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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

The Liberal Conference.
THE third session of the Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference was held at Ahmednagar under the presidentship of Mr. B. S. Kamat during the last week. It was a distinct success from several points of view. The presidential address contained a strong and reasoned plea for immediate constitutional advance towards Dominion Home Rule, and demanded justice for India at the hands of the Labour Government. The Conference expressed its utter dissatisfaction with the Committee which is inquiring into the working of the Reform Act and asked for the appointment of a Royal Commission with wide terms of reference and a non-official majority. Dr. Paranjpye who spoke on this resolution pointed out the defects of diarchy and pressed for the immediate grant of provincial autonomy. Mr. N. M. Joshi addressed the Conference on the question of Indians overseas and demanded equality of treatment for Indians in the Kenya Colony. He also strongly criticised the provisions of the Class Areas Bill, which it is hoped will be dropped altogether for the solidarity of the Empire. The Conference rightly deplored the delay on the part of the Bombay Education Minister in giving effect to the Compulsory Education Act. By another resolution the Conference demanded the removal of the sex disqualification and the residential qualification in the electoral rules for the local Council. The need for suitable amendment of the Village Panchayat Act, and the desirability of giving immediate effect to the recommendations of the Excise Committee formed the subject matter of two other resolutions.

The Future of Khilafat Committee.
THE Khilafat question having been solved by the Ankara Government, though in a manner far from agree-

able to Indian Muslims, an important question for the latter to consider has been what to do with the wide-spread Khilafat organisation that has been brought into existence. The object of the Khilafat movement being the safeguarding of the secular power of the Khalifa, who was identified with the Turkish State, and that object being no longer capable of fulfilment, a logical course would be to wind up the committees, disposing of the funds in a suitable manner. But as that would mean a great waste of organisation and social energy, the Khilafat Working Committee proposes "to extend the scope of the Khilafat organisation and to make all communal work its province." The items of the programme proposed in the statement issued by Mr. Shaukat Ali on behalf of the Committee, are neither few nor easy. Religious revival which has to a certain extent resulted from the Khilafat movement is to be further stimulated, so that the distance between the Ulama and the common man may be shortened. Illiteracy is to be banished by starting in every mosque an elementary school for secular and religious instruction. A properly trained Imam who would be 'a teacher of Muslim children, mentor of Muslim youths, and guide, philosopher and friend of the elderly Muslims of the locality' is to be appointed to every mosque. In addition every mosque is to have a reading room and a library and it is to serve as an ideal Islamic club-house. Orphanages are to be started in various places not only to prevent children from falling into wrong hands but also "to provide a chain of nurseries of Muslim missionaries comparatively freer than others from family ties and more like the Ashabi Sufis who formed the standing army of the missionaries of Islam in the days of the Holy Prophet." Mendicancy is to be stopped, asylums for the infirm and workhouses for able-bodied vagrants are to be started, drink and prostitution, the latter even in theory, are to be abolished and poverty to be cured.

Too Ambitious.
THIS is no doubt an excellent programme but much too ambitious to be realisable even partially. Neither men nor money could be expected to be forthcoming in anything like an adequate measure. But its chief feature is its religious basis. Whatever may be the case in other countries, in India unfortunately priestly influence, among Hindus or Muhammadans, has not been conducive to harmony but has awakened fanaticism. We fear it will not be

for the good of the country to increase the influence of the priestly classes or entrust leadership in their hands. Another feature of the programme is that no mention is made of any aid that may be sought of or taken from Government. It is perhaps due to the principle of non-co-operation which the Khilafat Committee have adopted along with the Congress. But it is remarkable that Mr. Shaukat Ali has not avowed or affirmed that principle in his statement. Nor is any reference made to khaddar. There is, however, one point in it which we commend heartily. It relates to the lines on which the political ideals of the Mussalman community are recommended to be revised and their political activities reorganised. They have to be fully awakened, we are told, to their sense of duty to the motherland and to the safeguarding of national rights against alien rulers. "They must be taught to shrink from no legitimate sacrifice demanded in the causes of national freedom and of national unity and far from securing for themselves special privileges at the expense of sister communities they should be willing to surrender as much as they can even of their own proper share of benefits accruing to the nation. But this surrender should be made out of love and not out of fear, &c." Here one sees clearly Mahatma Gandhi's influence. But really no community need surrender its proper share of benefits. All that is necessary is to subordinate communal interests to national ones and to abstain from claiming special privileges. If that is done the Hindu-Muslim problem would be automatically solved and national unity secured.

* * *

Deccan States Conference. THE Deccan States Subjects Conference, which is fast becoming an exemplar to similar conferences in other parts of India, is just holding its fourth session near Sangli. That even the enlightened Chief of Sangli did not allow the Conference to take place in his territory, which had in consequence to be shifted to a small place adjoining Sangli in the jurisdiction of British India, is a sad but eloquent commentary on the absolutely depressed condition of the Indian States subjects as compared to that of the subjects of British India. The Conference had the good fortune to have for its Chairman, Mr. G. R. Abhyankar, than whom there is no better informed and more devoted worker in the cause of Indian States in these parts. In his introductory speech he blamed, and very rightly, public workers in British India for their complete indifference to the interests of the Native States subjects and their proneness to gloze over the defects in the administration of Indian Princes. This statement Mr. Abhyankar has substantiated by ample quotations from the utterances of such leaders as Mahatma Gandhi and Moulana Mahomed Ali. Reform of Indian States is not a complication to be avoided, but a necessary adjunct to the reform of British India. If Indian States continue to be governed autocratically it cannot but have a most injurious

reaction upon the constitutional progress of British India. We therefore wholeheartedly support the very powerful plea advanced by Mr. Abhyankar for British Indian politicians to take an interest in the concerns of Indian India.

* * *

Mr. Jayakar's Speech.

THE President of the Conference, Mr. Jayakar, is a fine sample of the too common class of men who love to be extreme in British Indian politics and who cannot help being extremely timorous in Indian States affairs. He has discovered that the desire of Indian publicists "not to connect themselves directly with the affairs of the Indian States in order to propel or accelerate the growth of reform by artificial means" is due to their conviction that a self-governing India cannot leave Indian Princes unaffected in course of time. Therefore, apparently, constitutional growth is to be fostered by all artificial means, even by factitious agitation, in British India, and in Indian States it is to be left to the natural reaction that this will have on the adjoining territories! Mr. Jayakar is also inclined to believe that the reluctance of Indian Princes to introduce reforms is attributable to the fear entertained by them that the reforms might invade their privileges and would necessitate sacrifice of power on their part. He wants Indian States subjects to dissipate this fear by giving them an assurance that no such sacrifice would be needed. But the whole movement for political reform in Indian States is directed to the limitation of the sphere of personal privilege and the enlargement of the sphere of popular liberties. Indian States subjects would only be stultifying themselves by giving their rulers the sort of assurance desired by Mr. Jayakar. And after all, the reforms that Mr. Jayakar urges are of a rudimentary kind a legislative body composed of elected and nominated members in equal proportions at present; the proportion of elected members to be *gradually* increased until it reaches the incredibly high level of $\frac{2}{3}$ ths! This body to have the budget placed before it for "consideration" (not of course for vote). Mr. Jayakar resorts to obstruction in the Bombay Council because on every demand popular representatives cannot have a decisive voice; but in Indian States the utmost he can bring himself to demand is that a legislative body with half nominated members should be allowed to "consider" the budget, subject of course to the Prince's veto. The very speech of the President, Mr. Jayakar, affords ample justification for the castigation to which Mr. Abhyankar subjects politicians from British India in his preliminary speech.

* * *

High-handedness in Madras.

THE influential landholders of Tanjore District have for some months been conducting an agitation against the enhancement of land revenue. They are organising a no-tax campaign, and recently they held their third conference at Mannargudi. We are not concerned here with the merits

of the campaign, but with the gagging order of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate issued against some prominent persons who were expected to attend the Mannargudi conference but who were not identified with the no-tax campaign. Among them were Messrs. Satyamurti and C. Rajagopalachari, the latter of whom, however, did not attend the conference. The Magistrate's order, issued, *ex parte* under Section 144 C. P. O., prohibited them from speaking at the conference and also taking part in any public political meeting of five or more persons within the limits of the taluk for a period of one month. While the conference itself was permitted, to have issued this order against a few individuals who were only attending it and were not identified with the no-tax campaign, and to have prohibited their taking part in any political meetings, is undiluted high-handedness. A similar spirit was shown by the Madras Government itself in withholding from the newspaper *Swarajya*, without assigning reasons, the supply of news, reports, &c. issued by Government. This action, according to *Swarajya*, is due to its criticism of the Ministerial party. This is probably the first instance of the kind in India. There are other papers in the country which are as outspoken in their criticism of Government as *Swarajya*, but such pettiness has not been shown by the authorities in other provinces. It is particularly regrettable that such things should happen in the very beginning of the new Governor's régime.

A Boomerang.

THE Native Trusteeship idea, at which the whites in Kenya clutched with unbounded enthusiasm at the time of the Kenya decision last year, is now proving a veritable boomerang. The Rev. Mr. Fraser, who is known to us in India as President of the Village Education Commission that recently reported on the subject, and as one who gave a voice to the sentiments of better-class Europeans during the Punjab atrocities, has apparently exposed the virtual enslavement of the African natives that has come in the wake of labour laws in Kenya. This exposure was effected in a sermon preached in the Westminster Abbey, and it has caused such a flutter in the dovecots of the Kenya whites that the officials of the Kenya Government, including the Chief Native Commissioner, supported the non-official Europeans in denouncing Mr. Fraser and repudiating his charges. To denounce is easy, but to disprove the charges is impossible. So far as we know, Mr. Fraser's condemnation was rather mild. For he seems to have said:

"When Lord Delamere tells us 'There is not a settler in Kenya who is not there on the understanding that Kenya is advancing along the lines of self-government,' it sounds innocent. But he is talking of a self-government from which Indians shall be practically excluded, and in which Africans can take no share. It is to be a Government by a ring of employers of labour, a ring who have already shown by cruel labour-laws how little they can be trusted.

Many more harsh words have been used and with

perfect truth; but it would seem that this comparatively light indictment has gone home. And when all the facts about the white exploitation of the natives will come to light, the whites will certainly rue the day when the British Government lighted upon the high-sounding but empty expression "native trusteeship."

Class Area Bill. THE Metropolitan of India and the National Christian Council of

which he is Chairman, are to be congratulated on having stood up for Christian principles against racial domination and on having urged the different branches of the Church and missionary bodies in South Africa to protest against the Class Areas Bill that was recently introduced in the Union Parliament. That Bill is not being proceeded with just now owing to a general election, but there is not the least doubt that it will soon be revived. Action on the part of churchmen is therefore urgently necessary and we hope the appeal of the Metropolitan and his Council will be earnestly heeded. In their admirable statement the latter point out that the Bill is a violation of the Gandhi-Smuts agreement, that it will lead to a dangerous growth of the Ghetto system and that it is an offence against Christian morals and Christian justice, particularly because exemptions are already promised to other communities that would come under the Bill and only the predominantly non-Christian Indian community is discriminated against. They rightly observe:

"In other words, signal injustice will be done by a Christian Government to the representatives within its bounds of non-Christian civilisation at a time when in all parts of the world the power of the Christian moral standard to dominate the actions of the Christians of white races in their contact with the races of Asia and Africa is being widely questioned and nowhere more than in India. We earnestly hope that this fresh instance will not be added to count against the Governments of the white peoples and that full force of Christian sentiments and action in South Africa will be thrown against the Bill."

IN Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee's death at Patna on Sunday last India has lost her greatest educationist. He was a distinguished lawyer and sat on the Calcutta High Court from 1904 until recently. But it is as the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, as its maker and the father of its research departments that he will be remembered for long by the country. It was he who got for the University the magnificent Palit and Ghosh endowments. The Calcutta University showed its grateful appreciation of his services by erecting a statue for him in the University hall. He was a forceful personality and vigorously maintained the independence of his University against the Bengal Government. His death is an incalculable loss to the Calcutta University and it will be long before it could be made up.

ARMED NEUTRALITY.

FOR a considerable time past an armed neutrality has subsisted between the two parties of non-co-operation in the Congress, and we do not think that any better understanding will result in actual practice from the Juhu pourparlers, which have now been brought to a close by each party issuing its own manifesto. It has been discovered that the principles animating the two sections of Congressmen are irreconcilably opposed to each other and that the differences are not capable of adjustment by any conceivable compromise. Mahatma Gandhi thinks Council entry to be utterly inconsistent with the basic principle of non-co-operation, and the Swarajists, on their part, are on no account willing to evacuate the Councils. In these circumstances the best hope for restoring good relations between orthodox non-co-operators and Swarajists obviously lay in each party going its own way, doing as little as possible to hamper the work of the other. This is what both parties intend to do, but the agreement would have been more real and permanent if on either side there had been more candour than is the case. It is perfectly plain that the plan of indiscriminate opposition and wholesale obstruction, to which the Swarajists swear allegiance, is utterly repugnant to Mahatma Gandhi, and it is also clear on the other hand that the Swarajists would never have pledged themselves to this irrational course if they had not thought that it was the only means whereby Council entry could be harmonised with non-co-operation, under whose banner they had ranged themselves. How easy it would have been to drop obstruction, which no one really wants, if Mahatma Gandhi had expressed disapproval of this policy in clear terms and told the Swarajists that even as obstructors they are not non-co-operators and therefore need not resort to a method which he cannot support merely with the object of keeping themselves within the fold of non-co-operation, for by the very fact that they entered the Councils they have lost caste with non-co-operators. If Mahatma Gandhi had been sufficiently plain-spoken to them, the Swarajists would not have felt the need of still keeping up a little camouflage about obstruction.

No doubt there is quite an appreciable amount of climbing-down, even as it is, on the part of the Swarajists. They re-state their policy of "uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction" as "resistance to the obstruction placed in our path to Swaraj by the bureaucratic Government." This is of course the common object of all parties, and there is nothing peculiarly Swarajistic in such resistance. The question really is whether the Swarajists feel constrained by their adherence to non-co-operation to oppose even good measures of Government and whether they are at liberty to propose any measures themselves. On the latter point, they have given themselves the necessary liberty, which they had not before; they go even

further, and make themselves free to seek all elective posts. But on the former point there is still some hesitation. All budgets they will still throw out, and also all proposals for legislative enactments. In the case of legislative proposals there is however a qualification. They will oppose all proposals "by which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its power." But will the opposition extend to other measures which do not answer to this description? Possibly yes, because they say, "It is possible that some good may incidentally result from a few of such measures, but we are clearly of opinion that in the larger interests of the country, it is better temporarily to sacrifice such little benefits rather than add an iota to the powers of the bureaucracy which are already irresistible." But if they do so, they will make themselves the laughing stock of the world. They will themselves introduce a bill for compulsory education, for instance, because they think it is a beneficial measure. If however the Government proposes the very same measure they will oppose it, sacrificing the good resulting therefrom, which would have been the primary object if the bill were their own, lest the measure should make the Government more popular and therefore stronger. Again, they will place a law for compulsion on the statute book, but when Government provides money to give effect to it, they will throw out the budget and effectively make their own Act a dead letter. All these anomalies would have become absolutely unnecessary if the Swarajists had the courage to shed the pretence of their being non-co-operators and had made themselves free to support all beneficial measures and to oppose all harmful ones.

The result, however, of still seeking some point of contact between Gandhian non-co-operators and Swarajists, is that both of them feel it necessary to speak of civil disobedience as the one ultimate objective of all their conflicting activities. Mahatma Gandhi and his followers are to carry out the constructive programme outside the Councils and Pandit Motilal Nehru and his followers inside the Councils, so as to make a united push for civil disobedience, of which the constructive programme is said to constitute the preparatory stage. Mahatma Gandhi genuinely believes that hand-spinning and other items of his programme will lead to civil disobedience, but Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Das have so often reiterated their conviction that hand-spinning, whether good or bad in itself, has absolutely no relation to civil disobedience. What is true of hand-spinning is equally true of other parts of the constructive programme. But in order to be allowed to remain in the Councils as helpers of Mr. Gandhi, they quietly accept for the moment the implication in his reasoning which they have repudiated before that if they brought forward certain resolutions in the Councils for the promotion of hand-spinning, they would be preparing for civil disobedience, on which Mahatma Gandhi is intent. Those of us who know that the constructive programme is not and cannot be a preparation for

civil disobedience need have no fear of the activities of either orthodox or Swarajist non-co-operators, but it would have served to clear the air and present the problem in its real perspective, shorn of all pretence, if no attempt had been made to seek in preparation for civil disobedience a bond of unity between the two parties who have nothing in common.

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE.

OF more than ordinary importance was the session of the Muslim League that assembled last week at Lahore under the presidency of Mr. Jinnah. The last regular annual session was held four years ago, when in the excitement of the Khilafat movement the bulk of the Muhammadans became non-co-operators, and the leaders of the League thought it better to suspend its activities than adopt non-co-operation like the Congress. After the failure of the triple boycott and other items of the non-co-operation programme and the settlement of the Khilafat question by the Turks themselves, the League met last year at Lucknow, but came to an abrupt end in the midst of its proceedings for want of a regularly constituted quorum, which objection would not probably have been raised had there not been a very sharp difference of opinion on the question of council-entry which was then a live issue among Congressmen. Since then there has been a great climb down on the part of non-co-operators for not only have the majority of them, the Swarajists, gone back on the boycott of councils but the no-change minority also have waived all objections to promote their own constructive programme of non-co-operation with the co-operation of Government through the councils. But among Muhammadans there seems to be very little of even lip-homage to non-co-operation. At the meeting of the League the absence was conspicuous of a party corresponding to the Swarajists, who profess to reach the goal of non-co-operation through the councils and propose to rely ultimately on civil disobedience. Though a fair number of Khilafatists were present, and Mr. Muhammad Ali took part in the proceedings, there was no talk of non-co-operation or civil disobedience. The success of the League thus indicates directly the failure of non-co-operation.

Of greater importance than this was the circumstance that the League met in the Punjab where Hindu-Muslim relations have been exceedingly unhappy for some time and that the improvement of these relations was perhaps the most important item of business on the agenda. In his presidential address Mr. Jinnah emphasised the importance of Hindu-Muslim unity by declaring it to be almost synonymous with Swaraj, meaning that if the two communities presented a united front to the British nation, Swaraj was bound to be quickly achieved; though he was unable to suggest the means of achieving that unity and contented himself with saying that if the two com-

munities made an earnest attempt they would be able to arrive at a satisfactory solution. There was no doubt a strong desire on the part of the delegates to promote this unity, as was shown by their impatience with Mian Fuzli Hussain whose communal policy as Minister has been a potent cause of irritation. But we are not confident that the resolution accepted by the League, after much discussion, if it is true, on communal representation will materially ease the situation. Its essential part was that "the basis of representation in legislatures and in all other elected bodies shall be population, provided that the minorities shall have adequate and effective representation in all elected bodies in every province subject, however, to the essential proviso that no majority shall be reduced to a minority or even to equality". This is obviously intended to supersede the Lucknow compact of 1916, in the interests of the Punjab, Bengal and the North-West Frontier Province, where the Mussalmans are in a majority. There is indeed nothing in the Lucknow pact to make it unalterable like the laws of the Medes and Persians but its alteration is attended with some serious difficulties. The proportions fixed in that pact were based on population, and the adequate and effective representation of minorities also received due consideration. The pact, however, allowed a Muslim majority to be converted into a minority in Bengal and to equality in the Punjab on account of the excessive representation given to Muslims in other provinces, and to this the Muslim League was a willing party at that time. It may be said that the experience gained in these four years has shown the necessity for a change. But can we take it that the present excessive representation of Mussalmans in some provinces is more than what is necessary for their adequate and effective representation? If Mussalmans in those provinces will agree to a reduction of their representation, and if the entire representation of Mussalmans in the country could be made to correspond more nearly to their proportion in the population, the Hindus will have no ground for objection. Not so, if the proposed change only enhances the already excessive representation of the Muslim community.

But this is only so far as the councils are concerned. The Hindus are opposed to the extension of communal representation to other elected bodies than councils, while the Mussalmans are asking for such representation not only on local bodies but on the University, committees, &c. and even in Government service. That is indeed the chief trouble in the Punjab, where everybody thinks of himself as belonging to this or that community and not as an Indian in the first instance. When communal representation was first introduced in the Minto-Morley reforms it was hoped that the desire for it would weaken in course of time. What, however, we find is just the opposite tendency. The Muslim League has advanced in this session over its previous position and demanded representation—adequate and effec-

tive—on all elective bodies, and that too by separate electorates. A later session will no doubt go further and ask for similar representation in Government service, schools, hospitals, markets, &c. Thus in all conceivable spheres we shall move in water-tight compartments. And the bad example of one community is copied by another, as the Sikhs, Non-Brahmins and depressed classes are already doing in various parts of the country. The pathetic thing about the whole business is that we are feeding and promoting communal jealousies while seeking to promote national unity. Backward communities, like infant industries, do require a measure of protection, but that protection should not be perpetual excessive, or such as to rule out all fair and healthy competition. We are afraid that at bottom communal representation really seeks to eliminate healthy competition and keeps communities apart instead of drawing them together. Facts can have only a temporary value. True national unity will come only when we begin to think of ourselves as Indians first and Hindus, Mussalmans, &c., only afterwards.

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.—I.

INDIA has a land frontier of not less than 6000 miles. But fortunately for this country the major portion of this border line runs along high and almost impassable mountains or inhospitable sandy deserts. We may divide this long frontier line into three almost equal parts, viz, the Eastern, the Northern, and the North-Western.

The Eastern Frontier may be divided into three sections, viz, the Siamese Border for about 1000 miles, the French Border, along the River Mekong for about 150 miles, and the Chinese Border for another 1000 miles. The communications between Siam and Burma are at present difficult. The population of Siam is only about 8 millions, and militarily this country cannot be of any danger. French Indo-China is separated from us by the natural barrier of the great River Mekong passing through high mountain walls. The Chinese Border on the north-east of Burma passes through a difficult mountainous country inhabited by turbulent wild tribes. These tribes may in an international crisis cause us some trouble. But in the present international situation the danger from this quarter is as yet a remote one.

The Northern Frontier may also be divided into three sections, viz, the Tribal Border along the northern sides of Burma and Assam for about 550 miles, the Tibetan Border for about 1250 miles, and the Chinese Turkestan Border for about 400 miles. The Tribal Territory, between Burma and Assam on the one hand and Tibet on the other, is inhabited by wild and savage tribes. But they are not of any military importance. The Tibetan Border runs along the lofty walls of the Himalayas. From the military point of view this border is absolutely safe. The Chinese Turkestan Border also runs along the

eternally snow-clad natural walls of the Himalayas, and militarily this border too is quite safe.

The North-Western Frontier may be divided into two sections, one big and the other small. The Afghan Border is more than 1400 miles long and the Persian Border about 500 miles. The Persian Frontier passes through the impassable and inhospitable deserts of Seistan and Mekran. The extreme barrenness of land, the utter scarcity of water, the practical absence of communications, and the excessive heat for the greater part of the year of this tract renders it unfit for the purpose of invading India. Seldom has India been invaded from this side. We may therefore attach very little military importance to this frontier. From the military point of view the most important frontier is the Afghan Border. It is more than 1400 miles long.

The Afghan Border may be divided into three sections: the Hindu Kush line for about 300 miles; the Chitral-Chaman line for about 700 miles; and the Afghan-Beloch Border in Seistan for about 450 miles. This Afghan-Beloch boundary-line also passes through the deserts of Seistan; so the military significance of this section of the frontier too is small. The northern section, i. e. the Hindukush Line runs along the lofty mountain barrier of this range. There is no military danger from across it. But about 40 miles west of Chitral on the 36th North Latitude the Indian frontier leaves the high natural walls of the Hindukush, and suddenly turns south to meet the lower heights of the Suleman Range. In this way the Indian boundary runs in a south-western direction, along the Suleman Range for about 700 miles, from west of Chitral to Chaman. It is within this border that there are a number of easily accessible Passes from Kabul, Ghazni, and Kandahar, leading to the plains of India. It is through these passes that foreign invaders have come to India. Had our frontiers west of Chitral continued to run along the lofty walls of the Hindu Kush, up to the point where it ends at 34°30' North and 68°15' East some 80 miles west of Kabul, and then runs south through the high plateau of the Hazarajats till it reached the sands of Seistan our defence problem would have been a very easy one. India would have then been surrounded all along her boundaries by the natural barriers of lofty mountains, impassable sands, or fathomless seas. But unfortunately we are to-day not concerned with "might-have-beens", but we are concerned with "what-actually is." Certain events in the first half of the 18th century compelled us to give up the natural frontiers of the Hindukush, and the Hazarajats, and forced us to adopt the Indus as our boundary line. During the invasion of Nadir Shah, we lost the two westernmost provinces of Sindh and Kabul. We also lost temporarily the three cis-Indus provinces of Multan, Lahore, and Kashmir, but in the last century, the rise of the Sikhs recovered for us the Lahore Province. Maharaja Ranjit Singh won back for us the provinces of Multan, and Kashmir, and a portion of the Kabul province also. From his time we have been trying to regain our natur-

ral and militarily scientific frontier, and at the end of Sikh rule in the Punjab we had regained so much of our lost ground that we found ourselves at the foot of the Suleman Range. We had recovered not only the provinces taken by Ahmad Shah Abdali, but had also won back a portion of territory seized by the Persian adventurer, Nadir. This process of regaining the "natural boundary line of India" has been continued by the British successors of Ranjit Singh. We have been during the latter half of the last century moving from our Sikh position at the foot of the Suleman Range to the heights of that mountain system. By 1895 we had brought under the influence of the Punjab Government the Hill tribes of Waziristan, Tochi Valley, Kurrum Valley, Tirah, Khaiber Swat, Buner, and Bajaur. By controlling Chitral we had also reached the high mountain walls of the Hindukush. Our frontier now runs again along the natural barrier of the Hindukush for about 300 miles. But the rest of the Hindukush line still remains unrecovered.

The English rulers of India, ever since their establishment in this country, have been following the policy of warding off foreign danger by means of putting a series of buffer states between themselves and other military powers. Oudh was a buffer state for some time between Bengal and Sindhia's territory. The Punjab occupied the same position in the time of Ranjit Singh, and we have now controlled the foreign relations of Afghanistan from the time of Lord William Bentinck and Lord Auckland. The British rulers allowed Ranjit Singh to conquer the Peshawar Division of the old Moghal province of Kabul, but have not allowed the Persians to reconquer the Herat Division of the old Persian province of Khorasan. Without preventing any territory of Kabul province from falling into the hands of Indian rulers, the policy of the British Government in India has been to safeguard the territorial integrity of Afghanistan against the aggressions of powers outside India. By thus keeping up this Afghan buffer state between ourselves and western military powers, we have been preventing foreign influence from crossing the Hindukush. Now for 50 years, from 1870 to 1919, we have strengthened the military power of the Amir of the Afghanistan, by paying him cash subsidies, or by facilitating the entry into his territory of arms and ammunitions. Our object during this half a century has been to shut out foreign influence from Afghanistan and to strengthen the power of resistance of the Afghans against foreign invaders, so that if there be any invasion of India, from the side of Central Asia, or Persia, Afghan resistance may furnish time to the British rulers of India to prepare themselves for the defence of this country, and enable them to gather together their military resources scattered over their world-wide Empire.

(To be continued)

GULSHANIRAL

HINDU TEMPLES IN TRAVANCORE.

THE Satyagraha at Vaikom has brought to the fore the very interesting subject of the ownership of the Hindu temples in Travancore. It is too easily assumed that they are private property and no one seems to question the preposterous claims put forward by a few privileged individuals.

To make the point clear it is necessary to go into the origin of Hindu temples. The ancient Hindu temples were not sectarian places of worship set up by individuals or communities for their exclusive use, but were public institutions meant for the use of the whole village community. The Indians in olden times evolved a system of communal life, based on democratic village institutions, the kind of which has never been developed anywhere in the west or the east in ancient or modern times. The temple to them was the centre of communal life, symbolical of the supremacy of Dharma in administration. The Mandapa, the oldest portion of the temple, is a modification of the council tree in the centre of the cross roads of a town or village. The council tree was a well shaded tree, generally banyan or peepal, surrounded by a square platform. It was under the council tree that the remote ancestors of the ancient Indians met to discuss religion, politics, social and communal affairs. It was the meeting place of the panchayats, the council hall of the elders, who administered justice and saw fair play being done to the rich and the poor, to the privileged and the non-privileged alike. Here the burning questions of the day were discussed, war declared, peace negotiated, and the social and economic questions fully discussed and disposed of. The shape of the platform round the council tree was significant: its four sides were intended to represent the guardianship of the four quarters of the village.

When the council tree was replaced by the Mandapa, the tree was supplanted by a suitable roof. There seems indeed to have been an intermediate stage between the council tree and the Mandapa. But we are not concerned with it here. A point to be noted is that the images were placed facing the council chamber or the Mandapa, thereby sanctifying the proceedings as they were conducted. The pillared pavilion in front of the Mandapa was the waiting place for the general public while the elders were in council. And the Gopuras, that have become now-a-days breeding places for bats and mice, were observation posts to see what was going on around the village and to give information to the council especially as to the approach or movements of enemies.

The temples were constructed out of public funds and public labour. Even today all temples are built by voluntary public contributions, each individual of the community contributing according to his or her ability. The skilled labour received a sort of subsistence allowance, while the unskilled labour was supplied free by all the able-bodied men of the community. These and similar

practices are still observed in Travancore. There are certain temples even now the annual cleaning of the premises or the renewal of the thatched roof of which is done by the public, by the members of the community without the distinction of wealth or social status. It is interesting to see even the richest magnates of the locality, who have never done a day's manual labour, go to the temples on such occasions for digging the grass or removing the rubbish from the temple compound.

Such practices—which are still existing—show the democratic basis on which the Hindu temples come into existence and on which they are still maintained. Hindu meant Indian in those days, as there were no Mussalmans or Christians to claim Indian nationality. Then the rich and the poor were Hindus; the priest and the artisan were Hindus, and the freemen and slaves were Hindus. The slave helped the construction of the temples just the same as the owner of the slave. The freeman went to the temple to worship, so did the slave. The freeman sent materials for the pooja in the temple, so did the slave. In short, in respect of religion the Hindu temple belonged to the master and the slave alike, as it belongs now to the Brahmin and the liberated slave, the Paraya, alike. But as the slave had no political freedom, his movements were restricted. In Malabar the political and social status of different communities was regulated by different degrees of untouchability and unapproachability. The non-Brahmin Nairs, who are actually the rulers of the country, are untouchables to the Brahmin Nambudiry. The artisan mason or carpenter is an untouchable to the non-Brahmin Nair, and unapproachable to the Brahmin Nambudiry, while the Paraya and the Pulaya who were slaves are unapproachable to the other castes who are all above them in the social scale.

As to access to the temple, the Brahmins are the only class without any restriction. Even the Kshatriyas, who are a kind of elevated Nairs in Malabar, or Nairs with the sacred thread, have their movement and accessibility restricted in the temples. The Nairs have no access to the Sreekoovil where the image is kept, nor even to the Mandapa. The artisan classes have no access even to the outer courtyard of the temples, while the Paraya and Pulaya have to keep away furlongs from the premises, lest their presence should pollute the members of the higher classes who may be approaching the temples.

Now the Paraya and the Pulaya are no longer slaves, they have been liberated long ago, and moreover, they are beginning to realise the meaning of liberation from slavery. It is in fact the liberated slave that is claiming the equality of access, to hitherto prohibited areas, in this Satyagraha movement. Of course there are different kinds of slaves taking part in this movement. First the Nair who is actually a religious slave to the Brahmin. Is it not due to slave mentality that even the richest and most powerful Nair feels that his welfare in this

world as well as his future prospects in heaven will be ruined if he does not offer a seat even to the worst individual of a Brahmin? Similarly the Brahmin and the other high castes have impressed the idea on the untouchables that if they do not indicate their presence by some sort of characteristic sound, their whole future will be ruined and the worst hell will be opened for them.

The temple was a democratic institution, and the temple property was the common property of the public, just as a public park under the management of a Municipal Board is public property. The Paraya automatically became a member of the public when his freedom was given him and consequently he should have every right and privilege of the public, as he has become one of them. Or else what is the meaning of liberation from slavery?

The temples of Malabar, just like the public temples in other parts of India, used to be administered by a council of elders, of course selected from the then most privileged classes. When Brahmins were supreme they had invariably the upper hand in the councils. The council of these elders in Travancore is known as the Ooranmakar. The administration of all the temples was in the hands of the respective Ooranmakar, whose activities were controlled by the general public, known as Karakar. When the Ooranmakar became very powerful the authority of the Karakar decreased; still there are several temples where even now the Karakar have got the upper hand, though the management of the temple property is in the hands of the Ooranmakar. When the Ooranmakar, or the officials of the council, mismanaged the public property, or misappropriated the public fund, the people used to appeal to the kings, as the inhabitants of Uttarameru-catur-Vedimangalam did to the Chola king Parantaka I (vide Inscriptions from Madura). But when there was no king powerful enough to do justice to the people, and to save them from the tyranny of the Ooranmakar, the whole temple property was virtually misappropriated by the Ooranmakar. They, however, had some fear of public opinion and refrained from dividing the properties; and kept them as their joint property. So the Ooranmakar were and still are the trustees of the public. When the public were weak the Ooranmakar usurped the rights of the people, and when the kings were weak the Ooranmakar claimed even sovereignty over the districts. The fight between the present royal family of Travancore and the Ooranmakar is well recorded in the history of Travancore. Even the most important temple at Trivandrum with its vast property had to be rescued from the tyranny of the Ooranmakar and their adherents by a great ancestor of the present Maharaja. But that was only the beginning. He and his successors, by open fight or by persuasion, brought almost all the temples of any importance, that had been misappropriated, under the sway of the State, and they are being administered.

by a specially constituted department. Though the Government is responsible now for the administration of the temples they do not belong to the State. They are administered by the State as trustees, but not as the trustee of the usurpers, the Ooranmakar, but as the trustee of the people, as the trustee for all Hindus, whether they are Brahmins, or non-Brahmins, or liberated slaves.

If the temple premises are private property as they want us to believe, could they prevent a high caste Hindu from outside Travancore entering those premises? They would not dare do it, and they cannot do it. Of course then they will fall back on usage. When they take refuge under usage, their proprietorship cannot but be a shadowy one, even in a court of law, where clever lawyers can make reason look unreasonable and truth unreal.

The Travancore Government was right in claiming the trusteeship of the temples. In doing that the Government acted according to the traditions of the Hindu kingship, and was quite within the limits of the Hindu constitution, for whenever democratic institutions were mismanaged by unscrupulous administrators, the king was ordained to take over the control of such and keep them under his control, till it was safe to hand them over to the accredited representatives of the public. But when the State of Travancore interferes with the freedom of the free citizens of the State, due to fear of the interested public opinion, it deviates from its Dharma, as it has been established in the "Dharma-Bhumi" of Travancore.

TRAVANCOREAN.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, MAY 8.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE questions that have been put and answered on Indian matters this week, in the Commons, are not of any great excitement. Mr. Richards, who is developing a greater understanding of the intricacies of the problems that he has officially to deal with, and is showing considerable shrewdness and judgment in handling them, was emphatic that there is no censorship upon newspapers entering India. But he is of course aware that certain newspapers are prohibited and are not allowed to pass through the post. Whilst this may be necessary to prevent the dissemination of Bolshevist or revolutionary propaganda, there does not seem any reason why such innocuous papers as the "Nation," the "Daily Herald," the "Manchester Guardian Weekly," the "Outlook," and the "Islamic Review" should not be allowed to reach a Madras Indian news-agent, even though Sir Leonard Lyle was anxious to convert Indian newspaper readers to an intelligent interest in and appreciative understanding of a "really respectable" paper like the "Morning Post." Plague in the Punjab was another subject of inquiry, by Mr.

Wardlaw-Milne, whilst Mr. Maxton sought for information regarding the treatment of prisoners in the Special Division. He did not get much satisfaction, but Mr. Richards undertook to make inquiries as to the accuracy of the complaints. Mr. Richards also stated that, whilst the Indian Legislature is debarred by Statute from power to alter the Legislative Rules of the Government of India, the desirability of consulting that body before changes are made in these and other statutory Rules is always considered when the proposed change could suitably be made the subject of such consultation. Mr. Maxton elicited the information that the Secretary of State is unaware of any rule prohibiting any servant of the Government of India from bringing his grievances to the notice of non-official members of the Central or Provincial Legislatures, provided that in so doing he does not infringe Rule 17 of the Government Servants Conduct Rules which prohibits communication to non-official persons without authority of documents or information which have come into his possession in the course of his official duties. Mr. Richards had no information as to whether the United Provinces Government had taken any steps on the resolution regarding this matter which was passed by the United Provinces Legislative Council of the 27th February last.

Mr. Baker asked whether the Secretary of State was aware that the Lalitpur Municipality had recently refused to give any concession to an American on the ground that the United States of America had refused to naturalise a Hindu who had gone there; whether the Secretary of State had any information about the reasons given by the United States for discriminating against Indians; whether any steps had been taken to get this discriminating treatment rectified; and whether any representations had been received from the Government of India about the matter. The answer was that the refusal of the United States Government to naturalise Indians was due to a ruling of the States Supreme Court that Indians were ineligible for United States citizenship. Representations had been made by His Majesty's Government to the United States Government with a view to alliviating hardships resulting from this ruling. The Government of India and the Secretary of State had been in correspondence on the subject, and the former had expressed their appreciation of the action taken by the British Government.

FIRING IN BRITISH GUIANA.

A matter of some importance was, further, raised by Mr. John Scurr by way of private notice to Mr. Thomas. He had had his attention drawn to the rioting that had taken place in British Guiana, as a result of which a number of deaths had occurred as a result of firing by the police. Most of the killed and injured were Indians, although the majority of the crowd must have been negro and coloured. The cause of the trouble, on the part of the latter, seems to have been a strike.

dispute on the part of the dock-labourers. On the other hand, there appears to have been a good deal of dissatisfaction among the Indian labourers on the estates in the neighbourhood of Georgetown. Mr. Kawall, the President of the Indian Association, states that he tried his best to persuade the mob not to proceed to Georgetown, and that he had at last persuaded them to remain behind whilst he took a small group of representatives into town to interview the Immigration Agent General. The police, however, refused to allow the crowd to remain where it was, and Mr. Kawall alleges that when his back was turned, the police fired blank cartridges and then shot to injure. It seems clear, too, that, though there was undoubtedly unrest on the estates the previous day, the Immigration Agent General was not on the scene, nor does he appear to have had any knowledge of events. The local Europeans appear to wish to put the blame for what has occurred, not upon the authorities, but upon Mr. Kawall and the Indian delegates who went to British Guiana and reported adversely on the economic conditions. The estate coolies, in the opinion of these critics, ought to have been kept in ignorance of the comments of Messrs. Kesava Pillai and Tiwari, and Mr. Kawall and the Indian Association, in informing them of what their distinguished countrymen had said in their report, have actually, it would seem, according to the "Daily Argosy" to be most blameworthy. It is a strange world, and it is all to the good that Mr. Thomas has appointed a special magistrate to investigate and report on the whole ugly episode. There seems to be no doubt that there is a considerable amount of unrest and dissatisfaction among the estate labourers, and there seems to be good reason for refusing to carry the present Nunan-Luckoo negotiations any further. At any rate, the paper above referred to thinks that the colonisation scheme has been killed and that Sir Joseph Nunan ought to be very thankful that something of the kind has occurred to save his face.

THE EXHIBITION

The Indian section is nearly complete now, and it is expected that, by Monday, even the Bengal Court will be open. Then will come the time for the King's visit. I had a chat with the U. P. and Madras Provincial Commissioners, who tell me that, so far as they are concerned, they think that the Exhibition has justified itself, since considerable orders have been taken and executed. Dewan Bahadur Vijaya Raghavachariar—the simple-minded British people call him "the Dewan"—is all over the place at the same time. His tact and ability are irresistible.

If, however, one compares the Indian with the Canadian section, the contrast is immense. The building of the former is incomparably the finer and more artistic. But in contents, the distinction that one might make is twofold. The former resembles a series of ideal bazaars, whilst the latter is a true exhibition. Secondly, the former gives a

unique, though dissipated display of the fine arts and handicrafts, whilst the latter shows an energetic industrialism that has added enormously to Canada's material prosperity and justifies her presence on the American Continent. There are a few special exhibits in the Indian section that give a sort of distant hint of India's industrial possibilities, but there the matter ends. If I were an Indian, I should strongly resent the demonstration of India as though she were nothing more than a pretty woman. At the same time, it is undeniable that in taste and beauty, the Indian display far out-shines anything else to be seen at Wembley, and it takes days to do justice to all that is to be seen. It seems a pity that Provincial jealousies should have prevented some better method of display. Why, for instance, could not all brasswork be centralised? Why not all silverwork or woodwork or all ivorywork? It seems an unnecessary and wasteful method of displaying these things in so many booths scattered throughout the section.

O'DWYER-NAIR CASE.

The O'Dwyer-Nair case is dragging its weary length along. Justice McCardie seems to have constituted himself counsel for General Dyer. His attitude towards Sir Walter Schwabe, the leader for Sir Sankaran Nair, is not exactly what a retired Chief Justice of Madras is entitled to and he appears to think that the Hunter Commission's Report, where it is unfavourable to the British officers censured, is merely a political document whose conclusions he is justified in regarding with the utmost suspicion. It is easy to see how the case is going. Lord Chelmsford gave evidence yesterday, speaking as an honest English gentleman. Sir Michael was acute and subtle throughout. He never knew what had occurred until it was over when he disapproved of it. Or he approved of what had been represented to him, but not of what had actually happened. In any case, he had no responsibility, or he was too busy, or the circumstances justified the officer concerned, or the matter was not within his jurisdiction but that of the martial law authorities, of whom he, too, was a victim. It is, of course, quite impossible to reproduce here, before a British judge and jury the atmosphere that ordinarily prevails in a northern India Province or that prevailed there just before and during the martial law regime. The consequences are obvious. Sir Michael O'Dwyer will have much the same advantage that Sir Valentine Chirol had some years ago.

REVIEW.

INDIAN LABOUR IN AMERICA.

HINDUSTANI WORKERS ON THE PACIFIC COAST. By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M. SC., PH. D. Walter De Gruyter & Co. Berlin. 7 1/2 x 4. P.126. 1923.

This book is the result of the author's study of the social and economic conditions of the Hindustani workers on the Pacific Coast, undertaken as special agent of the Bureau of Labour Statistics of the Department of Labour, U. S. A. in 1921-22. The term Hindustani is used in the book to include all classes of people of India, Hindustan, irrespective of their religion.

The first Indians to go to Canada were the Sikh policemen and soldiers serving under the British Government in Shanghai, Hongkong and other parts of the Far East. For the first few years the number of Hindustani immigrants to Canada was small. It was during the years 1905-1908 that a large number of Hindustanis, chiefly Sikhs, went to Canada. The total number of immigrants during this period was 5179, the number for 1908 being 2623. The arrival of Hindustanis in large numbers had attracted the notice of the Canadian Government and led to the appointment of a Royal Commission in 1907, which recommended the exclusion or restriction of all oriental labour. The Canadian Government took pains to point out, along with the usual racial and economic reasons for restrictions, that the restrictive measures were adopted to prevent hardship to the Hindustanis themselves, due to the severity of climate, and to make their benevolence effective and complete, inserted among other provisions in the Act, that any immigrant who came to Canada in any way other than by continuous journey from the country of which he was a native and by ticket purchased in that country, might be excluded. For the Hindustanis there were no means to conform to this provision of the Act, except the chartering of a ship for themselves, as they did in the case of Komagato Maru affair. As a result of this Act, the immigration fell from 2623 in 1908 to 6 in 1909 and during the twelve years from 1909 to 1920 the total number of immigrants was only 118, there being no immigration after 1914 except one in 1918. From 1908 to 1914 the number of East Indians debarred from entering Canada was 330 and the number deported was 29.

In 1900 there were 2050 East Indians in U.S.A. During the period from 1899 to 1920, 7348 East Indians arrived there. It should be mentioned that before 1907 no distinction was made between immigrants and non-immigrants, i. e., students, businessmen and tourists. From 1908 to 1920, 1658 East Indians left U. S. A. The arrival of Hindustanis gave rise to anti-Asiatic activities, and immigration laws were rigorously applied in the case of Asiatics. In 1917 an Immigration Act was passed, section 3 of which excludes all people from the so-called 'barred zone', consisting of India, Siam, parts of Siberia, Afghanistan, Arabia and most of the Islands of Malay Archipelago, with a population of nearly 500 million people.

The Hindustani workers on the Pacific Coast are mostly Sikhs from the districts of Hosiarpur, Amritsar, Lahore, Ludhiana and Ferozepur in the Punjab. Prospect of industrial success urged them to leave their native land. They found the climate of California and British Columbia congenial to them. When the Hindustanis began to land on the Pacific Coast, the Western Pacific Railway was under construction and a large number of them were employed in building that line. Gradually they gave up railway work and took to farming. Many of them took ranches on lease and operated them on partnership basis, growing rice, cotton, potato and other vegetables and fruits. Next to farm operators in number are the farm labourers. The efficiency of the Hindustanis as farm labourers is well recognised and their labour has a steady demand. They are mostly itinerant groups moving from place to place according to the agricultural season. The third important group of Hindustani workers is that working in the lumber industry. There are some lumber mills owned by Hindustanis. There are some Hindustani businessmen also.

It is usually complained against the Hindustanis that they undersell their labour and thus constitute an economic menace to the white labourers. This is not true of the Hindustani workers on the Pacific Coast. High efficiency and absence of economic pressure due to their living without family, enable them to compete with white labour on an equal footing. The average agricultural wages of the Hindustani in 1909 ranged from 1 to 3 dollars a day. The wages rose steadily and in 1920 most of them were earning from 3 to 4 dollars a day. In the lumber industry the comparative wages (in cents per hour) in 1921 were as follows: Chinese-20 to 40, Japanese-20 to 60, Canadians-30 to 103, Hindustanis-26 to 75. It must be remembered that foreigners cannot be employed as mechanics and engineers according to Canadian law. Taking this fact into consideration, it can be said that the wages of the Hindustanis compare favourably with those of the white labourers.

Food, clothing, and housing are the chief determinants of the standard of living. The Hindustani workers' standard of living is not lower than that of Americans and Canadians of the same class. In the average they spend 30 dollars per month on food. They spend on their clothing as much as the white labourers of the same class. The farm labourers and operators live in houses supplied by the landlords or employers and their occupation being of a temporary nature, they do not feel inclined to spend on improvements. The workers in the lumber industry live in camps belonging to mill owners. A rough idea of the savings of the Hindustanis can be had from the fact that in 9 savings banks of California and Oregon 779 Hindustanis had a total deposit of 238,630 dollars. In the same year in 3 banks of British Columbia 142 Hindustanis had total deposit of 63,560 dollars. And these represent only a part of their savings.

From these facts taken from Dr. Das's book it will be evident that the Hindustanis on the Pacific Coast have successfully adapted themselves to the new environment. Hence the practical exclusion and denial of legal privileges and social dignity to Hindustanis in Pacific Coast territories are unjust. They are unjust on the part of United States and much more so on the part of Canada, which forms a part of the British 'Commonwealth' of Nations. The Nordic pride that delights in maintaining a 'Never, Never Land' in Australia practically empty and lets the boundless prairies of Canada grow wild under prickly pear, is an economic futility and an international danger. 'One race, one language, one government' savours of primitive social instinct and is contrary to the spirit of an age of swift communication and transport as ours is.

Dr. Das has written his book admirably. It is a scientific work strongly supported by documents and evidence. Enough facts are not known in India regarding the Indians living abroad. The Duke of Newcastle, who was for twenty four years Secretary of State for the Colonies is said to have once exclaimed, 'Annopolis! Annopolis! Oh, yes, Annopolis must be defended. To be sure Annopolis must be defended. Where is Annopolis?' In respect of facts our knowledge of Colonial Indians is not much superior to the Duke's knowledge of Annopolis. Dr. Das gives illuminating information regarding a section of Colonial Indians. It is desirable that similar handbooks should be written regarding other Indian Colonials also.

J. B. S.

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