the Palestinian Problem, we think that the Secretary of State for the Colonies must have been influenced by Rom Landau's views. We, therefore, invite every reader to read, mark and inwardly digest Chap. VI of this book.

The learned author points out how the British Government brought troubles on its head

by making profuse promises to both the Arabs and the Jews, promises which were inconsistent and incompatible with one another. The author feels that the Arab fear of the rate of Jewish immigration is perfectly justified. When they are told that the Jews have introduced not only economic prosperity but also many new factors of civilisation into Palestine most of the Arabs retort by saying that they did not ask for them and that they were far happier without them. And the author says, "I sometimes wonder whether they are not right."

The author is against the partition scheme of the Peel commission, for he says that a Jewish state as envisaged by the partition scheme, will find it difficult to maintain itself against a Pan-Arab invasion in twenty years time. His solution may be put in his own words: "The Palestinian problem is primarily not a political, administrative or economic one. It arises from the objection of the Arabs to the presence of the Zionists and is above everything else a human problem. It must obviously be treated on a human basis. Administrative measures, Royal commissions and quotas will not bring about a lasting solution. Such a solution can only be achieved if responsible Arabs and responsible Jews can meet on a human basis to discuss their difficulties as human beings, and not as representatives of this or that faction." On the lines of this suggestion of the author, Malcolm Macdonald, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, has summoned a conference of Arab and Jewish leaders as well as the leaders of Egypt, Transjordan and other smaller states to propose a practical solution of the Palestinian problem. To this conference the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem has not been invited as Malcolm Macdonald feels, like the author, that he is a dangerous political leader and the cause of all the outrages in Palestine. In his brilliant study of the character of the Grand Mufti, the learned author says thus: "Without him the differences between the Arabs and the Jews might have been settled years ago." This is no doubt true, and that is the reason why we feel that he alone can "deliver the goods" and that his exclusion from the proposed conference is a political blunder. As a matter of fact, Egypt has declined the invitation to a conference to which the Grand Mufti is not an invitee. We hope that Malcolm Macdonald will revise his opinion and extend the invitation to the Grand Mufti.

After suggesting a conference, the author wants the invitees to discuss a solution in the spirit of brotherhood and love, for then and then only the sons of Isaac and the sons of Ishmail will be able to build a new Palestine free from rancour and bloodshed.

We have dealt at somewhat great length with the Palestine question, for it has a topical interest. The other chapters of the book are equally interesting. The revolutionary changes in Kemal Turkey, the fleeting politics of the Balkan States, and the peaceful condition of Egypt and Iraq are all described with a felicity of expression all the author's own. As instances of the author's suggestive humorous expression, we shall give only two. "Beards seem to be the only issue on which the leaders of all the opposing denominations agree." "Rabbi Asaph spoke no Western language but German and it was richly interspersed with Yiddish. The atrocities of his accent

would have been regarded by every German as a complete justification of Nazi policy."

The book under review is a very important contribution to the elucidation of the confused politics of the Near East. It is written by one who is intensely religious, who has understood the spiritual currents of the different countries and tribes and who is anxious to base every solution on a spiritual foundation. No one, we are sure, can close the book without feeling sincere respect for the vast attainments of the author, his resolute uprightness of thought, his impartiality, his love for all that is true and noble in human nature.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

THE GANDHIAN PHILOSOPHY

HIND SWARAJ OR INDIAN HOME RULE.

By M. K. GANDHI (Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad.) 1938. 14cm. 183p. As. 4.

NON-VIOLENT REVOLUTION. By Acharya J. B. KRIPALANI. 1938. 18cm. 47p. As. 4.

REVOLUTION OR COUNTER-REVOLUTION? By JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM. 1938. 18cm. 12p. As. 2.

(Both these are published by Vora & Co., 8, Round Bldg., Bombay 2).

THESE three books happen to be simultaneous publications and represent an attempt at popularisation of some of the principal tenets of Mahatma Gandhi. One of the two pamphlets of "The India to-day" series is written by Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram, an eminent Journalist and congressman and bears the title Revolution or Counter-Revolution. Under this spacious name the 12 page pamphlet contains only a vindication of the Congress policy in February 1938 both as regards office-acceptance and non-interference in the States. In the earlier part of the book, the author examines all the methods adopted as weapons of freedom at different times in different countries and gives his judgment in favour of non-violence as the only method suited to the times and spirit of India. In advocating non-interference in the States, Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram has enunciated what he calls the correct technique of our struggle for freedom. He does not want the Congress to add a new front of battle i. e. with the autocratic States to the one with the Imperialistic Britain. The present high command of the Congress does not evidently accept his views on non-violence. Favouring as he does non-violence under all circumstances, he has very hard things to say about the Congress ministries asking the military and the police to suppress violence. "The easiest way to sabotage and torpedo the experiment of office-acceptance is to allow and tolerate the weakening of public opinion on the question of non-violence", are the strong words he uses to condemn a policy which had recently been pursued by the Bombay Government in connection with the general strike situation on the 7th November.

'Non-violent Revolution' by Acharya Kripalani is a more philosophical dissertation in favour of adopting non-violent means to regulate the relations between groups of all kinds, especially nation-groups which settle their disputes by war. "Group life to-day recognises no land except that of the jungle," and this ought to be remedied. 'A couple of world wars, perhaps just one more.

will be sufficient to reduce the whole humanity to a condition of barbarism.' It is in his anxiety to avert this calamity that the author posits the question 'how to regulate and moralise the group-animal which threatens to annihilate all our intellectual and moral conquests'. The problem is stated and answered both historically and practically in the two parts that follow. Historically, contends the author, there is a steady progress towards the ideal of non-violence in all human relations such as the family, marriage, upbringing of children as also in the more public field of Government, criminal and civil law and so on. The same process ought to be continued in the political field of international relations. "Here then," begins the author in pointing out the way "in the midst of this distracted world comes Gandhi with his message of truth and non-violence. He comes to fulfil a historical need and a historical mission."... "He wants to eliminate war, not with the weapon that war employs but by peaceful means." How this is going to be brought into practice is not told, at least in a way that can carry conviction with it. All arguments, therefore, that can be advanced against the pacifists can with equal force be advanced against the Gandhian programme which like all other similar programmes looks glorious on paper and can be successful only when all the souls in the world without exception adopt it as their own.

'Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule' is that famous book of Mahatma Gandhi first conceived and written in 1908, published later in book form only to be proscribed by the then Bombay Government. Thought by the late Mr. Gokhale to be crude and hastily conceived, it was defended by the author in 1921 as the gospel of love in place of hate in which he would alter nothing even in 1938. Lord Lothian, when he was at Segaoon, was reported as having asked for a copy of the book. The Navajivan Publishing Company has republished the book in order that it may be available to the public.

D. V. K.

SHORT NOTICES.

MAN. By RABINDRANATH TAGORE. (Registrar, Andhra University, Waltair.) 1937. 22cm. 61p. Re. 1.

THE book comprises three lectures delivered by Rabindranath Tagore at the Andhra University under the terms of the Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Endowment. The lectures are entitled 'Man', 'Supreme Man', and 'I am He', and they make absorbing reading. In this small book covering only sixty-one pages the great poet of India has expressed in his inimitable style a few of the most profound philosophical truths. In his philosophy we have a happy blending of the East and the West.

In these lectures the poet has analysed the three concepts, that of the individual man, of the universal man, and of the duality between the animal self and the spiritual self and has clearly brought out their meaning. The mental aspect of man and his universal aspect are emphasised. Man must "think the thoughts of all men, fulfill desires of the many and make sacrifices for one another's sake. Inner man cannot be found

outside, true freedom cannot be attained in isolation. *सर्वज्ञ*, the final message, is not egoism but the great soul which comprehends all." This ideal of the universal life of humanity is the Eternal Religion.

The path leading to the ideal is difficult to follow. A man can realise the ideal only through spiritual discipline. He has to face calmly all the pain and suffering on the way. "A person who has the capacity to feel the one truth in all men is Mahatma or Great Soul." He loves mankind and pours out his soul in the service of humanity.

The philosophy of Tagore is a philosophy of the Spirit, of creative freedom, infinite love and universal service. Every one who carefully goes through these lectures will undoubtedly find them very illuminating.

N. G. DAMLE.

STOP, LOOK-LISTEN. By A. S. TROLLIP and R. V. PARULEKAR. Safety First Association of India, Bombay. 1938. 18cm. 63p. As. 8.

"SAFETY-FIRST"—how important is this warning in these days of busy cities, fast motor traffic, and thoughtless crowds! This guide book should be particularly helpful to schools, for it contains graded lessons and games designed to develop good habits which will keep children out of dangerous situations. There are also many suggestions which every one would do well to follow, for they might be the means of saving lives or preventing serious injuries.

M. C. RAO.

Miscellaneous.

"INDIAN FRANCHISE IN SOUTH AFRICA."

PROF. HOERNLE'S CRITICISM.

With reference to the article on "Indian Franchise in South Africa" in the *Servant of India* of Nov. 3 last, we gladly reproduce below extracts from the letter, dated December 13th, from Prof. R. F. Alfred Hoernle, President of the South Africa Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, South Africa.—Ed.

"As regards the article on the Indian franchise, I am, of course, deeply in sympathy with its general point of view. The grievances of the Indian population in South Africa are many, and, unfortunately, opinion, especially among the Afrikaner section, appears to be stiffening against the Indians, as against all other non-Afrikaner sections of the South African population, such as Jews, Coloured Natives, and even English. I am interested to find that the article, in opposition to the often-expressed views of many local Indian leaders, advises the Indian community here to accept communal representation, either in the House of Assembly or in the Senate, if the full franchise on a common register with Europeans is unobtainable.

"At the same time I feel I must draw the attention of yourself, and of the Editorial Board of the *Servant of India*, to a number of mis-state

ments in the article, which ought not to have been made by the writer if he is, as I suppose he must be, a South African Indian. Or, if the article has been written in India, on the basis of information received from South Africa, then these mistakes only show how difficult it is to write correctly at second or even third hand.

"Here are some of the points to which I take exception:—

"1. The article says (page 545, top left hand column), "in the Transvaal under Boer or British rule and both before and after the Union, Indians had no rights of any kind; they were just helots which they continue to be to this day". Now, in the first place, the phrase, "no rights of any kind", is a gross exaggeration. Indians have many rights which Natives, for example, do not enjoy. They can ride on trams to which no Natives are admitted. They can, and do, give official dinners in our best hotels which no Native organisation would be allowed to do. In short, their position is definitely superior in many respects to that of the Natives. Furthermore, I can assume only that the author uses the word "helot" without knowing what it means, as a vague general term to express the fact that the Indians in South Africa are subject to many disabilities and discriminations. But, I think a periodical of the high standing of the *Servant of India* should ask its contributors to use words with a scholarly accuracy and precision. A "helot" in ancient Greece was "state slave bound to the soil", and the only correct use of the word is to describe that condition. Now, no Indian in South Africa is a "helot" in that sense. No "helot" could own and conduct a prosperous business, as many Indians here are doing. No "helot" could have an income of £5,000 per month from rents alone, as one Johannesburg Indian has. No "helot" community could send their sons and daughters to the local University, as Johannesburg and Transvaal Indians are sending theirs to our University or to Capetown. No "helots" could become qualified doctors or lawyers, as South African-born Indians have become, and are becoming, here. A condition under which such things as these is possible cannot possibly be described as either "helotry" or as "having no rights of any kind".

"2. Again, it is untrue to say (same paragraph of the article) that the Indian franchise, on the same terms as the White franchise, has recently been taken away from the Indians in the Cape Province. The only change made by recent legislation has been the putting of *Native* voters on a separate register, entitling them to vote for three White representatives of their own in the House of Assembly. All *Coloured* and *Indian* voters at the Cape still exercise the Parliamentary vote on a common register with White voters.

"3. On page 545, right hand column towards the bottom, it is stated that "even the Christian Church accepts the doctrine of no equality between Black and White". This, again, is a mistake. The statement is true of the Dutch Reformed Church in all its three branches. It is probably also true of the Roman Catholic Church, at any rate in the sense that the Roman Catholic Church, on the principle of avoiding politics, has never officially expressed dissent from that principle. But, it is certainly not true of the Anglican

Church or of any of the Nonconformist Churches, all of which, at one time or another, have protested either against the principle as such, or against some of its applications.

"4. In the same paragraph, the phrase that "the Bantu population had perforce to submit to communal and inferior representation" is at least misleading. True, it may be argued that the Native at the Cape have lost by being put on a separate register (see my criticism 2, above). But, the Natives of the other three Provinces, who had hitherto had no sort of representation at all, have certainly gained by getting representation for the first time in history, even if this representation is, at present, merely of the communal type. In this connection, it must not be forgotten that, over and above this communal representation through four White Senators, the *whole* Native population of the Union now has Native representative Council to which *all legislation affecting Natives must be submitted before it is introduced into Parliament*. This Council has recently held its second meeting, sitting for over a week, and expressing itself freely, not only on forthcoming legislation, but also on many other matters on which the Native people have wishes or complaints to put before the Government. To describe all this, which is really a great advance on the past, as a forcible imposition of an inferior representation is to view the facts in an utterly false perspective.

"I am very pleased indeed to find a complimentary reference in the article to my friend, Mr. Maurice Webb, who is the Durban representative of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

"If you have seen the publications of the Institute, you will know that the Indian problem is always in our thoughts, but nothing is to be gained by inaccurate statements, such as those which I have ventured to point out; they merely spread misconceptions concerning a situation which even in its true character, is sufficiently distressing to all who care for justice and humanity."

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