

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WE bespeak the earnest attention of our readers to the idea, referred to in our London Letter on another page, of holding a conference between representatives of the South African and the Indian Labour movements for the purpose of having a heart-to-heart discussion of the disabilities under which Indian workers are labouring in South Africa. Some time ago a proposal was put forward for a Round Table Conference to be officially arranged, and though it emanated from a popular political leader it made a surprisingly poor appeal to public opinion in this country. Nor did it receive much support in official quarters. In these circumstances it is best to be prepared with another plan, at any rate as a second arrow to our bow. The present plan seems to us, however, to be more promising. Being a non-official conference, it can of course decide nothing, and in the present temper of the Labour party of South Africa, it may even fall short of paving the way for an agreed solution. Still it seems to us that a frank exchange of views between the labour leaders of both countries will go far to help in understanding the realities of the situation. The body which should organise a deputation of Indian labour representatives to South Africa to confer with the South African representatives is obviously the Indian Imperial Citizenship Association. It possesses funds enough to finance such a deputation and its prestige stands high. We hope therefore that it will seize this opportunity to bring about a conference such as the one suggested.

SAVE for the election of Mr. V. J. Patel to the presidentship of the Legislative Assembly, in which capa-

city we trust he will distinguish himself as much as he did as President of the Bombay Corporation, the Swarajist party are losing somewhat of the ground which seemed to have been occupied very securely by them. The move of the Bombay Swarajists in deciding to play the part of silent, non-voting councillors, which was apparently expected to impart an electric shock to the whole of India, has verily proved a damp squib. It is now common knowledge that at the meeting when this step was decided upon some influential members of the Swaraj party objected on the ground that the step would prove as barren of beneficial results and as fruitful of mischievous results as the plan of Council boycott, but they were told that the abstention from voting and speaking to which the party was being committed would be necessary, if at all, for a very short time, for the leader of the party was confident that he would be coaxed into co-operation in a day or two by Government members. But the anxiously awaited invitation to the Swaraj party to abandon their sullenness never came, and members of the party find that owing to the mishandling of the situation by their leader they have turned non-cooperators much against their wish. What an utter topsyturvydom in logic Mr. Jayakar perpetrates in recommending this step for public approbation! The exercise by the Swarajists of their right of voting and speaking only resulted, he says, in throwing Non-Brahmans and Mahomedans into the arms of the Government and the policy of abstention is now adopted, according to him, in the confident belief that all that is necessary to draw these dissident sections away from Government influence and induce them to join Nationalist ranks is for the Swarajist party to withdraw from them such support as it used to give them!! One would think that nothing would be better calculated to cement the existing union between the communalist parties and the bureaucracy so much as the withholding from them all non-official help and making them, as a necessary consequence, fall back upon the official support as their only resource. Mr. Jayakar will find at the next Council meeting that Swarajists are in a weaker position because of their self-denying ordinance and the non-Brahman and Muslim parties in a much stronger position than before. He has played directly into his opponent's hand.

IN Bengal the Swaraj party has lost enormously in prestige and appreciably in numbers. The failure of Dr. Suhrawardy to be elected President of the Bengal

Legislative Council is regarded in itself as a portent of the waning influence of the Swarajists in Bengal. But his defeat has had many reactions, which are all of them highly prejudicial to the fortunes of the party. Mahatma Gandhi happened to make such severe remarks against Dr. Suhrawardy that the latter felt constrained to resign from the party. The condemnation is so extremely sharp that no self-respecting person would continue to be in a party after receiving such a rating from one who exerts a dominating influence on the party's affairs. The occasion for the castigation was the mere fact that Dr. Suhrawardy called upon the Governor on the day when the election of the Council President was to take place. It is alleged that the doctor saw the Governor in order to seek official help. Dr. Suhrawardy does not admit it; he says he paid a purely social call. We do not know why Mahatma Gandhi's suspicious should have been roused by what looks like a most innocent affair, but the incident has naturally produced the impression that even prominent Swarajists are not proof against official blandishments and can be saved from corruption only by being forbidden access to Government House. The immediate result is that the Mahomedan members of the Swaraj party are deeply disaffected, one of them having already tendered his resignation. The estrangement of the Muslim element was in any case to be expected, for the extravagant promises made by the late Mr. Das could not possibly be fulfilled, making the eventual withdrawal of Mahomedans inevitable. At no time in recent history did communalism receive such support and encouragement from Nationalists as the Mahomedans did from the suicidal move of Mr. Das

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THE correspondence that passed between the Governor of Kenya and the Colonial Secretary during the first half of the present year, culminating in the latter authorising the former to call out 4000 natives to work on railway construction in Kenya, is now published in the shape of a White Paper (Cmd. 2464). The compulsory recruitment of labourers is supposed to be permissible only in the case of public works of urgent necessity, but the White Paper shows, in how lax a manner the test of either public utility or urgency is applied. When the Colonial Secretary refused to sanction the conscription of labour on one of the two railways recommended by the Governor without proof of the existence of an emergency, the Governor replied that the Colonial Secretary had already given him leave to use forced labour on that railway (Thika-Nyeri railway) and that all that he had asked for was a general permission to resort to coercion in future without being required to apply for sanction in each specific case! Which means that Mr. Amery had sanctioned the application of compulsion before satisfying himself that it was imperatively necessary in the public interest. And it is more than doubtful whether he would have sanctioned coercive measures for bringing into existence a line intended to "open up the European settlement area of Western Kenya." This scheme may well be an urgent need from the point of view of European interests, but is it so in the public interest? Again, the deliberate fixation of the rate of wages for compelled labour at 2 shgs. less than the market rate for voluntary labour is so outrageous that the Colonial Secretary was at first astounded by the proposal, but ultimately he somehow made his peace with his conscience. It is true that conscripted labour is more uneconomical than free labour, but surely those who are called upon to neglect their private affairs in favour of public work (and all such labourers are drawn from the reserves and never from the

European farms) should at least be remunerated at the prevailing market rate. The Governor, the late Sir Robert Coryndon, had even the audacity to say that the reduction by 2 shgs. would not be a hardship when the market rate for farm labour, on his own showing, only ranged between 8 shgs. and 10 shgs. If labour avowedly compelled for the so-called public purposes is so ill-used, one can well imagine what must be happening to labour which in reality is coerced for private purposes, under whatever disguises it may be masquerading.

* * *

THE valuable review in our issue of last week dealing with Indian over-population reminds us, that in our issue of June 25th we maintained that Indians have nothing to fear from the gradual filling up of the earth, since the population of the world would, as it rises from the present total of 180 crores to a possible total of 800 crores, change from a present proportion of 72% to a future one of only 37% inhabiting the temperate zone. Further interesting facts referred to in the July number of *Geopolitik* have just come to hand. Brazil, that great federal republic of South America of a total superficies of 8½ million square kilometres and only 30 million inhabitants, at present boasts of an average of only 3½ inhabitants per sq. km. But this figure does not tell the whole story. For the purely tropical parts, which coincide with the vast tracts drained by the Amazonas and its affluents, are hardly populated at all: what population there is being mostly settled in the more temperate States of the south. The whole Amazonas basin has been calculated to contain only 1¾ million inhabitants, with an average density of 0.6 per sq. km. for the State of Acre, 0.2 for that of Amazonas and 0.7 for that of Para—whilst as a matter of fact that basin could support as many as nine hundred million people! The whole of this Amazonas basin is one of the most fertile in the world and seems most ideal for such cultures as those of rice, rubber, jute, &c. being very similar in its climate and agricultural potentialities to Bengal and Malabar. As for natural waterways, available for good-size steamers all the year round, they amount to the staggering total of 10,000 km.—the distance of London to Bombay!

* * *

NOW the whole of these vast lands empty and crying out for colonists; but where are these to be found, except in India? Once more we venture to suggest that the government of Brazil have every incentive to favour Indian immigration, if conceived on a really large and statesmanlike scale, and grant far-reaching autonomy to a seriously worked-out plan for a "New India" on the banks of the Amazonas. We of course do not hereby mean "coolie" emigration for the benefit of alien masters, but the building up of a new home (in the tropics of the future) of Indians, by Indians, for Indians: a colonization by the best material that our country can produce—workers by brain no less than by hand. Unemployment so rife everywhere, not least amongst our middle classes, would here find a natural remedy and India, benefitting herself, would equally benefit the whole world by making available such vast and untapped food resources for all mankind. Is the idea not worth thinking about at least? What harm in at least sounding the government of Brazil as to its views on the subject and familiarizing them with our side of the problem? Unfortunately our close connection with England seems to have rendered us altogether blind to all that falls outside the English angle of vision. Is it not time we revised this unfortunate habit?

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.*

By V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

THE Viceroy has spoken, but not said on the constitutional question, which alone matters, anything beyond what the Secretary of State had said. No sensible persons in India expected otherwise, unless it be those whose faith in British generosity is invincibly sanguine or that section of Swarajists who, like the late Mr. Das, took their triumph over Bengal diarchy seriously and, for some inexplicable reason, placed inordinate trust in the desire of Lord Birkenhead to come to terms with them. Lord Reading did not emulate the polished diction and oratorical graces of his official chief at Whitehall, and contented himself with a mild, lucid and careful paraphrase of the sentiments with which we are now familiar. What were then put forward as the tentative conclusions of the Secretary of State after consultation with the Viceroy are now stated as the considered decisions of the Government of India. As the British Cabinet have already been taken into consultation, we may assume that the discussion in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State is but a necessary constitutional formality, and that, after it has been gone through, those decisions will be carried out by appropriate action here and in England. One must gladly and without reserve admit the sincerity of tone and the friendliness of purpose with which Lord Reading advised the members of his legislature from his natural sagacity and rounded experience. It is, therefore, with some regret that one is obliged, before accepting His Excellency's political beliefs, to limit them by qualifications. Both by his previous training and in virtue of his responsible office he could only state them in smooth generalisations, but we should be like innocent babes to translate them straightaway into principles for work-a-day practice. For instance, he emphatically repudiated the notion that Britain yielded to force what she was unwilling to yield to reason. If by force be meant the levy of open war as understood in diplomacy, we might allow a certain amount of truth in the repudiation. But if by force be meant violent and disorderly forms of agitation, Lord Reading has against him the bulk of the recorded history of progress in his own country. It would be difficult for the impartial historian to mention one indubitable instance of the extension of popular freedom or of the removal of class disability till the hands of statesmen had been forced by serious breaches of the public peace. Even if India could be got to overlook the recent history of Ireland and Egypt, how could she ever forget that she lost her case in Kenya and the good name of the Empire was dragged into the dust because the white people there, with the flagitious acquiescence of their Government, employed threats of armed resistance, while she and her Government trusted wholly to the sanctity of Imperial pledges and the inherent justice of her demands? With due respect to Lord Reading, we shall venture on two

propositions which no official responsible for law and order can afford to endorse or circulate, but which no observer of human affairs will seriously question. If India could back her demand for Dominion status with sufficient force, she would be listened to, though she were unfit therefor. No degree of moral or intellectual fitness would, alone and by itself, ensure her advance to Swaraj. In fact the ability to use force is one proof of fitness in the eyes of those who boast that their sense of fact is not obscured by idealism. These disquieting truths are enunciated in their nakedness, lest the people of India be lulled into security by the pleasant plausibilities of the Viceregal utterance. It is a trite theme and need not be pursued. The elimination of disorder as an essential condition of progress in British institutions is as yet only an adorable dream.

His Lordship is on less debatable ground when he asserts that none of the many Governments with which he had to deal is in favour of a retrogression with regard to India. But in affairs a perfectly stationary attitude is impossible, and those who misdoubt and hesitate to advance will soon find themselves moving backward in fact, however they may protest to the contrary. It is, therefore, impossible for us to be reassured in this regard till the present Tory Government have given substantial proof of their readiness to advance the Indian constitution. The Secretary of State's disavowal of the inviolable sanctity of the ten-year limitation is naturally repeated by the Viceroy. Our gratification at this authoritative pronouncement is materially diminished by its having been delayed until the recent amendments of the 1919 Act in the interests of the Services had rendered the original contention obviously untenable. This, however, is a strictly legal construction of the Act, not necessarily to be followed by anticipatory action. On that point we are admonished in solemn terms that the British nation cannot be coerced by threats, either of a violent or non-violent character, and that their present attitude and temper towards India are such that a Royal Commission constituted immediately would bring no good to her. Apparently the Viceroy contemplates a Commission of a predominantly conservative personnel, bound by narrow terms of reference, resting on a literal application of the preamble. If so, his Lordship has overlooked the very obvious consideration that the unanimous opinion of progressive politicians here, as indicated in the Minority Report of the Muddiman Committee and in the statement accompanying the Commonwealth of India Bill, desires the supersession of the whole of the present Act, including its preamble, by a new one in which the successive steps of advance should be rendered automatically secure. It would be ridiculous indeed if either those who practised non-co-operation, without or within the Legislatures, or those who were thwarted by it at every turn, based their claim for Swaraj on the degree of co-operation which the country offered to the Executive Government or on the triumphant working of

* Written for the "Bengalee."

the reforms. We are thus frankly dissatisfied with the pronouncement of the Viceroy. Between a Government of India under the malign influence of a reactionary community and a Conservative British Cabinet impervious to the ideals underlying the League of Nations, his Lordship's liberal sympathies have been asphyxiated.

All this, however, is no reason for our continuing the present policy of negation and thus giving the bureaucracy on excellent excuse for reaction. It is true the Liberal Party has joined in condemnation of dyarchy. But they prefer it any day to anarchy on the one hand and to unmitigated autocracy on the other. From the former we have been fortunately saved in the nick of time by the failure of non-co-operation. We have not, however, escaped the latter danger. Bengal and the Central Provinces are visibly near it. The Central Government functions in an atmosphere of bitter contention and is on the verge of impotence. In other provinces the demon of communalism renders the collective responsibility of Ministers impossible and by keeping them dependent on the official *bloc*, reduces responsible government, partial as it is, to a farce. Between a misguided majority party and an obstinate Government, the people have been demoralised and disheartened; valuable time has been lost; and the sympathy of undoubted Liberal and Labour friends in England has been jeopardised. Instead of calling on the Liberals and Moderates to abandon their flag, it is time that the Swarajists and non-co-operators changed their tactics, and went back to the methods of patient effort and constitutional agitation. The extremists of a former day and those of to-day are alike in this—that, while they deride constitutional agitation whenever the Moderates commend it, they are extraordinarily solicitous, as soon as they are charged with departing from it, to repudiate any such intention and argue that civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes have been pronounced on high authority to be within the four corners of constitutionality. This last opinion is defensible from a theoretical point of view; but the Liberals contend that they are dangerous and suicidal forms of political activity. It is admitted by the champions of these strong measures that the people are not at present prepared to adopt them, but they conceive it their duty to set on foot a vigorous propaganda with the object of creating a suitable atmosphere. Between actually starting a campaign of passive resistance and preparing the country for it by open propaganda there is hardly much practical difference. The people stand to lose anyhow. Turn back from these barren paths, discard fantastic sumptuary prescriptions, restore the old united platform of the Indian National Congress, adopt the Commonwealth of India Bill or, if so be the general wish, frame a new bill and so put the country again on the safe and well-tried road of peaceful and constitutional agitation, and it will be found that our progress is more sure and more rapid than ever it was before or would be under the new-fangled pro-

gramme of delirious activity, executive high-handedness and repressive legislation followed by despair, paralysis and mutual recrimination.

It may be said that this is exactly what the officials want; are we going to be rallied by them? The days are gone when the bureaucracy could hope to drag behind them the leaders of the people. Under the Act of 1919, with all its imperfections and restrictions, the strength of the people, both political and economic, could be greatly increased, the electorates could be educated to understand the meaning of free citizenship, and by degrees, as the communal spirit died down, the bureaucracy would sink into its proper place. There are a few thoughtful men who question whether constitutional agitation will give us *everything* connoted by the expression "Dominion status." But without doubt it can give us a great deal yet. If the balance could only be attained by other methods, these might be thought of when the occasion arose. But the probability is that, with every accession of popular power, the need of other methods will become less and less. Anyhow it is a problem of the future. Our duty to-day is to work and to hope for the best. We started by questioning the Viceroy's premises and condemning his speech as opposed to our interests. But we seem to have finished with the same desire as he for co-operation. "Surely", says the critic, "a most lame and impotent conclusion." Our answer is this. A long history has tied the bureaucracy and us together. Neither by thought nor by force can we break the tie. It happens by good luck that they and we profess the same aim, the establishment of responsible government in this country. They may be sincere and help or they may be insincere and hinder. The wise plan is to take them at their word and by constant vigilance and pressure and opposition, if necessary, keep them to it. If we be firm and true, every step will find us stronger and them weaker. When they prove false and a struggle ensues, they will be the losers.

THE INDIAN DELEGATION TO GENEVA.

By V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

I WELCOME the attempt made by Sir Basil Blackett and Sir Frederick Whyte to start a League of Nations Union in Simla and wish it every success. The League has not fulfilled the expectations formed of it at the first announcement, but that is the fate of every human institution which breaks new ground and seeks to introduce a higher law of morality into international relationships. Two claims which it has on India's support transcend all others. The first is the admission of Asiatic States with their coloured populations into the new conception of the human family; and the second is that India's rise to Dominion status within the Empire is clearly foreshadowed by her original membership of the League on the same status as Canada, Australia and South Africa. Indian publicists must not allow the many causes of dissatisfaction with the empire that arise now and then to obscure these supreme considera-

tions and lead them ever to entertain seriously the proposal to cancel our membership of the League.

One serious cause of dissatisfaction is the character of the Indian delegation appointed year after year to the session of the Assembly of the League held in Geneva. Part of the dissatisfaction arises from the anomalous position of the Government of India, which is partly here and partly in England, and which in external relations is wholly an agent of the British Cabinet and does not even make a pretence, as it occasionally does in internal affairs, of representing the people of this country. Wilson's dictum that the League should be a coming together of the civilised peoples of the world and not merely of their Governments is thus completely frustrated and falsified in the case of India. Like other States-Members of the League, India sends three members and an undefined number of advisers and substitutes. One of these is the recognised leader of the delegation and casts the vote of India at the Assembly's meeting. Every time so far this leader has been a European connected with India, either High Commissioner, retired Viceroy, or retired Governor. Another member of the delegation is always the head of an Indian State. The actual people of India have, therefore, a chance of representation only in the third member. In February last year Sir Muhammad Shafi, who was then Law Member, took credit to the Government that in appointing to the third membership they had shown a spirit of progressiveness. In the first year it had been an ex-official, Sir Ali Imam. Then it had been a non-official in public life three times in succession—myself, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, and Mr. Hasan Imam. Unfortunately since he spoke, Government have gone back on this spirit. To the last session they appointed an ex-official, Sir Mahomed Rafique and to the coming session they have appointed an official in active service, Sir A. C. Chatterjee, High Commissioner. So the retrogression is complete. This year's delegation is wholly without the popular element.

What does it mean? In his last speech to the Legislature the Viceroy pledged his word that there was no disposition in any political party in England to go back on the policy of continual devolution of power and responsibility to the people of India and their representatives. Here is a glaring exception, not to speak of others in other spheres. Nor is this matter without significance. Every other member of the League is represented by her own nationals; the leader of every other delegation is a national. Alone among the fifty-six States or so represented at the Assembly India responds, when her name is called, through an Englishman. This singularity does not go unobserved. People from other parts of the world naturally ask, "Is there no Indian competent to lead the delegation?" It almost seems as if the Government of India were anxious to make it clear to the world that they are administering a backward people who cannot speak for themselves and represent their

nation. The independence, which we are supposed to possess through our original membership, is thus taken away in the eyes of the world. Some pretence of it was maintained so long as the delegation included a non-official. There is no longer even that pretence. It may be said now in a certain sense that the people of India have been excluded from the Assembly.

Is it a mere theoretical right, a legal abstraction, which we are pursuing in this enquiry? Or is there any substance in this grievance? Sir William Meyer, who was the leader in my year, allowed me to raise before the Assembly during the general debate the question of Indian disabilities in South Africa and elsewhere. Sir William indeed considered himself in this capacity as responsible, not to the India Office so much as to the Government of India, and in one matter held out even against the British delegation. As Finance Member, as High Commissioner, as representative at the League, he stood up for India, I venture to think, with as much manfulness and effect as any Indian could have done. Next year Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer spoke on the administration of Mandated territories and on the protection of Minorities with the independence and judicial calmness of a trained lawyer. His observations, however, were in a critical vein and seemed to impugn the character of the administration of the other parts of the British Empire. Mr. Hasan Imam, who followed, is a sturdy patriot as all India knows, and we may guess, though we cannot assert, that he was not exactly as wax in the hands of Lord Hardinge, his leader. A non-official, therefore, who knows his own mind and can make himself heard, even though he may not cast India's vote, is an inconvenience. India suffers from many wrongs at the hands of Great Britain and her Dominions. She is, therefore, a grievance-monger, and the British Empire and the India Office are anxious that she should be gagged. We, however, cannot afford to view the question of the personnel of our delegation with equanimity. It is the one great channel of publicity through which we can bring our manifold wrongs to the knowledge of the world's nations. We may not actually get redress, but the wrong-doer can be exposed and be made uncomfortable for a month, which is a distinct step towards redress. I am glad to say that our representatives in the Indian Legislature have been awake to the importance of this question. The attempts that they have made to put matters on a proper basis have not attracted the attention that they deserve. The public, who have just shaken off the spell of non-co-operation, must support the members of the Assembly and the Council of State in the efforts that will doubtless soon be renewed.

During the Delhi session last year my friend, the Hon. Mr. Sethna, moved a resolution in the Council of State suggesting that the leaders of the Indian delegation at the next Assembly meeting should be an Indian. As it was known that I was behind it, Sir Muhammad Shafi gave me privately to understand

that the Government were inclined to carry out our proposal and even mentioned to me the name of the likely Indian. I may state at once that it was not mine. But no definite promise could be made, so would we kindly withdraw our resolution? Accordingly Mr. Sethi spoke softly, Sir Muhammad spoke equally softly, and I left for England, trusting fully that I should soon welcome there a distinguished countryman of mine who was for the first time to stand forward as the leader of the Indian delegation at the Geneva Assembly. What were my surprise and disappointment when within a few weeks of landing I heard that Lord Hardinge had been appointed leader for a second time! A question was asked in the Commons whether the Secretary of State knew of the Delhi resolution and the circumstances of its withdrawal. And on coming back I repeated it in Simla. Sir Muhammad Shafi told me in answer that the decision was not in any way due to the nature of the subjects which would be considered at the Geneva session. Speculation may lead us to suspect that the Indian Prince chosen might have objected to act under the leadership of an Indian, but I was assured by his Highness the Jam Sahib of Navanagar, who had gone twice to Geneva, that he knew of no Indian Prince who would have taken such an objection and that it was the misfortune of his class to be misrepresented in that fashion to their fellow-countrymen in public life by designing persons. The reason was, therefore, political. It was inexpedient that the world should know that Indians could look after their own affairs. Look at this year's delegation. Every Dominion appoints its own High Commissioner in London to lead its delegation. Our High Commissioner, who has also been a member of the Government of India, will not lead our delegation; else, what is Lord Willingdon there for?

A more important aspect is disclosed when one remembers that at the Delhi session this year a resolution was moved in the Assembly by Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, that our delegation should be instructed to raise at Geneva in September the question of the disabilities of Indians in the Mandated territory of Tanganyika. Government opposed the resolution, but it was passed without a division. What were Government to do? If they were to carry it out they should appear to the world as accusers of the British Government, who is the mandatory for Tanganyika. A non-official Indian, honouring the resolution of the Assembly, would almost surely give trouble in Geneva. So, abandoning the spirit of progressiveness boasted of by Sir Muhammad Shafi, the India Office and the Government of India shut the people of this country out of the League. To show the light in which the Assembly's resolution would naturally appear to a British Imperialist, let me quote a paragraph from Mr. Garvin's criticism of the Protocol favoured by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald when he was Prime Minister. Into this criticism he brings in the Assembly's resolution quite pertinently.

"Second, the British Empire. It must be

accepted as a unit. It must not be regarded as an affair in liquidation with the League as Official Receiver. Interference in its internal affairs and domestic questions—at least in any manner from which other nations and systems are as yet exempt—must be excluded by specific amendment of the Protocol. No ambiguity nor doubt on that head must remain. The *Times* on Friday contained a remarkable telegram from its Delhi correspondent. The Legislative Assembly had carried against the Government a resolution to place before the League the grievances of Indians in the Mandated territory of Tanganyika (late German East Africa). Technically, this procedure is legal. Practically it is disastrous. The Protocol opens a broader door to the intervention of the League in those questions of Asiatic immigration which the United States, Canada, Australia and South Africa claim to be matters of solely domestic jurisdiction outside the purview of Geneva. Theoretically, under the Protocol as it stands, Geneva could declare outlawry and sanctions against one part of the British Empire refusing appeal to the League, and in favour of another part making that appeal. That doubt must be cut clean out by an unmistakable amendment to the Protocol. Geneva must renounce all title to interfere in inter-Imperial relations. If the choice came to lie between embroiling the Empire within itself and breaking the League, the latter contingency would occur." (*The Observer*, February 15, 1925.)

Now Mr. Garvin is a sane Imperialist and commands great influence among thoughtful politicians. Look at the length to which he is prepared to go. It does not occur to him to say—perhaps it was not relevant to his immediate purpose—that if this awkward and delicate position is to be avoided, the British Cabinet or the Imperial Conference or some other *ad hoc* authority should settle these inter-Imperial disputes in a just and equitable manner so as to satisfy the aggrieved party. The case of Tanganyika is not like the case of South Africa or of Kenya. The League has appellate jurisdiction over its mandatories, and India can rightfully raise the question in the Assembly at Geneva. In fact, affairs in Tanganyika are getting more involved, and we cannot afford to be shut out of any of the remedies which are open to us. To heap wrongs in the first instance on the spot; then to give no redress in London in the second instance and, on the top of it all, to close the door of justice in Geneva is a triple wrong, the humiliation of which is simply intolerable. To think further that the Government of India could consummate this triple wrong by the simple expedient of not appointing a suitable non-official to the delegation. Surely political subjection presses on us in a hundred ways. How can we help wishing that we were a fully self-governing dominion, for we could then appoint our own delegation and state our case fearlessly to the appellate authority? I have always included this consideration among our pleas for immediate dominion status.

THE LATE SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR.

IN Dr Sir R. G. Bhandarkar who departed this life in the afternoon of last Monday has passed away the greatest Sanskrit scholar of the day. He laid the foundations of his great scholarship when he was a collegian and a Dakshina Fellow. He sat at the feet of old shastris and mastered grammar and the other branches of Sanskrit learning. He rightly appraised and appreciated the merits of that learning, and spoke generously about it. He found by experience that it gave an edge to the critical faculty. He was richly endowed with a keen critical spirit which enabled him to tackle a number of problems successfully. His "History of the Deccan" reveals patient labour and a strong determination to arrive at facts. A lover of truth, he never shrank from laying bare curious customs in his work on Vaishnavism. His Wilson Philological Lectures are a mine of information about the derivation of modern vernaculars from Sanskrit. He was ever inquisitive and always spoke by the book. He must quote chapter and verse for everything that came from his pen. His resolve and patience to get at the bed-rock was often felt provoking but this insistence on things as they are proved him ultimately in the right. He conducted learned controversies with European scholars who readily acknowledged his critical acumen and admitted his statements and conclusions. He has greatly helped in fixing dates of ancient Indian history. It was in appreciation of his scholarly qualifications and achievements in the field of antiquity that he was made an honorary member of several learned societies in Europe and America and received his doctorate from Germany so early as 1885. For nearly half a century he enjoyed a world-wide reputation and was invited to contribute a volume to the series of oriental works published in Germany. This volume was his "Vaishnavism." He was both a learned Pandit and a modern scholar. Existing singly each has serious defects. Learned Pandits, though ever so subtle, must defend everything that is old and are rightly charged with obscurantism. They think it their bounden duty to defend and justify antiquity. Modern scholars on the other hand scorn this reverential attitude. European students of ancient Indian history are inclined to look upon ancient India as a copyist of ancient Greece. Dr. Bühler insisted that the Ramayana was an imitation of Homer's Iliad. These scholars must deny a hoary antiquity even to Rgveda. Dr. Bhandarkar was saved from both defects by a happy combination of ancient learning and reverence for it on the one hand and a critical penetrating spirit and an unflinching loyalty to truth.

Besides digging and delving in antiquity he found daily opportunities of inspiring and cultivating a critical spirit in students, many of whom recall with delight his method of teaching Sanskrit logic, poetics, and philosophy. It is a characteristic of Sanskrit works on these subjects that every word, nay every syllable, has its *raison d'être* and Dr.

Bhandarkar considered it incumbent on him to show that not a syllable was superfluous. He spent hours in unravelling the tangles woven by Annambhatta and Mammata and returned to the task every year with the same energy and freshness. As he never prepared for his college lectures at home, he spent the same amount of time on subtleties that had taxed his brain in previous years and dealt with the same problems as though they were quite new. His lectures therefore were never hackneyed. Even his self-contradictions had something instructive in them. One would think that plays and poems would escape the application of this method of dissection. But no! Dr. Bhandarkar must subject even these sources of delight and fun to the dissecting knife. There were the various readings which required a keen judgment in choosing one to the rejection of others. It was not a dry task but an agreeable wrestle. Students returned home delighted with their acquisitions. Other professors were mere translators. Dr. Bhandarkar was a critic. But he was no dry-as-dust. He showed wit, humour and a sense of æsthetics in teaching plays and poems and in getting plays acted. That's what a professor of Sanskrit ought to be—a critic and a connoisseur.

He was a man of wide reading and his position of an orientalist necessitated an acquaintance with German, as he had discussed oriental questions with German *servants* who spared no pains in self-equipment. He knew intimately ancient Marathi classics like Dnyaneshwari and devoted days and hours to the interpretations of the poetic utterances of Tukaram. The extensiveness of his reading in this last department was remarkable. Such versatility deserved commemoration and it was in the fitness of things that a worthy monument was raised during the last years of his life in the shape of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, which is a meeting place for scholars to carry on research work in that same spirit of detachment combined with reverence. It was under the auspices of the Institute that the First Oriental Conference was held at Poona and that its first president was the venerable Doctor. A critical edition of the Mahabharata which is on the anvil of the Institute has received his benediction and the tentative edition of the Virata-parvam has met an appreciative welcome. As a mark of his recognition of the prospective useful work of the Institute he presented his extensive collection of books to it even at its inception. It is rich both materially and intellectually and is bound to assist in original investigation. In the last three or four years he was not able to take an active part in the Institute, but he continued to exhibit the same lively interest. Besides presenting to him a memorable volume that contains articles on oriental subjects from the pen of various Indian and European scholars, the Institute has undertaken an edition of all his writings and speeches which he would have liked to see published while he was alive. But owing to circumstances this was not to be. The life of men like him must always be incomplete. They have always projects in

view. It is not however given to man to see all his hopes fruotified. Matter ultimately demands its toll and so the learned Doctor has departed from us, leaving behind an inspiration and a hope that his labour of love will be continued.

This appreciation would not be complete without a mention of his activities as a social and religious reformer. He early enough saw along with others that the variety of castes, races and creeds was a mighty obstacle in the way of a united India and he set his shoulder to the removal of that obstacle. He became a member of the Unitarian Church of India—the Prarthana Samaj—very early in his life. His sermons make useful reading and his Kirtans had a flavour of their own. He delivered speeches on social platforms and was a passionate advocate of the amelioration of the condition of Indian women. He was a constant and consistent supporter of Mr. Karve's activities in the direction of female education and made it a point to attend re-marriages. No lip-reformer, he had a re-marriage celebrated in his own family. His was a life enriched with many-sided work which we of later generations would do well to copy.

V. K. RAJVADE.

THE IMPASSE AGAIN.

I LAST week dealt with the general condition and the real remedy for the improvement of the textile industry in Bombay. The Impasse still continuing, I may be forgiven for reverting to it and dealing with one immediate problem that confronts the industry, viz., the accumulation of heavy stocks. The only recognised solution of this problem is to reduce output, which can be done only by reducing the working hours. The operatives, who are as anxious to save the industry from ruin as their masters, had themselves suggested this course in spite of the fact that the loss which would entail upon their wages by reduction in working hours would be more by about 5·1 per cent. than the actual wage out now proposed by the millowners. But this voluntary offer made with the object of helping them in their hour of difficulty was scornfully rejected by the millowners. They seem to have forgotten the law of demand and supply. In recent years in upper India and other parts of the country, new cotton mills have been established and the imports have shown a tendency to remain stationary after they had risen once a few years back. Naturally, therefore, and especially when the consumption of cloth has not increased in proportion to the supply, there is now less demand for Bombay goods than formerly. But the Bombay supply, instead of being reduced considerably, has remained what it was. There is again the trade depression which should also have impressed the millowners in Bombay with the urgency of reducing the output. Over-production in times of depression and slack demand is always a dangerous proceeding. But the agency system which pays them their interest, commission and pro-

fits and allows them to roll in luxury on the sweated labour of their poor and helpless operatives, has obscured the vision of the Bombay millowners and made them blind to the consideration of what is in the best interest of the industry. Short hours not only means less output, but in the present case, it would have reduced wages to the extent of 16½ per cent. and brought them more relief, with the consent of the operatives, than the proposed wage-out of 11½ per cent. But they do not want to adopt this reasonable course for the obvious reason that they are not anxious to reduce output. What they want is to keep the output as it is to-day and reduce wages alone. This, I think, explains their strange diagnosis of and the stranger remedy for, the cure of the mill industry.

One would have understood their determination to cut down wages alone if that course had brought them immediate relief. But does it really do so? I am afraid not. According to their statement, the millowners lose every month Rs. 24 lakhs; the wage out of 11½ per cent will give them only Rs. 6 lakhs. By a simple mathematical calculation, therefore, they will have to bear a loss of Rs. 18 lakhs a month. If, however, these figures are analysed a little more closely, it will be seen that the real relief to the industry will be much less than Rs. 6 lakhs and the final losses much more than Rs. 18 lakhs. It is stated by one of the industrial magnates in Bombay—and that statement has not been contradicted—that nearly half the mills in Bombay are making profits and the rest are losing. The net loss of Rs. 24 lakhs is, therefore, the difference between the profits of the prosperous mills and the losses of the losing mills. It is obvious that the latter must be losing much more heavily than Rs. 24 lakhs. But how much will they gain by wage reduction? Only Rs. 3 lakhs. The other three lakhs will go to the prosperous millowners as a kind of windfall and will only add to swell their profits. The industry, therefore, will get only Rs. 3 lakhs, which means that the industry may get relief to the extent of only 5 or 6 per cent. of its aggregate losses—indeed only a drop in the sea.

What, however, is a drop to the millowners is enough to drown the mill-hands in misery and hardship. The 11 per cent out, though small on paper, is a serious one to them. The present wages secured after waging hard and bitter fights and undergoing great sacrifices, are barely enough to maintain themselves and their families. Their occasional visits to the liquor shops are pointed out as a sign of their prosperity and of their getting higher wages. But if anything, these visits are an index of the sweated condition in the mills and of the many other miseries they have to endure. Like all other human beings, they want to forget for a time all their worries and anxieties and they can, under the present circumstances, do so easiest by visiting the liquor shops. I do not mean to suggest that they are right; nor do I justify their conduct. All I mean is that they cannot help it. As long as the *status quo* continues, no amount of picketing and moral persua-

sion will, I am afraid, dissuade them from going to the liquor shops. They will do so, as they do now, by incurring debts. It is, therefore, clear that the mill-hands' visits to the liquor shops are no criterion by which to judge of their higher wages or their prosperity. Any reduction in their wages is bound to add to their hardship and suffering. Moreover, a cut once made is hardly ever restored. The men have no confidence in their masters and that is why they agreed to work short time in spite of the fact that they lose more thereby. But a wage cut is not the only way in which poor labour is being penalised. The compulsory wage cut which is made as a measure of concerted action on the part of the Mill-owners' Association is to be followed, if circumstances necessitate it by short time, retrenchment or closing down the mills altogether. Each individual mill is at perfect liberty to act as it likes. The wages of the unfortunate men in those mills who will work short hours in addition to a wage-cut, will be reduced by $18\frac{1}{6}$ ($6\frac{1}{4} + 11\frac{1}{2}$) per cent. A few mills have already been working short hours and many will follow as that is the only way to clear off their stocks. The Chairman and some other members of the Millowners' Association told the Textile Workers' Deputation that waited upon them twice last month, that they had proposed a wage cut in order to avoid unemployment. But have they achieved it? Five mills have so far been closed down having thrown out of employment over five thousand men and a few hundreds have been retrenched in a few other working mills—a fact which is an eloquent proof that the millowners' remedy was entirely wrong. In short, the wage cut has not helped the mill industry to any appreciable extent; nor has it stopped unemployment. It has only added to the profits of the prosperous mills and put the operatives to heavy and unbearable losses.

Such is the position. Realising the gravity of the situation, all the textile and labour organisations in Bombay made common cause, approached the millowners and offered them, on behalf of the men, in a spirit of compromise, that the latter would willingly work short hours for such a period as would be necessary. But the millowners summarily rejected our proposal and decided upon a wage cut of $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The Textile Workers' Deputation then waited upon His Excellency the Governor of Bombay and urged upon him the necessity of his intervention. It requested him to appoint, or ask the millowners to appoint, whichever may be found feasible, a small committee of experts to investigate into the present condition of the Bombay mill industry and persuade the millowners to suspend their notices of wage cut till the report of the committee was out. His Excellency was very sympathetic, expressed his agreement with much of what was stated in our statement submitted to him and gave out as his considered opinion that the cut was a serious one and that it alone could not bring the industry back to prosperity. From what I saw of him during over one and a half hour's discussion with him, I felt convinced that His Excellency would have, even in

the absence of any statutory powers possessed by him or his Government, gladly intervened in the struggle had he seen the slightest prospect of the millowners taking a more reasonable attitude or been willing to come to terms. He, therefore, expressed his regret that he could not do anything without consulting the other party. As a result of our discussion with him, the Governor of his own accord seemed to have invited the Millowners' Association to meet him to discuss the present situation. But nothing seems to have come out of this conference which took place in Poona on Saturday before last. The mill-owners seem to have refused to withdraw their notices and only reiterated their former vague statement that "if the situation improves and other conditions remain the same, they would seriously reconsider the re-instatement of the present cut."

Thus the *impasse* has been created. Labour has tried its best to avert it and has gone more than half way to meet the other party in its difficulty. It is sad that it has lost all along the line. The mill-owners have rejected our proposals in sheer perversity and the Government on the score of absence of any statutory powers. The responsibility of any incidents that may happen hereafter is, therefore, the millowners' and the Government's. In spite of the best efforts of the labour representatives, it almost seems certain that the strike is coming; and with it the economic equilibrium and the peace and tranquillity of the city are bound to be disturbed unless the Government take those relief measures I spoke about last week. But it is satisfactory to note that labour is free from responsibility for any catastrophe. It has done its level best to avoid it; but it has failed. It is now driven to the conclusion that nothing will do but legislation for a minimum wage and compulsory arbitration. Let the general public recognize the justice and helplessness of our position and force the hands of the Government for the immediate enactment of such legislation.

R. R. BAKHALE

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, August 6.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH LABOUR CONFERENCE.

THE Conference of delegates of the Commonwealth Trades Union organizations, held at Westminster, under the auspices of the British Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, in the rooms of the Empire Parliamentary Association, came to an end last Friday, the Indian delegates being Messrs. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., and Chamman Lal, M. L. A. On the occasion of the final session, Mr. Joshi was elected to the Chair. I am told that he had previously given the South African delegation a good hammering on account of the treatment, in which the white Labour Party of the Union actively participated, of the Indian population, composed mainly of the labouring classes. It is impossible to believe—on a

can obtain no official information of what transpired, since the proceedings, save for chairmen's speeches and official summaries, were held in camera—that Mr. Joshi, frank and vigorous as he is, did not seize the opportunity to question the extent and validity of the South African delegates' mandate to appear on behalf of the South African workers, the vast majority of whom are non-white and voteless, either politically or industrially. I imagine, too, that he did not let the occasion go by to warn the other delegates against adopting an attitude towards coloured labour that would result in ranging coloured labour against white, and the coloured people against the white people the world over. It is certain that he did protest against white people forcing themselves into coloured people's countries and then using differences of economic and social standards to penalize the coloured people, whether fellow-immigrants or indigenous inhabitants. I learn that, as a result of the Indian delegation's representation, the Conference has recommended to the Trades Union movements of India and South Africa that they should meet together in conference and try to come to some understanding. It is to be hoped that effect will be given to this recommendation at an early date, in order to clinch the matter, and that the venue will be South Africa, where the problem lies. The more opportunities there are for conferences between leading representatives of India and the Union, whether official or non-official and whether party or non-party, the better. In the present instance, I can think of no two better negotiators on behalf of India than Mr. C. F. Andrews and Mr. Joshi.

ANOTHER CONFERENCE.

A Conference of another kind has just closed at Northallerton, the scene of a historic battle in the twelfth century, before the Scots had annexed the pick of English official and commercial opportunities, as they have since done. Northallerton is in the north of Yorkshire, and the scene of the Conference was at Yiplin Hall, between that place and Scorton, the occasion being the desire of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, who desired to make a closer study, mainly from the point of view of those who wished to promote peace by the dissemination of a higher view of practical Christianity, of the problems of China and India. The leader of the first part of the Conference, on China, was Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, a well-known member of the Society of Friends, who has just returned from a prolonged tour in China, where he had ample opportunities of studying the situation. Another speaker was Miss Florence Sutton, who spoke of the industrial and economic conditions of the Chinese people. Dame Adelaide Anderson, D. B. E., was present to answer questions on the subject, she having recently returned from a visit to China, made at the instance of the Foreign Office, in order to investigate these conditions on behalf of the British Government.

The part of the Conference devoted to India was opened by Mr. H. S. L. Polak, who had a very warm welcome. His address was followed by a paper that he read on behalf of Mr. N. M. Joshi on Indian economic and industrial conditions, and Mr. Tarini Prasad Sinha, who has now transferred his services from the *Manchester Guardian* to *Lansbury's Weekly*, addressed two other sessions of the Conference. It is very seldom that a group of people, drawn from different denominations, but in the main Christian, can be brought together for several days from all parts of the country to discuss and try to understand in a spirit of broad-minded helpfulness and the spirit of the higher spirituality problems relating to two great Asiatic countries possessing the oldest extant civilisations in the world, and re-

presenting half mankind. It was actually a case of the representatives of one half of mankind desiring to know how the other half lives and to learn ways of mutual understanding.

THE NEW SLAVERY.

The *Manchester Guardian* is never a better advocate of the right than when it is laying its editorial finger upon some moral wrong that is being done, either openly or under some disguise, or tolerated by some British Department of State or other. It naturally fastens upon the charges of veiled slavery brought against the Colonial Office, and not satisfactorily answered by that Department during the debate last week on the Colonial Office Vote. Nor is its righteous wrath appeased by the publication, belated, of course, of a White Paper, in which Mr. Amery calls his official subordinates in Kenya to order for offering the labourers forced to work upon railway development schemes two shillings a month less than the fourteen paid to voluntary labourers. It is to be remembered, too, that these men have been taken not from the labour supply open to the planters, but from the labour force in the locations, engaged in growing crops for native consumption, and that, also, at a time when a state of famine had been officially declared. All this in order not to disturb the men who work for wages—are these really to be described as wages?—on the coffee-plantations of the European settlers who, in 1923, got the British Government to assent to the dictum that the Indians were an economic danger to the natives. Is it not a lovely piece of hypocrisy? In the opinion of the *Guardian*, the real value of the Colonial Office debate was that "it will leave Europeans in Kenya in no doubt that no-one in this country defends the fact that the richest European in Kenya pays no more than thirty shillings in direct taxation, while the average labourer, paid fourteen shillings a month in wages, has to pay twenty-four shillings in direct taxation. And they will realise that no-one would defend forced labour in Kenya, if its working were fully understood."

A DISTINCTION FOR CEYLON.

This year has been one of some distinction for Ceylon in the matter of scholarship. The latest success is that of Mr. R. Don William, one of the secretaries of the Ceylon Students' Association. Mr. William, who, I understand, is a member of the Indian domiciled community in the Island, has just been awarded a Sir Ernest Cassel Travelling scholarship, which is, I believe, available for a year. I am informed that this is the first time that an Indian student has been awarded one of these scholarships. In the case of Mr. William, it has been awarded on the results of the B. Com. (Part I) of London University. About twelve candidates were summoned to appear before the Selection Committee, of whom four were successful. Mr. William intends shortly to proceed to America, where he will probably secure a part time appointment, and at the same time put in a course of study at Harvard University. At present his arrangements are fluid and quite tentative. It would appear that the happy young man was so elated at the news of his success, that he promptly scored 103 runs for the Indian Gymkhana C. C. against the India Office C. C. last Saturday. Evidently, the Rhodes scholars are not the only students that combine scholarship with sportsmanship and character. But why, then, are Indian and Ceylon students not available for these scholarships?

FOR INDIA.

Dr. Annie Besant, having met a number of the most prominent Labour leaders and got their general support for the Commonwealth of India Bill as

the basis of a further advance towards constitutional reform in India, is on the Continent, attending one of the many conferences of fellow-workers to which she is committed during her stay in Europe. No-one knows better than she how to occupy every minute of the twenty-four hours of each day. There is a legend spread by her closest collaborators that it is never known exactly whether and when she eats and sleeps. That she is unsleepingly vigilant in the cause of human freedom needs no reiteration.

Another public worker, of a different kind, is Major Ranjit Singh, who has been spending every waking hour in studying new fields of medical and surgical research, in the course of which he has made the tour of the London hospitals and special clinics with a tireless assiduity. I feel sure that, upon his return to India, he will have much to impart that will largely benefit his countrymen. He left on the return journey on Saturday, but is spending four weeks upon a Continental tour.

The Maharaja of Patiala and Dr. Rushbrook Williams arrived here by this mail for the Assembly of the League of Nations that opens in September. I have not yet seen them, but doubtless they are already busy preparing for the fray, if one may use such language in connection with the discussions that are to be raised at Geneva. They are staying at the Savoy Hotel.

MISCELLANEA.

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION. COUNCIL'S RESOLUTIONS.

At a meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India held at Calcutta on August 16 under the presidency of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the following resolutions were adopted:—

THE LATE SIR SURENDRANATH BANERJEA.

The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India place on record their deep and abiding sense of the loss sustained by the country at the sudden death of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, the pioneer of Indian nationalism who inspired in an increasing number of his countrymen a holy passion for the service of their motherland. His life-long labours and illustrious services in furtherance of the political emancipation and the national uplift of his countrymen carried on with ability, courage, energy and zeal for a period of more than fifty years will be gratefully remembered by all sections and communities of the population of India.

THE LATE MR. C. R. DAS.

The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India place on record their deep sense of sorrow at the death of Mr. C. R. Das, in whom the country has lost a patriot of rare self-sacrifice and force of character. The Council convey their condolence and sympathy to Mrs. C. R. Das and other members of the bereaved family.

LORD BIRKENHEAD'S SPEECH.

(a) The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India record their sense of dissatisfaction at the pronouncement of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Lords on July 7, 1925 as embodying a misleading view of the working of the present system of government in India and the virtual acceptance of the Majority Report and the summary rejection of the Minority report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee and generally speaking conclusions which offer no satisfaction to the wishes and aspirations of the people of India nor any solution of the difficulties actually experienced in the administration of the system now in force.

(b) It is the Council's deliberate conviction that the interests of good government and efficient administration and the well-being and advancement of the people alike demand that without any loss of time His Majesty's Government should accept and carry into effect the principal recommenda-

tions of the Minority of the Muddiman Committee, viz. that steps should be taken forthwith by the appointment of a Royal Commission or otherwise to put the constitution of British India on a permanent basis with provisions for automatic progress in the future.

(c) While in no way satisfied with the utterance of the Secretary of State, the Council of the National Liberal Federation reaffirm their conviction that the best service that Indian public men can render to the cause of India's political and national progress is to work the present constitution to the best national advantage and at the same time to strive continuously for the establishment of complete responsible government in the Provinces as well as in the whole sphere of internal administration in the central government and not to continue methods of obstruction which so far from doing any good to the country have strengthened the hands of the opponents to India's early progress to responsible government.

(d) The conclusion of the Secretary of State on the fundamental subject of Indianisation of the Army and the scarcely less important question of the future of the Civil Services are incompatible with the basic idea of responsible government which has been authoritatively declared as Britain's policy in India and opposed to the best interests of the country.

And the Council further place on record their opinion that the question of the position and emoluments of the Services should not have been decided independently and in advance of any decision on the constitution of India.

A CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA.

(a) The Council of the National Liberal Federation approve and support the resolution tabled by Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikary for the Council of State recommending the setting up of a convention consisting of elected members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and representatives of public bodies for framing a constitution for India and the Council will be prepared to support any resolutions on similar lines that may be moved in any other legislative body.

(b) The Council call upon the Committee appointed by them at Lucknow at the end of December last to submit before the end of November 1925 their report on the constitution of India taking into consideration also the suggestions contained in the Minority Report of the Muddiman Committee and the scheme of the Commonwealth of India Bill prepared by the National Convention.

ANTI-INDIAN LEGISLATION IN S. AFRICA.

The Council of the National Liberal Federation record their indignant protest against the outrageous anti-Indian Bill lately introduced in the Union House of Assembly by the Minister of the Interior with the object of making it impossible for Indians to live and carry on business in that Dominion and explicitly treating them as "aliens". This measure is the latest and most offensive attempt of the Union Government against the Indians and the Council strongly urge the Government of India to represent the unanswerable case of Indians with the strength and determination which a national government would have shown and further to take retaliatory action to mark the resentment of the people of India of whose interest and honour the Government of India ought to be the custodians.

COTTON EXCISE DUTY.

The Council of the National Liberal Federation are strongly of opinion that the abolition of the Cotton Excise Duty is long overdue and that in view of the present straightened circumstances of the cotton industry the duty should be abolished without any further delay.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

OPIUM AS AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM. By W. W. WILLOUGHBY. (The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore.) 1925. 9½ x 6. pp. 585. \$4.50.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH & ITS UNSOLVED PROBLEMS. By C. M. MACLENNAN. (Longmans, Green & Co., London.) 1925. 7½ x 4½. pp. 176. 5s.

- READINGS IN INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION. By H. L. CHABLANI and G. N. JOSHI. (The Wilson College Co-operative Book Store, Ltd. Bombay.) 1925. 9 x 6. pp. 618. Rs. 4.
- CAMBODGE ET CAMBODGIENS. By PAUL COLLARD. (Societe d'Editions Paris.) 1925. 10 x 5. pp. 38. Fros. 40.
- WHITHER BOUND IN MISSIONS. By D. J. FLEMING. (Association Press, New York.) 1925. 7 x 5. pp. 222.
- DIE ANARCHISTEN. By JOHN HENRY MACKAY. (Verlag Der Neuen Gesellschaft, Berlin.) 1924. 8 x 5½. pp. 287.
- THE SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS IN THE PUNJAB. By H. CALVERT. (Board of Economic Enquiry, Punjab, Lahore.) 1925. 9½ x 5½. pp. 17. As. 4.
- An Enquiry into MORTGAGES OF AGRICULTURAL LAND in the Kot Kapura Utar assessment circle in the Ferozepur district in the Punjab. By SARDAR BALWANT SINGH. (Board of Economic Enquiry, Punjab, Lahore.) 1925. 9½ x 6½. pp. 30. As. 4.
- HANDBOOK OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, 1924, pp. 239. 4s.
- PEACE CONFERENCES AT HOME AND ABROAD. By Mrs. SEPTIMUS HARWOOD. (New South Wales Peace Society.) 1924. 9½ x 7. pp. 43.
- GOLD COAST—REPORT ON THE BLUE BOOK FOR 1922-23. 9½ x 6. pp. 61.
- GOLD COAST—REPORTS OF THE AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION AND CUSTOMS DEPARTMENTS for 1923-24. 12½ x 8½. pp. 50, 77 & 337. 3s. & 5s.

IMPORTANT BOOKS.

On Modern Indian Politics

- | | Rs. A. |
|---|--------|
| 10. The Future of the Indo-British Commonwealth: By Josiah O. Wedgwood, D. S. C., M. P. With a preface by Viscount Haldane, F. R. S., K. T., O. M. | 3 8 |
| 11. The Future of the Indian Politics: By Annie Besant, D. L., P. T. S. Being a contribution to the understanding of Present-Day Problems. ... | 3 8 |
| 12. Gandhian Non-Co-Operation or Shall India Commit Suicide? A <i>Vade Mecum</i> : Being a book against Non-Co-Operation for all Indian Patriots. | 0 14 |
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