

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

LOVERS of world-peace, particularly peace in the Eastern continent, will deplore the present unsatisfactory state of Anglo-Soviet relations. These relations, bad as they are, promise to grow worse by the exchange of provocative and mutually re-eriminatory notes. Threats of severing diplomatic relations are very often preludes to more dangerous events in international history and indicate the direction in which the war wind is blowing. From this standpoint, the British Government's threatening note to Russia cannot be considered as a contribution to peace. The Soviet's reply to the note seems to be a more dignified performance. Sir Austen Chamberlain, we are afraid, suffered considerably by having to appease the clamours of the die-hard section of the Conservative Party who have long been pressing for a rupture with Russia. That Party is rapidly losing ground in Great Britain. Every bye-election brings a fresh victory to the Labour party and reveals the disconcerting fact that no Conservative seat is safe. The prestige and influence of imperial Britain is also at a low ebb abroad, especially in the East, where the growing volume of anti-British feeling threatens to ruin her trade and hard won imperial assets. The real causes for these reverses are to be traced to the policy of industrial reaction and aggressive imperialism pursued by Baldwin's Government. Without trying to make a change in this blunder-

ing course, the Cabinet is vainly trying to deceive the British public by throwing the whole blame on Soviet Russia. The Russian agents should indeed be omnipotent if, by their mere propaganda, they could so easily endanger the safety and interests of such a mighty Empire as Britain's. The Soviet, we note, has refuted the charges as vague and unsubstantiated and reminds the British Government of the forgery of the "Zinovieff letter" by exploiting which Mr. Baldwin and his Party came into power. The intelligent world, we are sure, will not easily swallow the statements of either side. They can only view with suspicion the professions of the desire for peace expressed by both Britain and Russia when they see the two nations sparing nothing to provoke each others temper and ruin each other's interests.

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AN attempt will be made by Mr. Addyman, a European non-official, in the current session of the Bombay Legislative Council for the reintroduction of bookmakers in connection with horse-racing in Bombay and Poona. They were abolished in 1912, thanks mainly to the initiative and driving force of Lord Sydenham who regarded them as an unmitigated evil which must be suppressed if reckless gambling were to be checked. Fears of backsliding by a future Government were then freely expressed by leaders of public opinion. But Lord Sydenham's Government considered that impossible. Curiously enough that impossibility threatens now to become a hard reality. We are greatly surprised that Mr. Addyman should have been so fortunate as to secure the Governor's previous sanction for the introduction of his pernicious bill. Our surprise is all the greater when we remember that in the case of Mr. Pradhan's Local Option Bill, which was unquestionably more in accord with public opinion, His Excellency saw fit to withhold his previous sanction ! Does it mean that bookmakers have now ceased to be an evil ? Or has the angle of vision of the Bombay Government in regard to them undergone a change ? It is an irony of fate that the only legislative effort on the part of a non-official European should be in the undesirable direction of reviving an institution which public opinion condemns as an evil. Whether the bill in question will ultimately re-

ceive the Council's support is more than one can say at present. But we feel confident that if the Government remain neutral and leave the decision to popular representatives alone, their verdict will be decidedly against the bill.

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WE sincerely hope that the Government of Bengal will support the resolution which Prof. J. L. Banerjee intends to move in the Bengal Legislative Council to appoint a mixed Committee of officials and elected members of the Council to enquire into the working of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. The total rental in Bengal in 1793, when the Permanent Settlement Regulation was passed, was nearly 400 lakhs, out of which nearly 40 lakhs went to the Zamindars under the Regulation. The rentals have increased four times during the last century and, while the Government revenue remains fixed at nearly 400 lakhs, a sum of nearly 1200 lakhs goes to the Zamindars and middlemen. The people of the province are cheated out of this large sum annually for the folly of an administration of old times which did not see beyond its own day. Granting that the State exercised its sovereign right in conferring proprietary rights on revenue collectors with a view to general public welfare, as then understood, it follows that the State can take away that right when the good of the community demands it. It is important to note in this connection the reply that His Excellency the Viceroy gave last week to the Oudh Talukdars' request for the grant of permanent settlement. His Excellency said: "There are obvious objections to the permanent settlement. It involves the sacrifice of the share of the State in the growing values of land and perpetuates assessments which must become more and more uneven as time goes on. Any measure, too, which tends permanently to limit the share which any class is called upon to contribute to the general revenues, is almost certain to result in an unfair burden on other classes." This unfair burden has been borne patiently by the people of Bengal for over a century. It is time that they were relieved of it and the basis of the land revenue system readjusted according to the altered circumstances.

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THE Hon. Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar, the Minister of Development, Madras, while addressing his party's programme, observed a few days ago that the party accepted "complete prohibition to be attained by definite and progressive stages" and mentioned it as being included in the measures to which the party will give prominent and early attention. This declaration, we fear, was made without consulting his brother-Minister in charge of Excise. For, judged by the latter's utterances on his excise policy, it appears that Madras may not make any considerable advance towards prohibition during his term of office. We have no objection to excise

ministers drawing attention to the realities of the problem and difficulties to be overcome in successfully working out a policy of prohibition. But our ministers, we are afraid, sadly mistake their duties when they throw the burden of solving the problems connected with enforcing prohibition on to the shoulders of the critics and popular espousers of the cause. It should be remembered, they justify their acceptance of the portfolio only in the measure in which they are able to practically solve these questions and forward the cause of reform. The Madras Minister not only throws up his hand, asking the advocates of prohibition to perform his task of finding out alternative sources of revenue; he seems to have also misread the popular view in regard to the drink evil and failed to realise the growing intensity of the demand for prohibition. According to him, it is only the educated higher classes, who form 5 to 10 per cent. of the population, that demand prohibition. Here, we fear, he has altogether ignored the social and religious sentiment among the masses of the people against the drinking habit. We are also told that unless the masses are educated we cannot have prohibition. The argument smacks much of the bureaucratic opponent of the cause. If prohibition is to wait till the education of the masses is completely accomplished, we are afraid we shall have to wait indefinitely!

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THE Round Table Conference that met at Capetown, the results of which have been published, is unique and significant in many respects. That was the first occasion when the Government of India was represented in the person of one of its own members at a Conference convened to discuss a momentous question of common concern. Delhi and Capetown met across the table instead of taking the circuitous route via London. It was also the first time that an Indian Delegation to so important a Conference was headed by an Indian. And what is more interesting, the Indian Delegation succeeded. The appointment of an Indian to lead the Delegation was indeed a master-stroke of the Government of India. It must have been a wholesome revelation to the whites in South Africa to see Indians and Europeans working as equal comrades under an Indian leader. Also it demonstrates, if such demonstration were necessary, that there is no task, however delicate, difficult and momentous, that an Indian cannot do with credit. In a matter in which the good offices of the British Government and the Imperial Conference had failed to achieve, the Indian Delegation was successful.

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PART of the credit for this happy result is due to the visit of the Beyers Deputation to India last year. Greater knowledge of India led to greater understanding and personal contact with her created sympathy for her. That understanding

Value of  
Personal  
Contact.

and sympathy have been further augmented by the visit of the Indian Delegation to South Africa. The cordial and friendly reception that India gave the Beyers Deputation, and the reciprocation thereof by South Africa when the Indian Delegation was there, have had no small share in giving a favourable shape to the negotiations. We hope that the personal contact now established will become more intimate, and that there will be more frequent interchange of visits between distinguished South Africans and Indians. Mutual respect is only possible with cultural contact and understanding; and mutual respect is necessary for a permanent and satisfactory settlement of the relations between India and South Africa. We suggest that the Universities of India should invite eminent South Africans to visit India and lecture to our students. Similarly, if eminent Indians like Rabindra Nath Tagore, Sir J. C. Bose, Prof. Raman and Prof. Radhakrishnan, to name only a few, could be induced to visit South Africa, it will greatly help to bring about greater mutual understanding and respect. We welcome the organisation of the South Africa-India Union, which the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has helped to found in Capetown. The Australia-India Union is doing very good work and we trust that the new organisation in South Africa will grow in strength and influence.

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THE Conference would not have achieved the success it has if Gen. Hertzog had not taken up a generous attitude towards the Indian question as the result of his successful visit to the Imperial Conference. The National Party, of which he is the leader, was anti-British and resented any interference from London in South African matters. To Gen. Hertzog membership of the Empire had meant the subordination of South Africa to Great Britain and the Empire. At the last Imperial Conference he got an assurance that South Africa was a sovereign nation, and he felt satisfied. That seems to have brought about a welcome change in him with regard to his responsibilities for the unfranchised and disfranchised subjects of South Africa. Now the unchallenged arbiter of their destinies, he is disposed to take a more humane and fair attitude towards them. And the Indo-African Agreement contains what may justly be called the Magna Charta of the non-European population in South Africa. The Agreement states in solemn words:—

"The Union Government firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilised Government to devise ways and means, and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities and accept the view that in the provision of educational and other facilities, considerable number of Indians who remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people."

This clause is of general application. It applies there fore to the natives as well. And we trust that the Agreement heralds the dawn of a new era of goodwill and uplift to the Natives of South Africa, as it does to their Indian co-citizens.

### THE RAILWAY BUDGET.

THE Railway Budget for the year 1927-28 was presented on 18th Feb. to the Council of State by Sir Clement Hindley and to the Legislative Assembly by Sir Charles Innes. The speech made by the former in introducing the Budget is twice as long as that of the latter and embodies a description of the various technical aspects of the efficient management and working of railways, to show the magnitude of the problems involved and the efforts made to solve them.

An interesting and welcome feature of this year's budget papers is the provision of maps and diagrams. The explanatory memorandum on the Budget contains a map showing in different colours the new lines under construction, those to be constructed and to be surveyed, which the books containing the estimates of the individual railways, on which the Budget is based, have appended to each (i) a map of the individual railway system concerned showing the lines under construction and those to be constructed during the next five years and (ii) a diagram showing how it is proposed to spread the work of survey and construction over the five years ending 31st March 1932. The present quinquennial programme for capital expenditure on railways to which the specific consent of the Legislative Assembly was obtained in 1921 expires on 31st March 1927. There appears to be no intention on the part of the Government to repeat their procedure in connection with the quinquennium beginning on 1st April 1927. Nor does it appear to be their intention to obtain the specific consent of the new Assembly to the continuance of the convention regarding separate railway finance, although the new Budget falls clearly outside the obligatory period of three years for which the convention was to be in force without revision. The programme for the five years ending 31st March 1932 for new lines involves an expenditure of over Rs. 88 crores—a sum larger than the total amount spent on new lines during the last 26 years. It is a question for serious consideration whether it is not of greater importance and benefit to the nation in the long run to utilize our capital resources in building up our railway industries than in building new lines. At present we are dependent on foreign countries for the supply of our railway materials to an average of Rs. 20 crores per annum. The huge programme of new lines and our normal capital works on open lines will send up the average to at least Rs. 30 crores equal to about Rs. 150 crores for the quinquennium. But did not Prof. Sapre in one of his recent books say that the period of our requirement of foreign materials somehow or other coincides with the period of unemployment and industrial depression in England?

Turning to the revenue side of the Budget, the gross railway revenue during 1927-28 is estimated at Rs. 101'91 crores and the total expenditure at Rs. 94'81 crores, leaving a net gain to the State of

Rs. 7'10 crores. It is gratifying to note that the policy of reducing railway fares is to continue unhampered, in spite of the fact that the reductions so far made are likely to bring in during the current year a revenue even smaller than that earned during the year 1925-26. The revised estimates for the year 1926-27 show that the goods traffic is expected to yield Rs. 60 lakhs less than that in 1925-26 due principally to floods and washaways in Burma, Orissa and the Central Provinces, to unsatisfactory cotton crops and to the damage caused to the ground-nut crop in parts of South India. The earnings from passenger traffic are also likely to be less by Rs. 9'41 lakhs under upper class passengers and Rs. 47'08 lakhs under lower class passengers or a total of Rs. 56'49 lakhs. While the conditions which have adversely affected the goods earnings have had some share in the smaller passenger earnings, the largest share of the shrinkage is due to the reductions in fares made during the year 1926-27. The increase in the number of passengers has not been sufficiently large. And in this connection we would invite attention to the following passage which occurs in the speech delivered by Col. Walton, the Agent of the North-Western Railway, in October last in his capacity as the President of the Indian Railway Conference Association:—

"The question of publicity is important. It is not only the tourist who is to be attracted, but they must also appeal to the residents of the country and, though difficult, they must reach the villager."

Col. Walton here evidently refers to the third class passenger who is the mainstay or backbone of our passenger earnings. The number travelling by all the upper classes taken together does not much exceed 25 millions, while the number using the third class exceeds 600 millions or is 24 times the former. One of the reasons why the number of passengers travelling by railway has not increased sufficiently in response to the reductions made is possibly to be found in the fact that the basis adopted in the reduction of fares is so narrow that the reductions made touch but a small fraction of the 600 odd million who travel by rail, in so far as the reductions made, in most cases, begin to take effect after the first 300 miles—a figure to which a wholly unaccountable sanctity appears to have been attached. If therefore reductions in third class passenger fares are to have any real substantial effect in inducing people to travel by railways in sufficiently larger numbers, over longer distances and with greater frequency, the reductions must begin to operate from a much shorter distance, considering that the distance travelled by a passenger averages less than 35 miles. Another reason for the reduction not having succeeded in obtaining an adequate increase in earnings, is the inadequacy of the publicity methods in making the reductions known sufficiently widely is so far as the information regarding reductions in fares does not reach the illiterate villager, who, as Col. Walton suggested, is

the real customer to get at. Enhancements in fares get greater and quicker publicity than do reductions. The reason is obvious. Every man who suffers by higher fares grumbles so widely and so frequently and so persistently and does the work of advertisement without working for payment for service rendered. The news about reductions in fares must therefore be advertised by the railway administrations so that it reaches the ear of the remotest villager.

### OUR PARLIAMENTARY LETTER.

(SPECIAL TO THE SERVANT OF INDIA AND THE WEEK.)

Delhi, 25th February.

#### THE SOUTH AFRICAN SETTLEMENT.

THE agreement provisionally arrived at at the Round Table Conference in S. Africa on the South African Indian question has been ratified by the two Governments and was announced simultaneously on Monday last to the Parliaments sitting at present in Delhi and Capetown. The announcement as made to our Legislative Assembly was received quite frigidly by the non-official benches; the sinister forecasts of the settlement that had been so industriously cabled from S. Africa by some mischief-makers had evidently done their work and the non-official members feared that, though what they had been listening to was all favourable to India, it might be followed towards the end by some trade concessions in respect of coal or fruit or some such vile thing and they therefore stoutly refused to betray any sign of enthusiasm or approval till the whole announcement had been made. But when Mr. Bore sat down, they discovered that they had been very badly deceived by utterly unfounded cables from South Africa and that the agreement was prima facie quite acceptable. Still there was the annexure embodying the articles of agreement, which was circulated to members but not read to the House. This again largely justified the non-committal attitude which the House at the moment seemed to take. When members studied the annexure in the lunch hour, they were quite satisfied. A prominent member came up to me and said: "This agreement is being called a compromise. How is it a compromise, I wonder. A compromise involves give and take. Now, so far as I am able to understand, it is all a matter of give on the part of S. Africa and of take on the part of India. I don't see that we have yielded anywhere; in every respect the gain is ours. It may be that the gain is not quite as much as we might have wished; surely there are still many outstanding problems awaiting solution. You may perhaps call it a compromise in that sense, in the sense that it is not a final settlement. But it is certainly not a compromise in the sense that we have given way in certain respects to South Africa with a view to obtain something else in return from that country. We have not surrendered any existing or potential privileges or submitted to any new restrictions or dis-

abilities in order that certain other privileges may be conceded to us or certain other restrictions relaxed or disabilities removed. On the contrary, we have taken a forward step in every respect without having to take one step backward. The only question is whether the forward steps we make are sufficiently long." He is indeed one of the most thoughtful members of the Assembly; others, perhaps, did not reason it out so well to themselves, but it was evident that they also had come more or less to the same conclusion. The members were of course still discussing among themselves whether yet there were not some catches in the settlement unknown to them, some snags lurking somewhere and whether (though retrogression there was not in even one small detail) the progress that had been made was adequate and could not have been larger. Members left the Assembly that evening in this frame of mind, and any lingering doubts they might have had were dispelled by Mahatma Gandhi's article in *Young India* on the subject, which, with very commendable forethought, was flashed in full by the Associated Press along the wires immediately after the announcement. This article and particularly that part in it which bore testimony to a sudden change of feeling in favour of Indians in South Africa put a complete extinguisher on even the most cantankerous Swarajists. The only thing they could thereafter think of was how decently to keep aloof from the chorus of jubilations that would surely follow when the agreement would form the subject of discussion later on. The Swarajist leader in the Council of State, the Hon'ble Mr. Ramdas Pantulu, was however so deeply impressed by the announcement that he decided without reference to his party to move the resolution of appreciation of the Indian delegation's services which, however, he was restrained from moving and was eventually moved in the Council of the Elder Statesmen by Sir Dinshaw Wacha. Swarajist objections now seem to have crystallised on two heads: 1. the ratification of the agreement by the Government of India before submitting it to the Legislature for its approval; 2. the non-grant of political and civic rights to Indians. Both these points were raised by Mr. Ramadas Pantulu in the Council of State, to whom Sir Mahomed Habibullah gave a very conciliatory and satisfactory reply. On the first point he showed that in no country were treaties and agreements concluded between Governments placed before the Legislature prior to ratification. It was the function exclusively of the Executive to ratify such agreements on their sole authority; if agreements so ratified did not meet with the approval of the Legislature, the latter had the normal constitutional means at their disposal of censuring Government. Sir Mahomed pointed out that even in South Africa, which was a self-governing country, the agreement had first been ratified by the Cabinet and then placed before Parliament, exactly as it was done in this country.

On the second point, Sir Mahomed agreed that a good deal still remained to be done and assured the House that the Government of India would do everything in its power to improve upon the present agreement as suitable opportunity would offer. The agreement under discussion was but a first, though an important, step in the settlement of the problem. "We felt," he said, "that we were like medical practitioners called in to examine a patient in a most critical condition. We diagnosed the disease and applied certain remedies, as a result of which we find that the patient has turned the corner, that he is now out of danger, but it does not mean that he does not require to be nursed and looked after in future. He does and the Government of India will carefully look after him." And it would really take a long time before we attain all that we are entitled to, Sir Mahomed Habibullah said; but the great thing is that we discern a change of heart in the Union Government, to which Mahatma Gandhi himself has adverted. The speech by Sir Mahomed made a great impression; but it should be added that Mr. Ramdas himself generally acclaimed the agreement, and made some objections merely because he felt that the Congress party must make at least some formal objections. The general feeling was given expression to by Mr. Khaparde, that a great achievement as the agreement was in itself, it was still greater as a presage of things to come as a result of the anti-Asiatic prejudice on the part of South Africans having been considerably lessened.

#### THE RAILWAY BUDGET.

Tuesday (the 22nd Feb.) was the day fixed for the general discussion of the Railway Budget. As was inevitable, the discussion covered a very wide field from the pay of Rs. 9 p. m. of the lowest railway employee to the appointment of a separate Railway Minister on the Viceroy's Executive Council. The discussion disclosed a marked divergence of opinion on the programme of railway expansion, some members welcoming the programme, while others questioning the wisdom of undertaking a programme of new lines involving an expenditure of the huge figure of Rs. 90 crores during the next five years. Mr. Neogy advanced the view that the ambitious programme was to a very large degree the result of the pressure from Whitehall for something being done to relieve unemployment in England and by way of circumstantial evidence read out extracts from the debates in the House of Commons and from the Railway Member's speech at the Imperial Economic Conference, in which, while refusing to commit the Government of India to the policy of Imperial preference, he held out hopes of spending about £57 millions during a period of seven years, out of which as much as 90% would go to purchases in England.

The real battle, however, over the Railway Budget was fought on February 23 when Mr. S. Shrinivas Iyengar proposed a huge cut under "Railway Board" amounting practically to a total refusal of the entire grant asked for by Gov-

ernment. It cannot be supposed that a person in the important position of President of the Indian National Congress would have proposed such a heavy cut without realizing his responsibility, in preference to moving a nominal out of Re. 1 only. A nominal cut may be used as much for the purpose of a censure as for the mere purpose of eliciting some information. It is buried and lost in the pages of the Indian Hansard. Such is not however the case with a substantial cut of the character indicated. It cannot but be regarded as a severe censure. The fact that such a censure motion has been carried gets more widely advertised and the value and extent of its publicity is exhausted by the restoration of the grant under special powers placed by the Constitution in the hands of a single person, viz., H. E. the Viceroy. In a speech in which forcefulness, rapidity and clearness of expression seemed each to be struggling for mastery, Mr. Shrinivas Iyengar drew up a severe indictment against the Ry. Board for inefficiency and maladministration. The main charges on which the indictment was based were (i) non-appointment of Indians on the Railway Board, (ii) Enormous surplusage of wagons numbering 3,0000 and costing no less than Rs. 15 crores and (iii) the highly objectionable method adopted for reducing Stores balances by distributing materials from Stock to different shunting sheds and workshops and showing them as used on works, when they were not actually used, thus falsifying accounts. Mr. Iyengar's condemnation of the Railway Administration was ably supported by Pandit Motilal Nehru. The Pandit is one of the most effective speakers on the popular side. But on this occasion, in the opinion of some, he surpassed even his own previous performances. In a speech marked by high elquence, cogent reasoning and magnificent marshalling of facts and figures, he exposed to the full view of the House the enormity of the various sins of omission and commission on the part of the Railway Board, severally and jointly, amounting to inefficiency, maladministration and gross breach of trust. In fact, the effect of the speech was so tremendous that the sense of propriety on the part of Government fell into temporary abeyance and poor Sir Clement Hindley was allowed to put himself in the highly unenviable position of defending himself against accusations which, in his own words, impugned personal reputation. Sir Clement's speech was a weak performance. The defence carried no conviction. Another speech that stood out most prominently in the course of the debate was that of Lala Lajpat Rai. It was frankly outspoken. He showed in a most effective manner how on the platform and in the railway carriages every Indian, whatever his rank, was subjected to the indignity of ill treatment at the hands of Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Another point of great importance made by Lalaji was that the Indian appointed to the Railway Board in response to the wishes of the people should not

be in Service, because men promoted from the services could never get rid of their environment and tradition.

Sir Charles Ianes brought out the strange argument that the Railway Board was a technical body and that there was no Indian available of the necessary qualification and up-to-date experience. He was careful to exclude any reference to the post of the Financial Commissioner which showed that he had no defence to offer for not filling that post by an Indian. If he felt it was outside his province to refer to that post as falling within the province of the Finance Member, the latter should have offered an explanation. But this was not forthcoming. The defence advanced for the surplusage of 30,000 was eminently plausible, as that represented the number not in actual use during the slackest period of the year. The real surplusage was only 6,000 wagons which was not too large to meet variations of traffic over a system of not less than 35,000 miles route. The feeling against the Ry. administration was so high that when the motion for the cut was put to the vote, it was carried by 59 against 52.

### OUR PARIS LETTER.

[ FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT. ]

Paris, February 10.

#### THE SITUATION IN EUROPE.

THE termination of the Cabinet crisis in Germany and the evacuation of the Rhineland are the great topics of the hour in European politics and the various reactions—best illustrated in the verdicts of the different sections of the press—that these have occasioned would give some idea of anticipations as regards the future: "Germany at last has another cabinet;" says the *Paris Times* "other nations, above all, Germany's neighbours, consider it disquieting that the parties which support a return to the Monarchy should have so large a representation in the new Government"—which is putting the matter mildly. But this issue was really obscured by the recent labours of the Allied Control Commission who had to certify Germany's proper observance of certain conditions in the treaty of Versailles as a preliminary to the evacuation of the Rhineland. The Nationalist *Victoire* asserts: "The Germans have ceded and France has made concessions; a thorny question has been settled; but it would be folly to believe that Germany can be prevented from preparing, or that a great people, disciplined and patriotic can be prevented from entertaining dreams of revenge"; and, Pertinax in *L'Echo de Paris* reminds France that the plan of the German offensive against Poland remains and that 'the part of this plan which assures communications between the German and the Russian army through Eastern Prussia is specially prominent.' The *Petit Bleu* calls the conclusion "culpable compromising" and the Communist *Humanite* considers that the compromise has solved nothing, for "two rivals filled with distrust

are face to face. British munitions factories which wish no competition have gained their point, but French and German industries, despite the Steel Cartel, continue to oppose each other". The *Left Volonte*, almost alone in its optimism, seems to detect some reason for rejoicing in the proceedings, but makes it conditional by adding the admittedly improbable qualification—"this step in German disarmament should also be a step towards general disarmament." This is as between France and Germany.

#### ENGLAND ANGRY.

And as between Germany and England, China has given an opportunity for Germany to have her gibes at John Bull. The criticism of the British policy in China has made England angry, as she has been lately accustomed to regard Germany as a sort of cause which she was championing and for which adequate gratitude must be manifested. Even Mr. Garvin, the editor of the *Observer*, who has always been writing poetry about Locarno in that journal, is wearied and bursts out in antiphrasis that if the present tendency in Germany were continued, Locarno would be endangered. Thus, the German Nationalist *Lokal Anzeiger*: "The appearance of solidarity that had at least been outwardly preserved was destroyed the moment England with incomprehensible shortsightedness smashed the unity in the East and gave Asia a peep behind the curtain of European policy, destroyed all illusions about the White Race and awakened it out of its hypnotic conditions. . . . Finally, in the Treaty of Versailles England demanded the surrender of all Germany's special rights in China. This last step has now decided England's fate" And even the "semi-official" *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* while "appreciating England's difficulties in China to the fullest extent" points out, albeit apologetically, that "offence cannot be taken when it (The German Press) indicates the danger to the general peace of nations which arises from the application of force" France keeps silent, it is a very discreet and prudent silence, on this matter, not because she approves England's policy, or has any real intention of effectively participating in it—that is abundantly clear from covert allusions on all sides—but because now she is constrained to maintain a show of solidarity of the Franco-British policy on account of the situation in Europe; more precisely, as a warning to Germany.

#### ENGLAND AND ITALY.

"Expand or Explode"—this, said Signor Mussolini to the *Vienna Neue Freie Presse*, is the only choice before Italy, and his decision to ally Italy with Great Britain in the present situation in China has, it must be admitted, the ingeniousness of trying to combine both these alternatives. The *Corriere della Sera* of Milan remarks that Italy has no desire to intervene in the internal affairs of China and ranges herself by the side of Great Britain "to protect the interests of Civilisation" and Catholics. It is to be hoped that the Pope, who is said to be as shrewd a diplomat as any one else,

and who has all along shown a tendency to resist all professed attempts of alliance with the Fascists so as not to compromise the universalism of the Church of Rome, will disavow this latter suggestion. Not long ago the Vatican consecrated a number of Chinese bishops—the first to bear that honour—with much pomp and they were feted all over France. When it is recalled that Italy has only one Royal Concession at Tienstein, at which, according to the latest census, there were 34 Italian residents and that the same census lists show no Italians in Shanghai, Italian aggression becomes evident and the admission of this Milanese journal that Italy intervenes "in complete independence and autonomy of action" assumes a certain significance. There are two morals in this new alliance simultaneously announced in London and Rome. It shows how eager the Fascists are for adventure and how hard pressed is England to clutch at the least support for the present policy in China.

#### THE FUNDAMENTALS AGAIN.

The fundamental implications of Society in the West, which I said in my last letter were now searchingly analysed in Europe, come in for examination even in prosperous America. "Man is War" by John Carter (Bobbs Merrill Company, Indianapolis) is a book packed with facts and the author, who has had experience in diplomacy and, consequently, probably knows the real motives of many policies, has not hesitated to pursue his enquiries through what he calls "usual hypocrasies," being Cartesian in temperament. Such are: "why does it seem proper for French and Spanish airmen to defend the cause of civilisation by dropping bombs on the women and children of the Rif, for the British airmen to do the same in Iraq, if it was manifestly barbarous for the Germans to drop bombs in London and Paris in 1915?"; "Why is it right for the United States to occupy Haiti and wrong for Japan to occupy Shantung?" His answer to these queries have the supreme merit of being straight: "Atlantic civilisation—the product of fifty centuries of cumulative human activity—is in the saddle, and, right or wrong, is giving the world an impulse which the world is forced to reproduce in order to survive. The character of this Atlantic impulse is neither the passivity of the Orient nor the irresponsibility of the savage. It has produced a political and social system that simply and accurately represents the cardinal instincts of all organic life; the imperious urgency of self-preservation, self-perpetuation, and self-aggrandisement". Now, while a purely biological interpretation of history is inadequate and its difficulties are being increasingly recognised, the utter impossibility of sustaining the concept of civilisation by any such idea as looking upon it as "organic" or as means for survival of the fittest, is almost self-evident unless we so modify the meaning of those phrases that they lose their significance. To be civilised is in many ways to disarm oneself of weapons which would make one fittest in the struggle for survival; it is to become univer-

sal, and from the biological point of view, unnatural. Democracy which is essentially an ideal of civilisation cannot resist any organisation of Society which has private reservations unilluminated by reason and reflection. Wealth, no more than race or class, can be absolved by Democracy—which has led many well-informed people to take the view that "America, it would seem, stands on the parting of the ways. Either she may develop on democratic lines...or she may fossilise the form of her present plutocracy, and realise that new feudalism of industry which was dreamt of by Saint Simon, by Comte, and by Carlyle. It would be a strange consummation, but stranger things have happened; and it seems more probable that it should happen in America than in any European country. It is an error to think of America as democratic; her Democracy is all on the surface."

#### THE NEMESIS

There is a nemesis in human affairs—which must inevitably lead us into pessimism, unless we seek the assurances of religion, or are full of an infantine optimism which simply cannot be introspective or dive deep enough—and it is this which is at present overtaking Western civilisation. Society here has hitherto rested on two bases—Christianity and Hellenism, this last in its dual aspect of instincts of speculation in the political as well as natural science. How fortunate was the combination, how well the absolutism of a Semitic religion accorded with the empiricism of the scientific spirit as a corrective to metaphysical meanderings in inductions on the one hand, and as a stimulant to enquiry by the insistence on the individual which was the peculiar feature of Christianity, on the other—the power and success of Europe has proved. But these original bases are incompatible with certain other elements which the Society has acquired in the course of its development such as Nationalism, Capitalism and Militarism, and on these much of its present prosperity rests. The history of the Christian Church has more than once proved the anti-Christian nature of Nationalism. The Roman Church has received many a blow from it and such a shrewd observer of men and manners as Lady Oxford has said—in her Reminiscences, I think,—that if the churches in England now complain of the indifference of the public towards them they have themselves to blame for it, as it is their practice of ennobling flag-worship at the expense of Christ during the war which brought about the fall in their prestige. The fight between Capitalism and Socialism—and Democracy demonstrably implies some form of Socialism, I think—continues fiercely on both sides before our very gaze. Militarism, as usual, allies itself with the most successful party, or rather, is made to subserve its purposes. The fact is Democracy which in Europe originated in the idyllic little islands of Greater Greece, and which prevails in our own village communities, implies certain conditions which no more prevail in the modern Capitalistic-Nationalistic—Militarist State.

#### OUR OPPORTUNITY.

Whatever may be the speculations in the West as to the future of Democracy, there should be no doubt that it is suicidal for us to ape the fashionable pessimism as regards it. Anti-Liberalism of every kind, Direct Action, Fascism, Bolshevism, and all else are fatal to our future. Not infrequently has it happened that the two units of the world, East and West, have had to follow different philosophies due to different conditions. A succession of bureaucracies has inflicted untold harm on our national being. A multitude of forces has worked to fortify the self-consciousness of the individual in Europe, and the problem over here is the excess of individualism. With us just the reverse has happened and the problem is just the opposite. There have been previous meetings of East and West when the West has received some great message. Such a meeting has taken place in our own time with the consequence that everywhere in the Orient the spirit of Democracy has spread. Our secular slumbers have never been so stirred. A heritage of modern polity comes to us from the West—of Democracy originated in Greater Greece, enriched by the majesty of Roman Law, by the literary idealism of France, by the love of objective truth in the pursuits of the modern sciences and moulded into a working system by the genius of England. It is not to be lightly parted with, as the President of the Servants of the India Society persuaded us with noble eloquence in his Kamala lectures. Its message is neither so new nor impossible to us, as it is made out in some quarters. Our village communities and our panchayats give the lie to any such assertion. "History repeats itself" is only half a truth and by no means the inspiring half. There are thinkers of outstanding eminence such as Bertrand Russell who believe that the pacific spirit of the East would treat the problems of Democracy in a creative and constructive manner. They believe that Asia will not only humanise the conditions of industry, but will also introduce moral considerations into the political complications that Industrialism has brought. Many therefore see the hand of Providence in the awakening of Asia and with Shelley sing to her spirit:  
Child of Light! thy limbs are burning  
Through the vest which seems to hide thee.  
There should be sufficient idealism add optimism for us in this prospect.

#### REVIEWS.

##### DEAN INGE ON ENGLAND.

ENGLAND. By W. R. INGE, D. D. (Earnest Benn, Ltd., London.) 1926. pp. 326. 10s. 6d.

THE Dean of St. Paul's is the supreme example of the independent man in public life to-day. Well might he echo the famous cry "O Lord, mighty and solitary have I lived", though we may be permitted to suspect that there would be a note of pride rather than of despair on such a declaration



Perhaps, a verse of the Dhammapada, "Alone when eating, alone when sleeping, alone when walking, let a man strongly control himself and take his pleasure in the forest glade" more aptly sums up his temperament, and it is not by chance that he is a follower of Plotinus to whom Religion is a "quittance from things alien and earthly, a life beyond earthly pleasure, a flight of the "alone to the Alone".

To the outsider this solitary quality often appears to be spiritual fastidiousness, intellectual disdain, or mere perversity, and the general feeling was once well expressed by the journalist who described him, when denouncing democracy before a radical audience, as "like the moon which shone in through the window, as cold as brilliant and as distant." No party is exempt from his quips and jibes and subtle thrusts; so he is by all men feared, by few beloved. No one loves the candid friend because, as has been said, we suspect that he enjoys his own candour, and even if the known honesty of the Dean acquits him of the suspicion, the sting of the candour remains. The penalty of independence is too often impotence, and of free speech compulsory silence, and it says something at least for the Church of England that it is able to provide such a man with a position which gives the maximum of scope to the individual with a minimum of embarrassment to the institution.

But independence has its limitations as well as its virtues. To a courage and outspokenness which is no respecter of persons is united an asperity of temper which prolonged misunderstanding and misrepresentation often breed, which stud his works with frequently bitter epigrams and occasionally with mere abuse. In the book before us these virtues and vices are both well represented. It is outspoken, disconcerting enough to move the Archbishop of Canterbury to declare that he could not agree with the most trenchant writer of modern England, and for one distinguished publicist to head his review "The Crime of Dean Inge" on account of his remarks about America: it is penetrating and witty enough for its brilliance to be admitted by all the critics, and it is uncharitable enough in parts to confirm the general impression that he is what in fact he is not, a political die-hard of the strictest sect.

In form, the book is a survey of the general conditions and present tendencies of English life. It assumes a background of historical knowledge and is weakest where it attempts to amplify that assumption with facts. Thus, the first part of the chapter on Democracy is based on the very controversial, though brilliant, "Evolution of Parliament" by Prof. Pollard, and some of his remarks on coal are inspired by Jevons' "Coal Question" published in 1865, which is not calculated to impress economists. To say this, however, is not to belittle the immense range of reading which the book shows; and it is perhaps only the part of him who has read all the formidable bibliography at the end and more to cast the first stone.

After an introductory chapter the Dean writes of the Soul of England in what seems to us the best part of the book. His ability to introduce a host of apt quotations without over-loading the text is well displayed and the whole chapter gives an impression of immense range, of balance and of penetration. So we have Mark Twain's remark "The English are mentioned in the Bible: the meek spirited shall inherit the earth;" the Venetian ambassador's report in 1497: "The English are great lovers of themselves and of everything belonging to them. They think that there are no other

men like themselves, and no other world but England; and whenever they see a handsome foreigner they say that he looks like an Englishman"; Santayana says "Where else would a man inform you, with a sort of proud challenge, that he lived on nuts or was in correspondence through a medium with Sir Joshua Reynolds, or had been disgustingly housed when last in prison?" Count Keyserling's remarks, "they represent, as they are, the perfect realisation of their possibilities; they are completely what they might have been. This explains their power of convincing others, and their superiority over the other peoples of Europe;" and again, "thanks to centuries of physical culture, the British organism has developed into a world of its own so much that external circumstances affect it slowly, if at all. For this reason, the Englishman can live in the tropics like an Englishman; that is to say, in the most unhealthy manner that can be imagined".

The next chapter is a trenchant and stimulating discussion of the Empire. His treatment of America does little more than point out the slender grounds for separation on the American side and to emphasise the "immense concentration of the American people at large on what they consider their own interest", which they will certainly follow better than ours. The separation of the United States was perhaps psychologically inevitable, and since it is a fact, it is pure sentimentalism to suppose that they will treat England in the long run any differently to any other foreign country. The remaining chapters deal with Industrialism and Democracy. Both contain much interesting information and many penetrating and acute remarks: but both are marred by an increasing acerbity of temper. This irritability reaches its climax in the chapter on Democracy where we learn (p. 248) that the "new type of Labour members is sometimes a drunken blackguard who turns the House of Commons into a bear-garden". The Syndicalists with their "devilish" doctrine of class war are ferociously attacked and the harmless Guild Socialists are considered just as bad. All Communists, we learn, are "enrages" and revolutionaries from Rousseau to Lenin types of tainted genius. The only good thing he can find to say about Socialists is the saying of the late King of Sweden, "The man who is not a Socialist at twenty has no heart, but he who remains one at thirty has no head".

The conclusion of the book is pessimistic. England, the Dean thinks, has passed her zenith, and now harassed by trade rivals without and sectional interests within, she must either drastically reduce her population and sink into the second rank, or undergo a period of want, misery and revolution. The tone of the writing is troubled and one feels that the Dean cannot have been happy in writing it, as indeed he partly admits in his preface. Perhaps, the deepest criticism which can be made is that though the Dean always says what he believes to be the truth, he does not always say it in love. "It is a pleasure to escape from politics and controversies into a purer air", he says in his "Plotinus" and that great work is the exact antithesis of the present book. In "England" we see the philosopher lost and alarmed in an unfamiliar world, harassed, embittered and bewildered by the rough and tumble of affairs. The two books might almost have been written by different hands, were it not for the courageous spirit which runs through both and in the end obliterates all bitterness by his final words: "I have laid bare my hopes and fears for the country that I love. This much I can avow, that never, even when the

storm-clouds appear blackest, have I been tempted to wish I was other than an Englishman".

T. G. P. SPEAR.

**THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE.** By WILLIAM BENNET MUNRO, Ph. D., LL. B. (Macmillan Company, New York). 1926 pp. 782. 8¾ x 5½. 18s.

IN his book, 'Nationalism and Internationalism,' Professor Ramsay Muir wrote thus: "The whole world has become a single vast and complex economic unit. Not only do the people of every country buy from and sell to the people of every other, but the industry and commerce of every country is in part financed by the capital of every other." At a time when "the whole world has become a single vast and complex unit" political crisis in one part of the world sends its echoes into the other. This is especially true of Europe and America. Europe and America are so closely intertwined by economic bonds that a political crisis in one part of Europe affects considerably the state of the stock market of New York and the wheat pit of Chicago. Americans have therefore begun to take a considerable interest in the governments of Europe, and the American Press have begun to give due publicity to the political happenings in Europe.

Professor Bennet Munro's work is evidence of the fact that Americans have begun to think internationally and have begun to evince an interest in the governments and politics of Europe. Professor Bennet Munro is the Jonathan Trumbull Professor of American History and Government in Harvard University. The book must be of interest to students of comparative politics in general, and to Americans in particular, for the author not merely describes the governments of Europe, but also institutes a masterly comparison, wherever possible, between the institutions of Europe and those of his own country.

Professor Munro keeps before his mind the dictum that "institutions grow and are not made." He himself says in p. 376, "The student of government must remember that government is an organism which owes something to heredity and something to environment. To understand the genius of a government, therefore, he must not only know its present structure, but its history, its temperament, and the atmosphere in which it functions. There has been too much study of government as a motionless thing, a valley of fossils, of stereotyped institutions. Every government is a going concern, a living organism, which carries something from the past into the present, and something from the present into the future. Howsoever men may disagree about biological evolution, there is no question that all political institutions have evolved and are evolving." The author gives therefore a brilliant historical introduction before describing the structure of the government of every country. The merit about his historical introduction is that only relevant facts in regard to the origin and development of governments are taken into consideration.

The book deals with the governments of Great Britain and other members of the British Commonwealth, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Russia, Austria, Hungary, and the Succession States. The author's treatment of the Governments of Great Britain and France are as good as, if not better than, President Lowell's treatment. His

chapter on the new German constitution is equally brilliant. But we think that the author has paid too much attention to the governments of the British Commonwealth, France and Germany, and too little to Italy, Russia, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, and the Succession States. The governments of the three, mentioned above, occupy 660 pages in a book of 765 pages. Why this disproportion? Is it because England is the "mother of all constitutions," France is "a country with the forms of a Republic, the institutions of a monarchy and the spirit of an Empire," and Germany is the only instance of a happy blending of political democracy with economic democracy? If that be so, are there not equally sound reasons for a fuller and a more exhaustive treatment of the governments of other States? The Swiss Government is the purest type of democracy, and has therefore the highest claim to be studied more fully. Even Lord Bryce in his work 'Modern Democracies' has devoted nearly 100 pages to a survey of the Swiss political system. The Russian Soviet Government demands a more thorough attention and a fuller treatment as it is a novel experiment leading to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Italy is now under the iron heel of Benito Mussolini and his Black Shirts. One looks in vain into the pages of the book to learn more about what Fascism stands for, its implications and how it has altered the democratic structure of Italy. The ignorance of the general public regarding the political conditions of Austria, Hungary and the Succession States is too well-known. It is a pity that the author has paid scant attention to the governments of these States.

In spite of this shortcoming, political literature is richer by the publication of this book. For lucidity of expression, clear marshalling of facts, and analytical treatment, the book under review has few equals. There is a bibliography at the end of each chapter where information of a more special kind can be sought. There is also a useful index at the end of the volume.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

### THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

**THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION CONSIDERED AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT** By J. F. FRANKLIN JONES. (Princeton University Press, Princeton.) 1926. 8 x 5. pp. 158. \$1.50.

THIS small volume is a product of the present wholesome tendency to regard the social implication of history as of greater value than its record of battles and political events. The book consists of four essays, dealing with the effects of the American War of Independence upon the status of persons, the ownership of land, the development of industry and commerce, and the thought life of the country.

Under the first heading the author explains the gradual development of the idea of independence among various portions of the populations, showing how various classes swayed by the ideals of their profession, or by the economic situation, inclined either to the Tory side, or to that of freedom. He dispels the illusion that the days of the Revolution were a golden age, or that "the whole American population of that time was heroic". We are shown a war and post-war psychology not unlike that which has been lived through by the present generation. The effect of American independence upon slavery is brought out, proving that the "analogy between freedom for whites and freedom for blacks" gradually walked its way

into the national consciousness. In the revolutionary period were sown the seeds of emancipation for the African slave.

America a hundred and fifty years ago was distinctly rural, only two or three per cent. of her people living in towns. Agriculture was her one staple industry. In contrast with India, however, we here consider a country of vast open spaces, with large sections having abundant rainfall, where land might be had for the asking. Hence its appeal to the land hungry of the world. Then was decided that the coveted land was to be held not in the vast estates of Europe, but under a system of small holdings. Tory estates were broken up; quit rents, entails and primogeniture were abolished. The land was to belong to the people. As the Atlantic sea board filled up, the movement to the West began, first into the hill country of the Alleghanies, then across and down the river valleys into the boundless prairie region of the middle West.

In the matter of industries, the Revolution set the States free from the hampering restrictions with which Parliament had bound their earlier attempts at home manufactures. In 1719 the House of Commons had said that "the erection of manufactories in the colonies tend to lessen their dependence on Great Britain." Among other things the exportation of woolen goods and beaver hats was forbidden, and while pig and bar iron was encouraged, all manufacture of steel was prohibited. At the beginning of the War, importation from England ceased, yet local manufactures had not begun. Then ensued a period of scarcity, in which Yankee ingenuity was hard put to it to supply its own needs. The resulting expansion of industries was notable, both in factory products, and in the growth of such cottage industries as spinning and weaving. One shop in Philadelphia sold in one year fifteen hundred sets of spinning wheel irons. In Massachusetts, whole families sat down beside small forges in their chimney corners, and manufactured iron nails in great quantity, the children joining with the parents in the industry. Maritime commerce grew, and the sailors of the New England fishing towns found their way to the ports of China and India to Archangel and the Cape of Good Hope.

As to the influence of the Revolution upon thought and feeling in America, the author finds it difficult to disentangle the specific influences of the war from the wider currents of world influence that swept across the Atlantic, such as the European revolutionary activities of 1830 and 1848. To these and similar movements may be traced the American social ferments leading towards Socialism or humanism, an increased sentiment of nationalism expressed in proclamations of Manifest Destiny, and emotional tension that worked itself out in wide-spread religious revivals. Post-War psychology, then as now, generated "the restlessness of the young, their disrespect for tradition and authority, the increase of crime, frivolity and extravagance of society. The glory of the military profession was enhanced, and became almost a *sine qua non* of the holding of high political office. State Churches were gradually disestablished, all religious denominations were placed upon the same footing, and the divorce between Church and State finally became complete.

The writer sums up his conclusion in the statement that "all the varied activities of men in the same country and period have intimate relations with each other, and that one cannot obtain a satisfactory view of them by considering one apart from all.

A. B. VAN DOREN.

#### MAHADEV GOVIND RANADE.

MAHADEV GOVIND RANADE—PATRIOT & SOCIAL SERVANT. By Prof. JAMES KELLOCK. (Builders of Modern India Series.) 1926. 7½ × 5. pp. 204. Re. 1-4.

IT is a truism to say that if there was any real Builder of Modern India, that was the late Mr. Justice Ranade, whom the author of this biography aptly describes as patriot and social servant. Among the thousand and one multifarious activities in which Mr. Ranade took part, none was more near his heart than his Social Conference which was an adjunct of the National Congress. He it was that was the life and soul of that Conference and it is humiliating to have to confess that with his departure, that Conference also practically came to an end for want of an enthusiastic successor as Secretary. Poona City which had the unique honour of being the most beloved of Indian cities in the heart of Mahadev Govind Ranade had, it must be confessed to her lasting shame, also the impudence of denying to the Social Conference the use of the Congress pandal never before and never afterwards denied to it by the Congress management any where in India!

Prof. Kellock has, we are glad to note, produced an extremely readable biography after having made full use of the available material in English and Marathi. The author has also most sympathetically studied and dwelt upon every phase of the manifold activities carried on by the great patriot. He has quoted chapter and verse for most of his opinions and views. He has also abundantly made use of quotations from Ranade's writings and speeches and one is grateful to the biographer for enabling one to pass a very enjoyable time in the company of the great patriot and saint while reading this biography. We say saint advisedly, as in our opinion, no one among his contemporaries exhibited more saintly qualities than the late Mr. Ranade in his private as well as public life.

We consider the present as the best biography available in English of the late Mr. Justice Ranade and we sincerely congratulate Prof. Kellock on his success in appreciating the merits of the great patriot, though he had never had any opportunity to come into personal contact with him. That shows how very carefully he has studied and digested all available material.

K. K. GOKHALE

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

##### THE S. AFRICAN AGREEMENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—When men of such high eminence as Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Andrews and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who have a close acquaintance with affairs in S. Africa are agreed in thinking the Agreement to be satisfactory and in acclaiming it as a marvellous achievement of the Indian delegation, no fair-minded person in India will have a reasonable doubt as to the acceptability of the settlement. Naturally, in taking the first step to a solution of an age-long problem many matters have still been left vague and judgment has to be suspended in respect of them till we see what action is taken by the Union Government in connection therewith. Thus, in judging the value of the Agreement, Mahatma Gandhi has naturally to make reservations and express his misgivings in regard to certain items. In view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi had written his article before the announce-

ment was made and the explanation given by Mr. Bhoré was available to the Mahatma, may I, as one who has had no first-hand knowledge of the problem, but as one who can form his opinion only on the basis of the published documents, point out that some of the points taken by Mahatma Gandhi seem to have been somewhat cleared up?

Take, for instance, the point that Mahatma Gandhi makes in regard to the emigration of the S. African Indians to "foreign countries." It seems to be Mahatmaj's idea, and also Sarojini Devi's, that what is contemplated is that those Indians who are willing to avail themselves of the scheme of assisted emigration will be sent direct by the Union Government to any country it likes. The published papers, however, do not seem to me to lend support to this idea. On the contrary, a study of these papers has left a clear impression on my mind that the scheme contemplates only this—that those Indians, who desire to take advantage of "assisted emigration" will in the first instance be brought over to India, and then it will be for the Government of India either to place them on some works in India itself or to include them, subject of course to the willingness of the repatriates to settle again in a foreign country, in any projects of emigration that they (the Government of India) may have in hand. If my interpretation is correct—and again I would point out that I have no inside knowledge of this affair, but base my conclusion upon what has been so far published—then there is no question of Indians being sent at present to Fiji or British Guiana (the two countries mentioned by Mahatma Gandhi) or to any other country but Ceylon and Malaya, where alone the Government of India can at present send emigrants. All that the Government of India intend to do apparently in this connection is that they are willing to consider the request of the repatriates, in case they make it, along with similar requests from others to be sent to Ceylon and Malaya and treat the repatriates on a footing of equality with others. It is obvious that if I have represented the facts correctly there is nothing to object to in this arrangement.

Apprehension is similarly expressed in regard to the application of the provision in the Agreement for an investigation into the sanitary and housing conditions in and around Durban which will include the question of the limitation of the sale of municipal lands subject to restrictive conditions. This is so vague that even Mahatma Gandhi is unable to see how this provision will work in practice. He fears that "the health committee may bring in a hysterical subject and limitations may be put upon the purchase of municipal lands by Indians which may cramp the Indian community residing in Durban". I am sure I do not know how this clause will be applied, but the statement of Mr. Bhoré says in regard to this matter: "It is hoped that as a result of this investigation more municipal land of a suitable nature (may) be made available for Indians for housing purposes." It may therefore be taken that the provision is intended to work to the advantage of Indians; still it is clear that more definite information will be awaited on the subject.

Mahatma Gandhi further says: "Nor do I like the paragraph (in the Agreement) which seems to imply that the provincial Governments are at liberty to take any action they might against Indian settlers without reference to the Central

Government." This is a very serious matter, but I am unable to discover any reference in the published papers on which Mahatma Gandhi's statement is based. On the contrary, I know, that the Union Government has always been opposed to vest such power in the hands of local Governments which, of course, is favourable to Indian interests. For instance, Dr. Malan, the Minister of the Interior, in speaking on a private resolution in 1925, said: "The Asiatic question was not a question that could be left to be dealt with by a minor body, the Provincial Council. Besides, the Asiatic question touched international relations and could not be left to Provincial Councils for that reason." Mr. Patrio Duncan, the Minister of Interior under the Smuts Government, echoed this sentiment, thus showing that both the great parties in the Union Parliament are agreed on this question. On all these points, which will receive serious consideration in all quarters, more light requires to be thrown.—

Yours, etc.,

Delhi, Feb. 26.

A SEEKER AFTER TRUTH.

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- SELECTED ARTICLES ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE. By JAMES P. KIBBY. (The Hand book series.) (The H. W. Wilson Company, New York.) 1926. 7¾ × 5½. pp. III + 314
- NIRVANA. By G. S. ARUNDALE. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.) 1926. 7½ × 4¾. pp. 219.
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- THE AWAKENING OF CHINA. By JAMES H. DOLSMER. (The Daily Worker Publishing Company, Chicago.) 1926. 7½ × 5½. pp. 267.

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