

Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE German Presidential elections of March 29th and April 26th form an eloquent commentary on the lamentable state of German politics. The votes polled on these occasions were as follows :

	1st ballot	2nd ballot
Monarchists	11,997,876	14,639,000
Republicans	13,409,649	13,753,000
Communists	1,885,770	1,932,000
	27,293,295	30,324,000

A study of these figures reveals the fact that Field Marshal Hindenburg's success is clearly due to the mobilization of the politically apathetic who in all countries are a conservative asset, and also that even with the Monarchists getting the last ounce out of their strength they represent but a minority of the German people. The minority however is one of 48.3% against 51.7%: which somewhat consoles one that the utterly thankless task of carrying on a government based on so labile a foundation has now devolved from the Republicans to the Monarchists. The functions of a German President of course are not analogous to those of an American President: yet the election that has just taken place amply confirms the Monarchist complexion of the present Chancellor and of his Cabinet. The only key position remaining in Republican hands is that of Prussian Minister President: a position which has been a critical one for months and may at any time develop into an overthrow of the present Republican incumbent. We say, one is almost reconciled: for it has been the Republicans who since Versailles have had to carry on government practically under foreign dictation. Their retort to their Monarchist critics

has always been: What else would the Monarchist have been able to do? Now this retort is being put to the test. All the Monarchists' wild promises are coming home to roost: already a Monarchist Chancellor has promised to accept the present western frontier as final; already the demagogic promise of compensations for the post-war depreciation of pre-war investments has proved incapable of fulfilment; already the nationalist loud voiced preference for tariff wars to further "humiliations" is petering out. Let them show now to the German people, what they can do when they are the government and no longer the opposition: they have got plenty of rope—will they fail to hang themselves? The prospect seems fairly certain and the common people throughout the world will rejoice at it. One more such victory, and German Monarchism will one hopes be finally done for.

A Kenya Memorandum.

THE National Liberal Federation of India established at last Christmas a Standing Committee on Indians overseas, with the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as Chairman and with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as one of the members. We are glad to see that the Committee has added Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, the well-known worker in the cause of Indians abroad, to its number, though he does not belong to the Liberal persuasion. The Committee has just published a "Memorandum on the Proposed Formation of an Indian Reserve in the Lowlands of Kenya," setting forth and justifying the Liberal view that the offer by the Colonial Office of a special reservation for Indians was an unworthy bribe, which Indians can only reject with scorn. Evidence is adduced in this paper to prove that the present Government of India and the India Office are not as strong in their opposition to the white highlands policy as their foregoers, and the opinion is expressed that the mere deputation of an officer to Kenya to inspect the area which is proposed to be provisionally set apart for Indians in the low-lying regions of Kenya gravely compromises the principle that land should be reserved for natives alone and that all non-native races should be left free to compete for land not required for the use of the natives. The Government of India are reminded that in the case of a similar proposal for creating an Indian reserve in ex-German East Africa they took up the only sound position that to accept a special reserve in any area is really to abandon the claim to equality in other areas, and surprise is expressed that the Government of India

should resile from that position now. This probably results from the conviction that since the highlands are lost to Indians beyond hope of retrieval, at least a portion of the lowlands may be secured to them for all time: if equality with Europeans is unattainable, Indians can only aspire for an exclusive privilege in one sphere similar to the one enjoyed by Europeans in another sphere. But it is pointed out in the Memorandum that two wrongs do not make a right and, sooner than fall into the error with which they have taxed the Europeans so far, they would forego any possible advantage resulting from a special Indian reservation—which in fact is next to nothing—and continue to lay the injustice of the white highlands policy on the conscience of the British people. The Memorandum shows an anxiety to protect the interest of the indigenous people of Africa, which one hopes will be the paramount consideration animating Indian politicians in tackling such problems. It is now for the Standing Emigration Committee to put its foot down and refuse to consider this offer. If this is done, the Government of India may be expected to desist from this altogether wrong move.

* * *

A Misrepresentation. COMMENTING on Mr. Sastri's article, which appeared in this journal on the 16th instant, and which urged a *rapprochement* between Swarajists and Liberals, the "Tribune," we are afraid, altogether misrepresents his position. Says our contemporary:

"Mr. Sastri's idea of this formula seems to be that the Liberals should give obstruction their moral support and the Swarajists should drop it as a practical weapon. Of what earthly benefit the moral support of the Liberals to obstruction will be to either the Swarajists or the country if there is a clear understanding to the effect that it is never to be used as a practical method, is not at all clear."

There is absolutely no justification for the supposition that Mr. Sastri intends obstruction 'never to be used as a practical method.' Here is what Mr. Sastri said in the article:

"He (Mr. Jinnah) adds that the Independents are by no means opposed to obstruction on principle but would approve of it on certain occasions and in certain circumstances. He is wrong, however, in supposing that the Liberal party as a whole holds a different view of obstruction as parliamentary strategy. Speaking for myself I have no hesitation in subscribing to his proposition. We may not agree as to the precise occasion or circumstance, but neither of us would be prepared to cast obstruction aside as a weapon in the constitutional struggle."

It is a wonder to us how the "Tribune" could misunderstand so clear a passage. We venture to point out to our contemporary that Mr. Sastri's position is identical with its own, when it says a little further on the same occasion:

"The only lines on which an agreement is possible are that the Swarajists should not insist upon 'consistent, uniform and continuous obstruction,' which they have already tried and found impracticable, and the Liberals on their side should be fully prepared to follow a policy of selective and discriminating obstruction."

* * *

Anti-Malaria Society.

NOT very long ago we dealt with the objects and work of that excellent institution of Bengal, the Central

Co-operative Anti-Malaria Society. We have now received its fifth annual report, which shows how the movement for fighting disease by co-operative organisation is gathering momentum. The report says, "In 1917 three villages accepted our views, in 1918—8, 1922—32, 1923—82, 1924—360, at the present moment their number is 433." What the "present moment" stands for is not clear from the report, but we take it to be the end of March. One of the important activities of the Society is the encouragement it gives to villages and municipalities for possessing good water supply from tube-wells. It is willing to help them, provided they start affiliated public health societies, with the best advice and with loans free of interest sufficient to cover half the cost of the wells—each estimated to cost about Rs 500—the other half being found by the villagers. In many cases the District Board comes to the help of the village subsequently. In this connection the report brings to light the inconvenience caused to municipalities by a rule under the Local Self Government Act which requires that every scheme involving an expenditure of more than Rs. 10,000 should be sanctioned by the Sanitary Engineering Department. "A municipality notorious for prevalence of malaria" drew up a drainage scheme for Rs. 12,000, but when it sought the advice of the Sanitary Department, that scheme was knocked on the head and another but quite irrational one substituted costing Rs. 64,000. Under the rules the municipality has no option but to accept the scheme or do without drainage, and it preferred the latter course. The same municipality later on submitted a scheme for water supply by instalments from deep tube-wells. The 'tyrant of the Sanitary Department' vetoed tube-wells at first but changed later, imposing, however, its own scheme costing Rs. 72,000 while the income of the municipality was only Rs. 6,000 a year! A private company, it appears, has agreed to supply water of the same quality and in same quantity as proposed by the Sanitary Department for Rs. 7,000 and it has been employed by the local anti-malaria societies.

* * *

Swarajist Fanaticism. IT makes one sad to read that round about Calcutta the work of the Central Society is hampered by the fanaticism of the Swarajists. The Society has no politics, nor time for politics. Its business is fighting malaria and that would suffer by its getting involved in political quarrels. It accepts grants from Government and donations from all, Europeans or Indians, interested in its work. Such an attitude is anathema to the fanatical Swarajist. He challenges the workers of the Society to make a confession of faith and when they do not pronounce his shibboleth of non-co-operation treats them as enemies, though they may be engaged in life-saving work. The report speaks bitterly of the "kicks and buffets" administered to the Society "in right royal Swarajist way" by a councillor of the Calcutta Corporation. It got from this Swarajist-ridden wealthy public body a niggardly grant of Rs. 750, but even then the councillor "charged us for misusing this poor Calcutta rate-payers' money for the benefit of the wealthy malaria-stricken villagers of Bengal." But Brutus is an honourable man, so they are all— all honourable men!

JEZIRAT EL ARAB.

Jezirat el Arab is one of the pricked bubbles of Indian politics: but let us hasten to assure our readers that it is neither with this question nor with the cognate one of the Khilafat that we mean to trouble them at this late hour. *Jezirat el Arab* is merely the Arabic for "the Arabian Peninsula," and that the Arabs call an island what the English call a peninsula does not change the facts that Arabia is next door neighbour to India and that very far reaching changes are going on just now in that country—changes, about which the Indian public is left singularly uninformed.

Thinking diagrammatically of Arabia, we may call it a parallelogram, which is composed of the following States:

- (1) South: Aden Protectorate, Hadhramaut;
- (2) East: Oman; the Persian Gulf princedoms of El Qatar, Bahrein, El Hasa and Kuwait; Iraq;
- (3) North: Syria, Palestine and Transjordania
- (4) West: Hejaz, Asir, Yemen;
- (5) Centre: Shammar (in the north) and Nejd (to the south of it.)

Until the late war, the whole of this peninsula was nominally Turkish, except the South and East which were under British influence: to-day the whole of it is under British influence, except Syria, which is French. Stated thus nakedly, the fact is startling and makes it evident that it deserves a little closer investigation, which however will not extend to Asir and Yemen, which two provinces for the time being are somewhat out of the picture, though it is impossible to say, for how long. But we may perhaps just *en passant* remark that Asir (lying exactly opposite Eritrea, the Italian Red Sea colony) during the Italo-Turkish war was favouring Italy, whilst in Yemen (which is Shia) French railway company is operating: and French Djibouti on the African mainland is only 200 miles away.

But to turn to the main parts of the Peninsula.

To understand the position, it is necessary to go back to the middle of the 18th century, when one Abd el Wahab of Nejd originated a Puritan Reformation of Islam: a revivalist movement which soon embraced the whole of Nejd. This self-supporting country is inhabited by what is probably the finest of Arab tribes; hardy agriculturists of magnificent physique and martial spirit, with a genius for religion—or as their enemies would say, fanaticism. By 1801 an Emir of Nejd (they are all called Saud) had captured Kerbela in Iraq, the holy city of the Shias, and in 1803 Mecca in Hejaz, the holy city of the Sunnis, both of which forms of Islam were to the Wahabi mere disguises of idolatry, and in 1810, after the capture of Madina, the Wahabite host desecrated the tomb of the Prophet, in order to demonstrate that the prophet Muhammad is not an Intercessor with God, but a mere man. When the victorious Saud finally added Damascus to his "sphere of influence," the Khalifah of Stambul recognized that it seemed really time that something had better be done: and magnanimously left it to his Egyptian vassal, Me-

hemet Ali, to acquire the merit of overthrowing the Wahabite impiety. And strange to relate, Mehemet Ali not only accepted the task, but successfully accomplished it and in a campaign, beginning in 1811, in 1817 captured both Saud's capital and Saud himself and eventually extended Egyptian rule right across the peninsula to the Persian Gulf: a state of affairs continuing right up to the middle of last century.

From that time onwards Nejd and, with it Wahabism, began once more to lift up its head; and since by then Egypt had become too much of a broken reed for Turkey to lean upon it, the Ottoman Padishah cast the Emir of Shammar (a country, as will be remembered, bordering upon Nejd) for the role of curbing the nascent power of Nejd. The Emir of Shammar (these are all called Rashid) devoted himself *con amore* to the task and by 1895 had occupied Nejd and driven the then Saud into exile at Kuwait. But Kuwait even then was a British protectorate: and to a student of British (or indeed of any other) imperialism, it will not seem surprising that by 1902 Saud (which means now the son of the Saud we were just speaking about) should have suddenly found the strength to recapture his country (Nejd) from Rashid and even to add to it the Turkish province of El Hasa (between Kuwait and Bahrein) on the Persian Gulf. By one of these curious coincidences (which have so often helped the nefarious detractors of imperialism) the Indian Government at that time stationed at Riyadh, the capital of Nejd, a political officer, who, when Turkey had declared war on the British Empire, made (in 1915) a treaty with Sultan Saud, giving him a free hand (and a little gold in that hand too!) against an obnoxious Rashid, who persisted in a wickedly pro-Turk attitude. Battle was joined and, had Saud pressed his victory, there is no doubt that he would shortly have wiped his old adversary off the map. But Saud did not choose to do so and contented himself for the rest of the "Great War" in merely keeping Shammar covered, keeping the bulk of his army and other resources for another foe.

This was none other than the Emir Husein of Mecca, who by that time had got into a—to Saud—extremely disagreeable prominence. For whilst Saud was fighting the battles of Wahabism, it suddenly became apparent that the real obstacle to his gaining the mastery of Arabia would not be Turkey and Rashid, but England and Husein! Was his mind so unsophisticated that he found difficulty in distinguishing between the subsidy paid to him by the British Colonial Office and that paid to Husein by the British Foreign Office? Did he fail to appreciate that the British Foreign Office had, truly enough, acknowledged Husein's right to the overlordship of Arabia, but had expressly added, "provided the other Arab independent Rulers agree to it"? Whatever the reason, Saud's enthusiasm for British Offices, whether Colonial or Foreign, seems just about then to have received a nasty set-back: and, sad to relate, there is today no British political officer at Riyadh any more.

What exactly had happened at Mecca? Husein, *Sharif* of the *Haram*, until 1913 pro-Turk, in that year had begun to favour the in Hejaz endemic revolt against Turkish suzerainty and in 1915 definitely threw in his lot with the Entente Powers. By the middle of 1916 he proclaimed himself to be "Sultan of the Arabs": but the British who were shocked at the lack of delicacy with which this prince would call an agricultural implement a spade, insisted on that title being toned down to one of "King of Hejaz." Husein's son, Faisal, who understood the civilized ways of diplomacy so much better, by way of compensation was promised not a mere title, a shadow, but the substance of the thing itself, and as a first instalment was allowed in 1916 with a flanking army to move up, parallel to Allenby's troops, from the northern borders of Hejaz through the Transjordanian half of Palestine to Damascus, which he entered in triumph a few days before the Turkish armistice (October 31st 1918) put a stop to further heroic exploits in that quarter. Alas for "King" Faisal of Syria! Little did he know that Syria and Palestine had not only been promised to him, but also to the French and to the Jews: but his education in that matter was wonderfully expedited by a French army which in July 1920 took Damascus and told king Faisal to run for his life: which he did. England was disconsolate at the somewhat inauspicious turn, matters had taken for the Hashimite family, but—resourceful as ever—English statesmanship soon discovered a means of "compensating" Husein *pere* and his sons for such well laid plans as had unaccountably gone agley. By another one of these providential coincidences, which have so curiously favoured the British Empire, the people of Iraq were discovered to be clamouring just then for a king of their own and—curiouser and curiouser—it was Faisal and none other they had set their hearts upon. Could England (which happened to have got a mandate for Iraq at the same time) stand up against such popular demand? No: if Iraq wanted Faisal, Iraq must be given Faisal, or at least Faisal must be given Iraq. And so in 1921 Faisal became King of Iraq, since the naughty French would not allow the little pet to retain his Syria. There remained the little matter of Palestine which also had clearly come within the purport of the lands promised to the "Sultan of the Arabs," beg pardon, the "King of the Hejaz." But this much promised land was also the Promised Land of the Zionists: how then could it be part of the Hashimite Empire? The thing was clearly unreasonable: but with that wonderful generosity which so distinguishes British (and all other) imperialism, a truly Solomonic judgement was delivered and the child under dispute divided, the left half (Palestine proper) being handed to the Jews and the right half (Transjordanian) to Abdallah, another son of the great Husein of the Hejaz.

Now, obviously, after that everything ought to have been for the very best in the very best of all worlds. But it was not. And "the nigger in the woodpile", (as the masters of the American lan-

guage so beautifully put it) was—Saud. We had left Saud master of Central Arabia and extremely annoyed with "King" Husein. That annoyance manifested itself—in the rude downright manner of those uncivilized people—in the outbreak of hostilities, which began in 1917 and in 1919 had reached the neighbourhood of Mecca. The British—unselfish friends of both Saud and Husein—tried their best to stay the conflict and to some extent were successful in this for the time being. In the mean time Rashid of Shammar had been assassinated in 1920 and Saud therefore decided to turn on Shammar in real earnest and this time finished it off, extending his conquest in 1921 up to Jauf, on the confines of Syria, and in 1922 raiding Transjordanian where once more it was the British who entreated him to desist. Thereupon, *post hoc* or *propter hoc*, Saud once more turned towards Hejaz. The sequel is fresh in the minds of all: Saud has captured Mecca, Husein has fled for his life and Ali (yet another of Husein's sons) hangs on with the skin of his teeth to Jidda—the sole remnant of the late "Kingdom of Hejaz." As a net result Saud's sway today reaches from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf and from the borders of Transjordanian and Iraq to those of Yemen and Oman. And nominally Saud is still an ally of England.

What will his next move be—and England's?

SOME MONTAGU LETTERS.

BY THE RT. HON'BLE V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

AFTER great hesitation I have decided to publish a selection of letters written me by the late Mr. E. S. Montagu. Of the propriety of my doing so, there will always be question. My object is to enable the reader to realise how anxious he was to understand our mind and how thoroughly he identified himself with the cause of India. The use of the first person plural in writing and speaking of the people of India was a constant habit with him. During the Imperial Conference of 1921 we sat next to each other and exchanged notes most of the time. The greater part of these were destroyed, but occasionally he would snatch some and thrust them impulsively into his pocket, while I took hold of others.

I

(During the discussion of the former Anglo-Japanese treaty, the idea of a Conference of Pacific powers was occasionally mooted. It was taken for granted that representatives of the Dominions would attend, but mention was not made of India at first. Being equally sensitive of her Dominion status, we consulted together. In the result I put in a claim, which was allowed when the composition of the British delegation at the Reduction of Naval Armament Conference at Washington was settled.)

S.:—Are you going to ask to be allowed to hold a watching brief at this Pacific Conference, if not a place as an interested party?

M.:—No. I think we must ask that we have a place on the Conference. We are vitally interested in Pacific navies and our relations with Japan.

S. :—Quite. Don't you think you should put in your claim early enough? Nobody seems to think of India in that light, so far.

M. :—Put it in.

II

(I supported a protest that had been received from Bombay merchants against the proposal to transfer Aden to the Colonial Office. The boldness of the plan to control that office by subvention to be annually voted by the Legislative Assembly took my breath away.)

Yes, I think there is a lot of sense in protests of this kind.

But if I can get assurances that as a result India will be consulted about Colonial Office policy in the Middle East and equal treatment for Indians, and if I can save money, I should not oppose transfer.

At present Aden costs us about £400,000 and we pay for Persian Gulf, and certain subsidies to Arab chiefs.

I am considering a scheme of agreeing to pay £350,000 annually for five years for Aden and Persian Gulf and subsidies to be voted annually by Indian Legislature so that we save about £100,000 a year and can always refuse what will be a subvention to the C. O. unless she treated Indians well throughout her orbit.

III

(Mr. Winston Churchill, then Colonial Secretary, made one of his thundering pronouncements adverse to our claims in Kenya. I was in serious alarm and had a sleepless night. Little did either of us dream how much the position would deteriorate in two years and how much better for the Empire for India and for Kenya it would have been if the matter had been composed before the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Peel took it over. Montagu was a great admirer of Mr. Churchill.)

I read your letter.

I agree that Churchill's methods are not nice. We have to pay the price of genius and his failing is inability when he talks to leave out anything which is bubbling in his mind.

But I think, after a sleepless night, that we must not minimise what we have gained or risk losing it, for the Colonists are very angry.

After all it is tremendous, community of franchise, abolition of segregation, promise that in the future there will be nothing of the kind again attempted. The Indians in the legislature and economic pressure will one day remove the one outstanding question—and after all it is past history in one sense. That does not mean that I am not taking steps in the matter, I am going to fight. But we must not lose perspective.

IV

(The sadness of our case in South Africa may be imagined if General Smuts is our best friend there. Yet it is a fact, as a recent turn of events has proved. We left out no method of conciliation.)

I think I should say sometime or other.

- I want to make it clear that I believe

(1) that General Smuts is the best friend we have in S. African public life.

(2) That Indians' only chance of what they want in S. Africa is to be loyal citizens of the Empire—outside it we should have no chance.

We therefore do not want to create difficulties for him and we want his help in binding India to the Empire.

V

(This was a hint to me just before I moved the draft resolution on our overseas status. Our loyalty, however, was never questioned during the discussion.)

I hope you will not forget that the best way of ensuring support from Mr. Meighen, Mr. Massey, etc. is to emphasise the loyalty which I know you feel to the British Empire and citizenship. I hear people are making the most of attempts to persuade Empire that India is less loyal to the common purpose than the others.

VI

(Mr. Montagu was ill at the time the Maharao of Cutch and I received the freedom of London, and his place at the luncheon was taken by Lord Lytton, then the Indian Under-Secretary. The letter shows how hard it was even to get a day for the hearing of the Indian case.)

INDIA OFFICE,
Whitehall, S.W.1.

29th July 1921.

DEAR MR. SASTRI,

I send you a hasty note from my bed for three purposes:

(1) to thank you for coming to enquire for me;

(2) to congratulate you upon your speech at the Guildhall, and to thank you for your references to me; and

(3) to urge you to get a definite appointment for Indians in the Dominions before the Conference adjourns this week. Next week is the last week. It is so vital to us; I think you must insist that a day be appointed now, and I should say it ought to be Thursday or Wednesday.

Would you ask Mr. Brown to communicate to me the result of your efforts?

Yours sincerely,
EDWIN S. MONTAGU.

VII

Private.

INDIA OFFICE,
Whitehall, S.W.1.

8th March 1922.

MY DEAR MR. SASTRI,

In reflecting upon our conversations before you left London, I feel that I did not fully convey to you my sense of appreciation of your services to your country and the Empire whilst you have been over

here. You have not only acquired for India a new reputation in the councils of the world, but I think you will carry back with you a true appreciation of the fact that I wish your countrymen would learn that hate begets bitterness, that the English want to serve India, and that a real and dignified co-operation does not mean the abandonment, or even the postponing, but rather the acceleration of nationalist aspirations, and must meet—and does meet—with response from my fellow-countrymen. I have to thank you for much help, and feel grateful for much sympathy. I think you realise the difficulties of my task, and the assistance that you have rendered me has been much appreciated by me and will reinforce me in my work.

The best of luck attend you in the life that you have dedicated to the service of your country and of the Empire.

Yours sincerely,
EDWIN S. MONTAGU.

VIII

Private.

4, GORDON PLACE,
Bloomsbury, Museum 7387.
5th March, 1923.

MY DEAR MR. SASTRI,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 8th February, with many thanks. I need hardly tell you with what satisfaction I received the generous resolution passed by the Liberal Federation, and I hope you will find some suitable method and opportunity of conveying to the members of your organization my grateful thanks for their message.

I think you will always find that an Upper Chamber lags behind a Lower Chamber, except in moments of crisis. It is certainly true in this country of the House of Lords, but there come times when the Upper Chamber re-establishes itself without difficulty, and plays a vital part in the fortunes of its country by finding opportunities for action denied to the Lower Chamber. This is certainly true not only in this country but in America, and I have no doubt that it will be found to be so in India. Of course your presence in the Upper House, and your consequent absence from the Lower one, must be a source of great impatience to you. So it would be for Mr. Churchill to find himself in the House of Lords here. But there is this difference in the position, that whereas you may at any moment find a means of remedying the situation, unless our Upper Chamber is reformed inclusion in it is permanent.

I find myself very distressed at the attitude which you gentlemen are taking up in India on the Civil Services, but it is no use my attempting to get you to agree with me, for one of the bitter reflections which I carry with me in my retirement is this, that I have always failed to get a consistent acceptance of my advice, even from my political friends in India; and the generosity of their appreciation of my services, which reaches me from time to time, is

only measured by the frequency with which they differ from and reject my opinion. I desire to place in writing before you, in order that in after years you may remember it, my conviction that the progress of India to self-government must be hampered by the absence of a reform in the organisation of the Civil Services, and that the work which Lord Chelmsford and I accomplished in India is incomplete until that reorganisation occurs. We altered the political constitution of India and gave a new trend and direction to the future, but we left untouched the executive organization. That executive organization has got to be fitted into the new order of things, and until this is accomplished the existing and now anachronistic organisation will always prove to be, and be quoted as, an obstacle to progress, even although a general acceptance of the new ideal characterises the members of the Services. This reorganisation cannot be accomplished without an enquiry, and that enquiry ought to be speedily undertaken. You will never get a subordination of the Services to the Governments in India rather than to the Secretary of State without enquiry. You will never be able to determine the method of recruitment, the tests for recruitment, the period of recruitment for each individual, the age or ages at which people are required, the general alteration of the Services from a governing caste to an executive agency without enquiry and authoritative recommendations. I do not say that a Royal Commission is the best way to achieve this, nor do I argue that the method of presentment of the enquiry either here or in India is the way that I would have chosen. But I do say that if I had been a member of the Legislative Assembly I should have received the announcement in a very different way from that in which it has been received. I should have warned the Government that reforms of pay must be conditional on a reorganisation which made the Services an instrument of the Reforms Act and its developments; that India was not going to pay money to entrench the Services in an existing organisation out of harmony with recent alterations; that the cost of alterations in pay would naturally depend upon the reorganisation which was achieved; and that it would be a comparatively simple matter to adjust the recommendations of the Islington Commission to the new organisation without a new and prolonged enquiry on that subject. I think I should have added that it was the duty of the Assembly to recommend to the Secretary of State that the new enquiry should be manned partly or predominantly—(I am not now speaking as an ex-Secretary of State, but I am assuming the rôle of a member of the Legislative Assembly)—from the Legislative Assembly itself. However, I will not bother you with any more on this subject.

With renewed expressions of thanks,

I am,
Yours very sincerely,
EDWIN S. MONTAGU.

Facsimile of Letter II.



10, DOWNING STREET,
WHITEHALL, S.W.1.

Yes, I think there's a lot of sense in protests of this kind.

But if I can get assurances that as a result Indians will be consulted about Colonial Office policy in the Middle East and equal treatment of Indians, and if I can save money, I shall not

oppose transfer.
At present Adm. costs about £4,000,000
and in pay for Persian Gulf,
and certain subsidies to Arab chiefs.

I am considering a scheme of agreeing to pay £3,500,000 annually for five years for Adm. + Persian Gulf + Subsidies to be voted annually by Indian legislature. As that will save about £1,000,000 a year and can always refer what will be a substantial E.K.O. unless she treated Indians well throughout her orbit.

THE PROGRESS OF CO-OPERATION.

THE abstract of statistics relating to co-operative societies for the year 1923-24, recently published by the Government of India, shows that during that year there was good general progress of the movement. The statistics relate to all provinces of British India except the North-West Frontier Province and British Baluchistan—where obviously no societies have been started, for reasons best known to

Government—and to only four Indian States, viz. Mysore, Baroda, Hyderabad and Bhopal. As we pointed out last year, there is neither rhyme nor reason in giving the statistics of only these four States. The co-operative movement has taken root not only in these but in several other States, for example, Travancore, Cochin, Indore. They possess Registrars of Co-operative Societies who would be able to furnish the statistics required. The courtesy shown to the four

States could very well be shown to them also and we are sure they would greatly appreciate it. During 1922-23 the total number of societies increased from 56,136 to 61,106 or by nearly 5000, the increase in the previous year being less than 4000. The number of members increased from 2.1 millions to 2.31 millions, which gives about the same percentage of increase as in the case of societies. The working capital at the same time increased from Rs. 35.5 crores to Rs. 40.5 crores, which gives a much higher percentage of increase than societies or membership. If an increase in one year of 9 to 10 per cent. in societies and membership is quite satisfactory, an increase of 15 per cent. in the resources of societies must be considered gratifying.

When we consider the provincial figures separately we see great disparity: while some have shown remarkable progress, there has been even a set-back in some others—that is, from a statistical point of view. The three provinces of Bengal, Madras and the Punjab account for nearly 4,000 out of the increase of 5,000 in the number of societies. Bengal and Madras, which added more than a thousand new societies each in 1922-23, if anything accelerated their rate of expansion in 1923-24. But the Punjab still retains the lead with 10,541 societies against 9,783 and 9,334 of Madras and Bengal respectively. Bihar which started nearly 900 new societies in 1922-23 slowed down considerably in 1923-24, adding only 486 to its number. The societies in the small province of Delhi increased from 150 to 193, which is a very high rate of expansion. There was an actual decrease of 212 societies in the Central Provinces and of 4 and 1 in Ajmere-Merwara and Coorg respectively; while among the States there was a decrease of 52 and 50 respectively in Mysore and Bhopal. In these provinces and States there has been an unhealthy expansion in the past and now the weeding process is being carried on with vigour. In most provinces feverish expansion and consolidation have alternated, only one or two provinces like Bombay maintaining a steady pace. Let us hope that the phenomenal expansion witnessed in Bengal and Madras during the last two or three years will not be followed by a set-back as in the case of the C. P. and Mysore.

With regard to membership, it is noteworthy that the highest percentage of members of primary societies to population is to be seen in the small administrations of Ajmere-Merwara and Coorg. Among the major provinces Bombay leads, with Madras, Punjab and Burma following in order. The smallest percentage is found in the United Provinces where only 3.2 among 1000 inhabitants are members of co-operative societies against 18.1 in Bombay. Among the States, Bhopal and Mysore have 17.1 and 15.1 members respectively per 1000 inhabitants, while, Hyderabad has only 3.2. The highest average membership is found in Bombay which has nearly 100 members per society, while at the other end is C. P. with only 15 members per society. Among the States Mysore has an average of more than 60 members and Bhopal less than 16.

The expansion in working capital is, as we have already said, gratifying. It shows not only that the reserve fund, which is indivisible in the event of liquidation, has increased, and that members of societies, whether voluntarily or compulsorily, are investing their savings in them, but also that non-members, that is, the investing public, are showing greater confidence in co-operative societies. The total working capital in the movement at the end of 1923-24 is mentioned as Rs. 40.5 crores. This is however, not a net figure, as amounts lent from societies to societies, such as from the provincial to central banks and from the latter to primary societies, are counted twice and sometimes even thrice. If these and the loans given by Government are eliminated the working capital comes down to about Rs. 24 crores. Of this amount, more than Rs. 12 crores consisted of deposits from non-members—which is a striking testimony to the confidence enjoyed by co-operative banks, particularly the provincial and central banks, at the hands of the general public. This expansion of working capital was remarkable in Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, Bengal and Bihar. It was moderate in Burma but negligible in the United Provinces and Assam. In the Central Provinces and Mysore there was some increase in working capital though there was a fall in the number of societies and in membership. In Ajmere-Merwara and Bhopal, however, there was a decrease in working capital as well as in societies and membership.

The main business of provincial and central banks is to finance the primary societies. This they appear to have done very satisfactorily in 1923-24, enjoying an increasing measure of confidence from the investing public. The Bombay banks did in addition a great deal of ordinary banking business with members of primary societies in the transmission of money by cheques from one place to another—a feature which deserves to be copied by other provinces. The central banks of North Indian provinces supply, in addition to finance, agricultural implements, seeds, etc., to primary societies. These transactions were never very considerable and it is therefore all the more to be regretted that their value fell from Rs. 6.25 lakhs in 1922 to Rs. 1.62 lakhs in 1923-24. The fall was greatest in Bengal and Ajmere-Merwara where such transactions appear to have ceased altogether.

The most numerous class of societies is of course that of agricultural credit. We have repeatedly drawn attention to their inefficiency in most provinces. To what extent did they improve in 1923-24? The following table, comparing the percentage in the more important provinces of over-dues to loans due from members for 1922-23 and 1923-24, will give the answer.

Province	percentage in 1922-23	percentage in 1923-24
Punjab	6	4.5
Burma	7.8	6
Bombay	20.0	19

Madras	21.4	24
Bihar and Orissa	22.5	12
U. P.	30.0	32
Bengal	37.0	35
C. P.	38.5	42
Assam	44.3	36
Baroda	20.0	16.2
Mysore	40.0	32.5
Bhopal	58.0	70

The Punjab and Burma are [to be congratulated on maintaining and even improving their excellent position. The improvement in Bihar and Orissa is very striking, while that in Assam, Mysore and Baroda is satisfactory. Bengal and Bombay should have shown greater improvement, but they are not disappointing as Madras, U. P. and C. P. are. The deterioration of Bhopal is very sad. It has gone down in all respects and Her Highness the Begum Saheba will do well to order a thorough enquiry into the condition of the movement in the State.

In the transactions of non-credit agricultural societies, there was a serious set-back in the Punjab and Burma under "sales of goods to members." Under "purchase of members' products," or joint sale, there was a remarkable expansion in Bombay and as remarkable a contraction in Burma. Non-agricultural societies worked very much on the same lines as in the previous year. There was no improvement in the overdues of Mysore and Madras. The urban store movement was fairly strong and steady in Mysore, Madras and Bombay. Elsewhere it was weak and fluctuating. There was no appreciable increase in the number of supervising unions or of the supervisors employed by them. There was no increase in the number of cattle insurance societies in Burma and Bombay, while in the Punjab and Coorg, the only two other provinces where they exist, they decreased from 39 and 10 to 29 and 6 respectively. Their membership and transactions dwindled in every province. They were tried as an experiment and have not been found suitable.

On the whole it was a year of substantial progress.

REVIEWS.

WAR—WITH THE MASK OFF.

- (1) **THE SWORD OR THE CROSS.** By Kirby Page. With an introduction by HARRY F. WARD. 1921. pp. 53.
 - (2) **WAR: ITS CAUSES, CONSEQUENCE AND CURE.** By Kirby Page. With an introduction by H. E. FOSDICK. 1923. pp. 89.
 - (3) **THE ABOLITION OF WAR.** By Kirby Page and SHERWOOD EDDY. 1924. pp. 93.
- All 7½ × 5 and published by G. H. Doran Co., New York, price 15 cents each.

HOW one wishes that these three pamphlets and publications like them were read in India! But who here cares about war and its prevention? The simple reason of course is that, except for an infinitesimal minority of professionals, Indians don't know

war; certainly not modern war. ' And if there was any doubt about it, it surely must receive its quietus when we see so many amiable middle-aged gentlemen among us worrying themselves, how our youth may best attain proficiency in the technique of homicide. Knowing some of them personally, I can vouch for it, that, if any of them had been through a bit of modern war themselves, they would have the same fixed idea with which the British soldier came out of the last war, to wit, "never no more"—and none other.

What is war like? A young officer (quoted 1, 15) gives a "picture of a leprous earth, scattered with the swollen and blackening corpses of young men. The appalling stench.....mud like porridge, swarms of flies clustering on pits of offal. Wounded men lying in the shell holes among the decaying corpses, helpless under repeated shelling. Men with bowels dropping out, lungs shot away, with blinded smashed faces. Men screaming and gibbering. Men hanging in agony on the barbed wire until a friendly spout of liquid fire shrivels them up like a fly in the candle."

Is that really what all these Indian fathers who clamour for universal military training want their sons to go through? But even if they do, what is the use of teaching these boys to take potshots with an old rifle at targets? They might as well be taught archery or a cavalry charge, for all the practical use such training will be in that *Next War* for which we are so feverishly preparing. The next war obviously will be one of chemical and aerial warfare: all this infantry business being already as utterly obsolete as cavalry was in the last war. When that last war came to an end, the Americans had just got ready a gas (Lewisite) that would kill by mere contact with the skin: a lovely bit of gas, heavier than air, that would get into any crevice and permeate any building. A fleet of a few hundred planes, dropping their load of Lewisite over Bombay or Benares or Calcutta could as surely wipe out these cities, as a schoolboy wipes off what he has written on his slate. And that was six years ago. Think of the progress of Science since then! The latest seems to be a gas which makes those who inhale it mad—running amuck and killing off each other. And then think of influenza—how that one disease has killed off in one epidemic more people than were killed in the Great War: do you believe that military science will for long sit down under the disgrace of being thus beaten hollow by mere unaided nature? If chemical warfare will slay its lakhs, surely bacteriological warfare will in the future be able to slay its crores!

So, if we really want to prepare our children for the technique of war, let's do it properly by teaching them how to poison air and water and earth on the grand scale. Let us "take the spirit of courage and devotion of our youth, and, instead of letting it be a benediction in the world, use it to sack cities and choke and slay men. Let us take their loyalty, that well used would redeem the world, and harness it to a movement that inevitably means the rape of women, the murder of children, the starvation of whole populations. Let us take their religion to help

in the deadly work; let us take their science and make it a minister of hell." (1, 16). If we want all that, then, by all means, let us do it. But do not let us deceive ourselves that we can will the end without willing the means. If any of us can still say that war—the Next War—is the lesser of two evils, let us say it by all means: but let us be quite sure that we mean war and not the mask behind which interested parties are wont to hide its Gorgon's head.

And do let us have done with those hoary posers with which it is still believed by the more innocent and imbecile of our fellow-men in the street that the "inconsistent" pacifist can be floored: as for instance that, if we think we can do without the military, we surely ought to think we could do without the police too; or whether pacifism does not logically mean that we should stand by with folded arms, whilst our sister is being violated before our eyes. These and 48 other questions are answered by Kirby Page (3, pp. 45-95): answered, mind you, not merely parried; and if anybody, militarist or pacifist, cannot spend 8s. on getting this remarkable little pamphlet, at least he might have the decency not to speak any longer about a subject which he takes so little trouble to master. The root trouble unfortunately is just this that if only people stopped to think out the matter, they would all be pacifists tomorrow: and since they start by not wanting to be pacifists, they very naturally refuse to think it out. And so heigho! for the jolly Next War.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

THE NEAR EAST.

THE EASTERN QUESTION: A study in European Diplomacy. By J. A. R. MARRIOTT. Third Revised Edition. (Oxford University Press.) 1924. 7½ × 5. pp. 564. 8s. 6d.

It is superfluous to say anything in praise of this valuable book, as its author has established his reputation as a competent writer on modern history and contemporary politics. The fact that the book has passed through three editions in the course of seven years is sufficient evidence of its usefulness. The epilogue to the present edition which summarizes the events from 1917 to 1923, contains an interesting sketch of the collapse and recovery of the Turks. A fuller account, at once discriminating and sympathetic, by Mr. Philip M. Brown, Associate Editor of "The American Journal of International Law", of the dramatic events which ultimately led up to the Treaty of Lausanne, will be found in Vol. II of the excellent work, "These Eventful Years", published last year by the Encyclopaedia Britannica Company, London.

Sane and judicious writer though he is, Sir J. A. R. Marriott is less than just to the Turks. Essentially, so runs his judgment, the Ottoman Turk has been from first to last a fighting man, a herdsman and a nomad. He is not a 'political animal' in the Aristotelian sense. He has no aptitude for admini-

strative work. His rule has been that of an alien tyrant who has always depended upon the power of the sword and upon that alone. It need hardly be said that this judgment is too severe. As a corrective to it, it is worth transcribing a passage from Frederic Harrison's famous essay on Constantinople published more than thirty years ago:

"The continuity of empire in Constantinople suffered, it is true, a tremendous breach in dynasty, in race, and in religion by the conquest of the Turks; and, if it were a Christian, and Roman, or Latin, or Greek empire for 1123 years, it has been a Moslem and Ottoman empire for 441 years. To many historians these 441 years have been a period of Babylonish captivity for the chosen people. But those who are not especially philhellene or philorthodox in any absolute sense will view this great problem without race or sectarian animosities. Before the imperial judgment-seat of history the lesson of the past lies in the unfolding of genius in government and in war, in organising nations, and in moulding their destinies; and where these great capacities exist, there is no room to indulge the prejudices of a partisan. The two centuries of Stamboul which follow the conquest of Mohammed the Second, in 1453, are greatly superior in interest and in teaching to the two centuries of Byzantine empire which precede it, and the miserable tale of the Latin usurpation. Nor has the whole Ottoman rule of four centuries and a half been less brilliant, less rich in great intellects and great characters, than the Byzantine empire from the time of the Crusades till its fall, perhaps even not more oppressive to its subjects, nor more antagonistic to moral and social progress."

The Eastern question which, in its modern phase, began with the advent of the Turks in Europe, was hitherto concerned with the assertion of the principles of self-determination by the Balkan States against their Turkish masters. That question has now entered on a wider phase. The principles of self-determination, which, as Mr. Gooch reminds us, is the essence of nationalism, have spread into Asia and Egypt. It is a double movement. On the one hand there is a keen desire to assimilate Western culture. On the other hand there is no less keen a determination to preserve whatever is best in Eastern traditions and ideals. "The awakening of the East has resulted from the appropriation of the ideas and methods of the West, but the most enduring result is the affirmation of its own personality."* The future historian of the Eastern question will have to trace in detail this affirmation by the East of her own personality.

There is a misprint in the bibliographical note at page 408. The date of publication of Gladstone's book, 'The American question' is 1895 and not 1905. The misprint has been repeated in the footnote to page 280 of the writer's book, 'The European Commonwealth.'

N. NARASIMHA MURTI.

SOCIAL IDEAL.

THE SOCIAL IDEAL OF THE BIBLE. By the REV. GILBERT CLIVE BINYON, M. A. (Commonwealth Press, Letchworth.) 1924. 7½ × 5. pp. xv. and 53. 1s. 6d.

*'Nationalism' By G. E. Gooch.

RELIGION is always in danger of confusing two very different things, other-worldliness and unworldliness; and Christianity has not escaped. Numbers of devout Christians have so concentrated their attention on the salvation of the soul as to suggest that they have no interest in the present and future social order of mankind in this world.

They have less excuse to-day than ever if they make that mistake. One of the "assured results" of the Biblical criticism of the last hundred years is that the Bible knows little of a merely individual salvation. It is shot through with social idealism. The Kingdom of God is a central conception in the teaching of Jesus Christ.

The rediscovery and re-emphasis of the social implications of the Gospel received almost startling embodiment in the great Conference known as COPEC, the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, at Birmingham last April.

This little book can be heartily commended to all who want a brief outline of the social teaching of the Bible. It demands, but it repays, careful reading. The table of Biblical references might be used as a basis for corporate study.

There are signs visible to-day in India of an increasing dissatisfaction on the one hand with the secularism that contends that God doesn't matter and on the other hand with the other-worldliness that contends that the social order doesn't matter. This book will help the dissatisfied in their study of the historical development of the great religious tradition of Israel that culminates in Jesus of Nazareth. The following quotation illustrates the quality of the book:—"A God concerned with social justice, His Soul grieved for the misery of his people, himself pressed down by the oppression of the poor—this was the God whom Israel was to serve. When elders or judges neglect justice—sell the righteous for silver and the poor for a pair of shoes—that, Amos teaches, is disloyalty, gross forgetfulness and ingratitude towards the God of deliverance from oppression... This conviction... is the distinctive feature of Israel's religion; a clear and vivid consciousness of it should (the prophets claim) be a guiding factor in the ordering of public affairs, should regulate the decisions of judges or elders, and create the manners and customs of Jehovah's people."

C. KINGSLEY WILLIAMS.

LAND TENURE.

A HISTORY OF LAND TENURE IN ENGLAND
By J. GHOSH, M. A., PH. D. Second Edition.
(Kar Majumdar and Co., Calcutta.) 1924. 7 x 4½.
pp. 380. Rs. 5/-

THE sole aim of the author is to interpret the agrarian history of England and discuss the relative merits of Communism, Feudalism, Customary Tenancy and Landlordism. The last chapter surveys the effects of war on the agricultural situation in England. His recommendation for the recovery of English agriculture is a closer association between landlords and agricultural labourers. Though "it may fail to solve the food problem of England or to bring about an extension of the area under cereals, it will do more than any other arrangement to check the rapid decline of English agriculture." So far as this recommendation is concerned there is no occasion to criticise it. The author forgets that England always recognises that it has not much agricultural prosperity in store, for her English landowners have completely lost faith in agriculture. They were hard hit by the fall in rents at the end of the nineteenth century. The

Lloyd George Budget of 1909 gave them a second blow. Lastly, land taxes have been heavy and forcing them to divide large estates. Sale of land is of the increase and the traditional landed gentry of England are being displaced by farmers. At the same time foreign competition is loosening the farmer's hold of the domestic market. The British farmer has not been able to reduce the cost of agriculture and even granted that a Tariff is set up, the farmer would not be in a position to check the importation of food into England. The people believe that England's real interests lie in the domain of industry and commerce and that agriculture should be sacrificed. The interests of the City are considered identical with national requirements. Financial development of the Empire's resources by sending men as well as capital are the real things in which England is interested; and always conscious of the fact that the needed food-supply can be procured from the Empire, she believes that agricultural interests can be safely sacrificed. She relies on the principle of international division of labour and would even carry it to extreme lengths. This aspect of the case has not been discussed by the author.

B. R. RAU.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- A NATION IN MAKING**—Being the Reminiscences of Fifty Years of Public Life. By SIR SURENDRANATH BANERJEA. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1925. 9 x 5½. pp. 420. Rs. 10-8.
- PRODUCTION IN INDIA.** By RAJANI KANT DAS. (Visva Bharati Book Shop, Calcutta.) 1924. 8½ x 5½. pp. 180.
- LES ORIGINES DE LA PSYCHOLOGIE CONTEMPORAINE**—Troisième Edition—By LE CARDINAL D. J. MERCIER. (Felix Alcan, Paris.) 1925. 7½ x 5. pp. 463. Frs. 12.
- IRELAND & THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.** By BOLTON C. WALLER. (Talbot Press, Dublin.) 1925. 7½ x 4½. pp. 74. 1s.
- DIE EINMALIGKEIT DER GESCHICHTE.** By JOHANNES THYSSEN. (Friedrich Cohen's Verlag, Bonn.) 1924. 9½ x 6½. pp. 258. Mks. 6. 50.
- THE LABOUR YEAR BOOK, 1925.** (Labour Publication Department, London.) 1925. 7½ x 4½. pp. 573. 3s. 6d. paper 5s. cloth.
- WESSEN UND BEDEUTUNG DER PLATONISCHEN AKADEMIE.** By PAUL LUDWIG LANDSBERG. (Friedrich Cohen's Verlag, Bonn.) 1923. 9½ x 6½. pp. 100. Mks. 2.50.
- CATHOLICISM & THE ENGLISH MIND**—A Study in Religious Psychology. By HUMPHREY JOHNSON. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford.) 1924. 7½ x 5. pp. 90. 1s. 6d.
- JAKOB BOEHME.** By HANKAMER. (Friedrich Cohen's Verlag, Bonn.) 1923. 9½ x 6½. pp. 427. Mks. 8.50.
- THE MEANING OF THE PROTOCOL.** By H. WILSON HARRIS. (League of Nations Union.) 1925. 7½ x 4½. pp. 40. 6d.
- THE GOVERNMENTS OF BRITAIN, FRANCE & CZECHOSLOVAKIA ON THE GENEVA PROTOCOL.** (League of Nations Union.) 1925. 7½ x 4½. pp. 31. 3d.
- CANADA & THE GENEVA PROTOCOL.** (League of Nations Union.) 1925. 7½ x 4½. pp. 7. 1d.
- THE FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE ANTI-MALARIA SOCIETY.** Calcutta. 1925. 9½ x 7½. pp. 106.
- THE CHRIST OF THE GOSPELS.** By ARTHUR W. ROBINSON. (Student Christian Movement, London.) 1924. 7½ x 5. pp. 207. 4s. 6d.
- GOD'S WAY WITH MAN.** By LILY DOUGALL. (Student Christian Movement, London.) 1924. 7½ x 5.
- THE GOODNESS & THE SEVERITY OF GOD.** By the REV. J. O. F. MURRAY. (Student Christian Movement, London.) 1924. 7½ x 5. pp. 208. 5s.

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