

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Madras Council is welcome to its decision to co-operate with the Statutory Commission and we need not quarrel with it. The feeling in Madras with regard to its decision however appears to be more faithfully reflected in the resolution passed by a public meeting held there on the 6th inst. This resolution condemned the Council's action and called upon the members of the committee elected to co-operate with the Commission to resign their seats. In the words of the Chairman of this meeting Mr. Satyamurti, Madras was "the one province which had the unique dishonour of having voted for non-co-operation in January and swallowed its own vote in September"—a result brought about "by bargains of the grossest political immorality." This however would have been impossible but for the ruling of the President of that Council which is in our opinion a bad precedent for violating the spirit of the standing orders and rules governing the procedure of legislative bodies. After having carefully perused the long-winded rationale of his decision to allow the motion we remain unconvinced. In the matter of the application of standing orders it is he who is to give his opinion and need really not take the sense of the House in matters which are essentially for his own judgment. His attempt to discriminate between motions and resolutions appears to us to be hyper-subtle and ignores that the subject matter of a motion or a resolution is more important than the form it assumes or the classification which the mover chooses for it. Judged according to this method of interpretation, the motion for appointing a Committee is barred by a

specific rule which precludes the raising of substantially the same question as that decided less than a year ago. Granting that according to the strict letter of the rules the President was justified in giving opportunity to the Council to reconsider the decision it has arrived at on a particular matter, we do not think it in the least justifiable that the spirit of the rules should be sacrificed to their letter.

* * *

IN spite of the croakings of several leading Moslems, among whom are to be included, Moslem Waverers. strangely enough, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulvi Mahomed Yakub, we cannot believe that the progressive section of the Muslims will offer opposition to the recent Lucknow pact. Mr. Yakub did not care to attend the All Parties Conference, perhaps just because he should be able to denounce the agreement, and the Maulana too, although he attended, has already made up his mind to cut himself adrift from the national movement. Apparently the Ali brothers do not hope to exploit the national sentiment for Islam any more. They have no more use for the Mahatma. The defection of these leaders notwithstanding, we are sanguine that the Mahomedans as a community will be loyal to the resolutions passed at the Conference, and we are fortified in this hope and belief by the timely communication in the press of Mr. M. C. Chagla who publicly contradicts the suggestion made by Mr. Yakub that Mr. Jinnah did not cable his approval to the Lucknow resolutions because he did not agree with them. Mr. Jinnah not having seen the Nehru Report and the full bearing of the recommendations regarding Moslems, can well be excused if he requires more time before he comes to a decision. But we share to the full Mr. Chagla's confidence that when he returns home he will throw the full weight of his great influence among the Mahomedans on the side of the Lucknow Agreement. When his support is forthcoming, we need have no doubt of the unwavering adherence of that section of the Moslems which alone we can ever hope to carry with us in any national movement. The Government will of course have all the Shafis and Abdul Qayums on their side and we shall be quite content to fight them with the Jinnahs, Mahmudabads and Ali Imams on the popular side.

* * *

MR. JOSHI'S Bill for giving to members of unregistered trade unions and to those workmen who have joined no trade unions of any kind the immunity

from the provisions of criminal conspiracy which members of registered trade unions now enjoy has been thrown out by the Assembly. The hostility of the employing classes who predominate in our Legislature to such measures is of course well-known, but what grieves one about the defeat of this Bill is the indifference of the supposed popular tribunes to a very modest proposal in the interest of the labouring classes. Few members took part in the discussion, either on one side or on the other; and Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Jayakar and Pandit Malaviya, who was eloquent and often speak a good deal of rhodomontade at tedious length on other occasions, were studiously silent on this. The representatives of employers and Government, it must be admitted, played their cards very cleverly; for they made it appear that their opposition to the Bill was chiefly inspired by their concern for registered trade unions. If unorganised workers too obtained the same privileges in regard to immunity from conspiracy, what incentive was there, they asked, for labour to organise itself, as Mr. Joshi himself so ardently desired? Not that Lala Lajpat Rai and other leaders were really taken in by this argument. We are sure that if they had for once given some thought to questions affecting labour they could have seen that it was not the best kind of inducement for workers to organise themselves to inflict upon unorganised workers unnecessary and barbarous penalties. Criminal conspiracy in regard to trade disputes is a fiction of an old-world England which has no place in India. It is almost by a fluke that we have come to recognise this bad law and the Government and even the employers ought to have welcomed a proposal to remedy an obvious defect. But of them we do not complain; on them we have no claim. The popular leaders, however, we cannot too strongly condemn. They no doubt supported the Bill by vote, but they did not show for it a tithe of the enthusiasm which they unnecessarily bestow on measures not half so important as this.

* * *

THE resolution of Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh to move in the Assembly for the removal of the Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, which has been disallowed by the Governor-General raises an important constitutional issue. The issue is about the competence of the Houses of Legislature to censure the conduct of the Judiciary and to recommend to His Majesty the King the removal of the judge of a superior court. In the House of Commons the conduct of the judges of superior courts of the U. K. can be debated upon a substantive motion which can be dealt with by the distinct vote of the House. The new constitution of the Irish Free State expressly says in Article 68 that the judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Court shall not be removed except for stated misbehaviour or incapacity and then only by resolutions passed by both the Houses, the Dail and the Seanad. The Houses of the Indian Legislature not being sovereign, there can be no question of their possessing the powers of the British and Irish Legis-

latures. But in view of the fact that the Indian Houses are in *statu pupillari* as a Parliament, it stands to reason that certain conventions require to be established with regard to their right to scrutinize the conduct of the higher judiciary. Of course the right of the Legislature to sit in judgment on the doings of judges oft and anon would be highly undesirable. But unless it is thought that judges of Superior Courts ought to be immune from even a breath of criticism in the interest of the prestige of the judiciary, it must be conceded that some place must be found where cases of notable misconduct of the judges can be debated upon with perfect constitutional propriety. And the best place for the purpose is of course the Central Legislature. Whatever one may think of giving at present the Legislature in India the right to make a motion for the removal of a judge of the High Courts, we would urge for immediate adoption the right to debate on a substantial motion censuring a particular indiscretion or a misdemeanour.

* * *

THE organisers of the fourth session of the Conference of Miraj State subjects which was held on Sunday last deserve to be congratulated on the success which attended the session, for they had many difficulties, not of course of their own making, to contend against. It need hardly be stated that in a State like Miraj no Conference is possible without the sanction of the State authorities and as the question for considering which the Conference was chiefly organised was the recent revision survey of three talukas in the State, this was not too easy to secure. The authorities next objected to the venue of the Conference which consequently had to be changed to the great inconvenience and not a little expense on the part of the organisers. The next point was the selection of a President who would commend himself to the authorities. The organisers' choice fell upon a well-known non-Brahman M.L.C. but his fault was that he was not a subject of the state! When however an ex-M.L.C. and a subject of the State to boot was found, the State authorities could not be induced to regard him as safe enough to guide the deliberations. Eventually the Conference met under the presidency of a local pleader. But then trouble arose as to the men who should take part and the important point was: could outsiders be allowed to do so? The matter was after some negotiations satisfactorily settled by outsiders being allowed to speak at the Conference. Among the many resolutions passed, we shall single out for mention here only two. One called upon the Chieftsaheb to declare his intention to grant responsible government to his people and as a beginning to establish a legislative council consisting of a nonofficial elected majority and the other recorded the opinion that the recent revision settlement, contravening as it does well-known settlement rules and practice should, not be carried into effect, but that there should be a fresh inquiry, as asked for by the Bardoli peasants, by a mixed committee. Whether the State will concede the demand of the Conference on this point or not, it is understood that the State authorities are contemplating reconsideration of the question, which, if true, reflects great credit on the Chieftsaheb, and still more on the Secretary of the Conference, Mr. Shikhare, to whom the present agitation, vigorous but responsible, is wholly due.

* * *

BOGEY OF THE RED MENACE.

ON Monday last the Home Member to the Government of India, Mr. Crerar, sought the leave of the Assembly for the introduction of the Public Safety Bill. The discussion on his motion is not over and it cannot be said with certainty whether the leave asked for would be granted. The Bill however is so very objectionable that the Assembly, if it is to voice faithfully Indian opinion, ought to throw it out.

This feeling forces itself upon us all the more forcibly, now that Government have said all they have to say in support of the Bill. In his speech on Monday Mr. Crerar did not, it appears to us, make out a convincing case for the drastic powers to deal with foreign Communists which the Government wish to take to themselves by this Bill. All that he said in effect was: The recent industrial and agrarian unrest in the country is due to Communist inspiration; he had in his possession evidence which would bear out his statement but which, if exposed to public view, would give invaluable information to the enemy. In thus trying to terrify the Assembly into acceptance of his motion, Mr. Crerar was overdoing the bogey of the Communist menace. There may perhaps be a few foreign Communists busy fomenting trouble in the land; but on that ground to ask for their wholesale deportation is like using a big hammer to kill a fly. Mr. Crerar says he has evidence which would show the Communist organisation at work in India. If so, and if he wants the Assembly to share with Government the responsibility for dealing drastically with it, is it not only fair to ask that he should place it in possession of that evidence? Frankly speaking, we do not share his fear that, if made public, the evidence would place the enemy in an advantageous position. It is our view that the publication of such evidence, if really incontrovertible, would have the effect of rallying the more sensible elements in Indian society to the support of Government. But, assuming for a moment that his fear was true, has he at least tried to take the party leaders in the Assembly into his confidence? If he has failed to do so, he must excuse those who would draw the obvious conclusion from his conduct that there is something wrong with the evidence itself and that it cannot stand the test of public examination.

Coming to the Bill itself, it is an attempt to substitute executive action for judicial trial, in the case of non-Indian Communists. But in some parts it is so worded that we should not be greatly surprised if its provisions are now and again utilised by the executive Government to bundle inconvenient European politicians, though non-Communists, safely out of the country. Even the *Pioneer*, which is in favour of anti-Communist legislation, takes this view and colour is further lent to it by the misleading title adopted for it. For if the measure is really and truly aimed at non-Indian Communists, why not give it a title more correctly expressive of its contents, e. g. some such name as the Foreign Communists Expulsion Bill? And indeed our contem-

porary history does not suffer from lack of cases in which powers vested in the executive for particular purposes have been used for quite different ones.

The Home Member did, as expected, try to win the Assembly's support to his motion on the ground of the applicability of the measure not to Indians, but to foreigners. But if the Assembly takes a long view of the situation, it will refuse to fall into the net spread before it by Mr. Crerar. The proper way of looking at the Bill is whether it places individuals at the mercy of the executive rather than ensuring for them the usual judicial remedies. Even the Home Member does not claim that these are provided in the Bill, which appears to be a sufficient ground for its rejection. A correct diagnosis of the situation in the country will be found in the following remarks by the *Pioneer*, which should be deeply pondered over by Government. Says the paper in its issue of August 27:—

"By itself this Bill, even if passed and intelligently applied, is only one side of the picture. It is a truism that agitation and agitators only flourish and succeed when conditions of work and the organisation of society is such as to produce genuine grievances. There is no doubt that labour is shockingly paid in India. The standard of life is on the whole disgracefully low. Labour is exploited, labour feels itself repressed, and consequently there is throughout the country a consciousness of grievance which is ripe ground for the seeds of agitation. The Government of India and the Provincial Governments, if they wish to have a strikeless country, must proceed with other measures besides this Bill against Bolsheviks. . . To remove all fear of the growth of revolutionary propaganda, it is necessary boldly to tackle the obvious defects of the present social organisation and to improve the conditions of labour. As long as there remain in India many millions of workers on the verge of starvation and well below the margin of comfortable subsistence, there is much fallow ground waiting for objectionable political crops. . . If the Government of India inaugurates and carries out a series of progressive social reform measures, and keeps a clear open mind on the two sides of this problem of the right to strike, there will be little danger."

INDIAN EMIGRATION TO MALAYA.

A PROVINCIAL Government publication of more than local interest is the report on the working of the Labour Department in Malaya for 1927 by its Controller. This is as usual issued to the Indian public by the Government of Madras which supplies most of the labour migrating to that Colony. How much Malaya is dependent upon this country for its labour supply can be seen from the fact that as much as 70 per cent. of the total number of labourers employed on plantations in that country is Indian.

Indians emigrating to Malaya do so either at their own expense or at the expense of what is known as the Immigration Fund. The report does not give us any connected idea as to how the Fund is constituted or as to its purposes. According to the Handbook of British Malaya, for 1927, however, the Fund came into being in 1907, when

"the Immigration Committee was formed, with the Superintendent of Immigrants as Chairman, and an Enactment was passed empowering the Committee to levy upon employers an assessment on the amount of work done by all labourers from the Madras Presidency. The proceeds of the Assessment formed the Immigration Fund, which was administered by the Superintendent of

Immigrants in the interests of the labourers, and formed no part of general revenue. The enactment under which the system was introduced is now incorporated in the Labour Code, and the officer administering it is known as the Controller of Labour."

The same Handbook tells us that its purposes

"include the maintenance of homes for decrepit and unemployed Indian labourers, and repatriation of and assistance to Indian labourers in need of relief. Two such homes exist, one in Kuala Lumpur and one in Penang."

The admissions to the first home which is intended for decrepit Indians numbered in 1927 3,213 adults, 273 minors and 128 infants. Of these 1,651 were repatriated, 449 discharged as fit for work, 665 transferred to hospitals and 386 absconded. To the second home 2,526 adults, 273 minors and 128 infants were admitted last year. 1072 of these were repatriated and for most of the others work was found. But this is by the way. It is this Fund which assumes responsibility for the travelling and other incidental expenses of the labourers wishing to go to Malaya and naturally a very large proportion—123,826 out of a total of 156,132 during 1927—do not grudge to take its assistance. A comparatively small number also go at their own expense and include people desiring to pursue trade in Malaya. During 1927, 32,306 or a little over one-fifth of the total Indian emigration paid their own passages; of these only about 11,000 went there to seek their luck in trade. Thus it will be seen that, barring this sprinkling of traders, those that emigrate to Malaya are labourers.

It will be remembered that emigration of Indians to Malaya was allowed to be restarted in 1923 under certain conditions. Perhaps the most important of such conditions is that the Indian labourer in Malaya should be an absolutely free agent, not bound by any kind of indenture or agreement to serve a particular master. This requirement seems to be strictly observed with the result that though for most of the recruited labour work is already assured, every single Indian labourer is in point of fact at complete liberty to offer his services to whomsoever he likes and to change his master with the customary one month's notice if he so chooses. Methods of recruitment too have improved as a result of the working of the new arrangements with the Malayan authorities and one hears nowadays very little about those frauds and abuses which were such a disagreeable feature of the recruitment of labour, e. g., for Mauritius and South Africa. Under the rules at present in force, the emigration of women unaccompanied by male relatives above 18 and of minors is absolutely forbidden; the recruiter is required to confine his operations to the area in which his own village is situated; the monetary inducement offered to him too cannot be said to be too attractive, being fixed at Rs. 10 per adult and Rs. 5 per minor; nor can he recruit an unlimited number, the maximum being laid down at 50. But it must be added in fairness that in practice this is never reached. In 1927, the report informs us, the average recruitment per license was 9.62; while the highest was 15 in the case of Government plantations. Care is taken in the selection of proper people as recruiters, registration of undesirable ones being refused. The requirement that the Kanganis must themselves be labourers and must recruit for none but their own employer is a great safeguard against misrepresentation by them of life in the estates. All this has resulted in making Malaya increasingly attractive to Indian labourers, as we can find from the number of assisted passages taken year by year. This has quadrupled since 1923, being 28,551 in that year and 114,104 last year. The number of adult assisted passengers shipped from Southern India also tells the same tale. These were

26,868 in 1923 and rose to 104,382 last year.

But there is one point in regard to which we are unable to compliment the Malayan authorities. That point relates to the proportion that should subsist between the sexes. It may be admitted at once that the percentages of females amongst assisted immigrants for the last five years show a consistent tendency to increase, being 21.97 in 1923 and 26.29 in 1927; but it cannot be said that the progress is particularly rapid. The 1927 report like its predecessor tries to throw much of the blame for the existing sex disparity on the class of what it terms "wealthier" Indians going to Malaya at their own expense. But, as we have already seen, their number is comparatively small and, though we have no intention of absolving them from blame that may legitimately fall to their share, they cannot be saddled with responsibility for all the sex inequality observable in Malaya at present. It is necessary in our opinion on the part of the Malayan authorities to make special efforts to accelerate this progress toward sex approximation if our countrymen are to be expected to lead normally moral and decent lives. Instead, however, we find that the Controller of Labour visited Simla last year and induced the Government of India to postpone the operation of a rule prescribing a definite sex ratio among Indian emigrants. Postponement up to 1st April this year was apparently granted without much difficulty and a further one promised "if labour conditions in Malaya warrant it." There is no knowing if the Indian Government have since been convinced as to the necessity of the promised further postponement. While the Government's right under the existing Emigration law to grant or refuse such relaxation in the application of the rule in question is unquestioned, the least they owe to the public in this country is to inform them of its decisions in such important matters and their reasons therefor. Will not some M.L.A. ask for enlightenment?

The collection of vital statistics appears to be surrounded by difficulties peculiar to Malaya. All plantations are apparently not sufficiently alive to the importance of furnishing the necessary information. But while the registration of births may on this account be conceivably defective, death registration must at least be reliable. The death rate is lower among Indians employed by Government departments than among those on estates and mines, being respectively 11.57 and 18.44 per mille. It is to be noted that the death rate among Indians working on non-Government estates is showing a consistently upward tendency since 1924 when it was 11.94. Next year it went up to 12.55 and in 1926 it rose still higher to 15.62. In so far as the difference in the Indian death-rate on Government and non-Government estates can be attributed to unsatisfactory and insanitary housing conditions and want of proper medical help, it is to be hoped that the Malayan authorities will use all the powers vested in them to remove such remediable causes of increasing the death rate. This is being done and we observe that in 1927 four estates were forbidden to employ additional labour pending the provision of adequate accommodation. The number of suicides among Indian labourers is also consistently rising and is a matter for anxiety. In 1915, since when a reliable record on the subject is maintained, there were 17 suicides; while last year they numbered 46! This is a serious state of things and needs to be looked into by the Indian Agent in Malaya with the co-operation of the Government of the Colony. To judge from the information given in the report, the year 1927 was by no means free from labour unrest with the result that there were some strikes

and also some serious disturbances. Did we hear about them at the time they took place? Was the Government kept informed about them by their Agent as and when these occurrences happened? A demand for higher wages and more holidays, and dissatisfaction with the conduct of immediate superiors were some of the causes that brought about these strikes. The strikers in one case were hauled up before a law court which ordered them to pay their employers one month's wages for their failure to give the usual notice!

During the year under report 2,776 complaints by labourers were registered in the various Labour Offices. As many as 54 of these were for assault by manager or assistant manager and 153 for the same trouble but by clerk or kangani, 1429 for non-payment or late payment of wages, 41 for refusal to accept notice or to discharge after a month's notice, 188 for wrongful dismissal, 198 for separation of families and 713 for other kinds of ill-treatment. It is a sad commentary on the conditions of work on plantations that there should be so many cases of personal violence by superiors and of refusal or postponement of payment of wages legitimately due to labourers. We trust the Indian Agent by keeping in touch with Indian labourers does his best to minimise such causes of friction between employers and the Indian employed in Malaya.

We wish the Controller of Labour had found it possible to give fuller information about the educational facilities available to our countrymen there. All that he tells us is that 412 estates as compared to 386 in 1926 had schools, and that grants amounting to \$58,072 as against \$48,830 in 1926 were paid to them. If in his future reports he would enlighten us as to the total number of children of school age in the Colony and the number actually at school, or if the Government of India's Agent could be induced to collect and furnish this information, one could say if such facilities as exist at present are or are not adequate.

Similarly, more information about the prevalence of the drink habit among Indians would be welcome. And we must also repeat our request made last year that the Controller of Labour should give us some idea as to the composition of Licensing Boards which seem to exist in various places so as to enable us to judge whether Indian interests are adequately protected.

THE BENGAL TENANCY BILL.-II.

(Concluded from last issue.)

THE true significance of this provision of the law is not easily realised. But in point of fact it means that the provision limiting the landlord's SALAMI to 20 per cent. is rendered absolutely nugatory by this. The landlord by simply putting in a petition to pre-empt can put the screw on, and the purchaser, if he cares for the land, perhaps because it is contiguous to his own land or for some such reason, would rather pay more to the landlord than lose the land. Or, if he does not care to keep it at that price the landlord would always have a man handy who would take a fresh settlement of the land on paying a larger *salam* perhaps and certainly at a higher rent than he could get from the old tenant or the purchaser. Considering that the landlord is and must remain a mere rent-receiver and cannot want the land to till it himself, and considering that he has been already grabbing a great deal too much of the profits from land without any return to society, a present to him of this engine for screwing more money out of tenants seems an amazing piece of heartlessness and impolicy.

The only approach to an argument in favour of this amazing provision which I have heard is that it is necessary as a security against the landlord being defrauded in respect of the *nazar* by a fraudulent understatement of the value of the land in the conveyance. Another argument has been advanced that this provision is inserted to enable the landlord to keep out undesirable tenants. Any one who knows the real facts about the situation in Bengal knows that all their talk of undesirable tenants is mere eye-wash. Now, to my mind, there is no real apprehension of such fraud, as the vendor will have no incentive to join in such fraud. But even if there was such fraud the landlord could have the usual legal remedies against it and might either recover his dues on proof of the real price paid or even have the sale cancelled. What is the special reason for providing the landlord with this oppressive security against fraud when hundreds and thousands of his fellow-subjects have to content themselves with the ordinary legal remedies in cases of fraud of a similar character? Cases where A and B may by conspiracy defraud C are not very rare in commercial and other transactions of daily life; yet C in such a case has always to rely exclusively on the ordinary civil and criminal remedies. Why should this class of landlords be shown this extraordinary favour which will enable them effectively to defraud the law fixing the *nazarana*? Are we to understand that landlords of Bengal are henceforth to be classed with minors and lunatics who need the special protection of law in respect of ordinary jural relations?

The grim humour of the thing is that this absurd piece of iniquitous legislation is sought to be supported by sanctimonious sophisms about justice and fair play even by those who ought to know better. Thus the leader of the Swarajya party, which has distinguished itself by loyally voting with the Government on all principal matters, said that they were out to see justice and fair play. Others again have said that the Bill is a compromise, that there must be a give and take, and all that sort of thing. It is said that the tenants are given the right of transfer and the landlords must have some compensation. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that those who talk of justice and fair play in this connection are either blind or deliberately perverse. I have shown above that the landlords have got extremely valuable privileges. What have the raiyats got in return? Very little that they did not already have since *Dayamoyi's* case, and that little has been made nugatory by the right of the landlord to pre-empt. While the raiyat is fleeced in this way in the interest of the landlord for this doubtful privilege, he is on the other side deprived of the rights he had against the under-raiyat—without any compensation. This is justice with a vengeance!

There are excellent reasons for suggesting that the holdings in the hands of cultivators should not be transferable, if transfers can be helped. It is also a matter of grave concern that large quantities of rayati lands are passing out of the hands of cultivators into those of persons who do not want to cultivate it themselves. From this point of view the recognition of the rights of under-raiyats in the Bill is all to the good and the wiping out of the right of the *burgadar* in the same Bill is all wrong. Some remedy has to be found for the growing evil of the expropriation of cultivating raiyats as also for the numerous other economic evils arising out of the absurd and complex land system of Bengal. It is of the utmost importance that the whole policy on this question should be re-examined by economists and the Government.

If it were a question whether the raiyat should be given a free hand in selling his holdings or should

be protected against alienation, altogether different considerations would have arisen. The present Bill however raises no such question. Transferability as a fact already exists. Within limits it is already recognised by law even against the landlord. A raiyat who wants to transfer his occupancy holding seldom fails to find a buyer. But, having regard to the uncertainty of the attitude of the landlord, such purchases are more or less of a speculation for the buyer. Naturally therefore he offers much less for the land than he would pay if he were sure of his title. The rest he keeps in reserve for possible litigation and a fund out of which to satisfy the landlord. The result is that the raiyat under the present law sells his lands all right, but can ever get the full value of his land. The only question which the Bill raised was how this uncertainty could be got over and the raiyat secured a good value for his land on a sale. No other question really arose in connection with this Bill.

The landlord clique found it to their advantage to agree to give certainty to the title of the purchaser on conditions which meant taking a great deal more from the purchaser than the maximum that he used to have under present conditions. And the Bill sponsored by landlords and carried through the Council by a landlord majority has given the purchaser certainty with a vengeance. That means of course that the purchaser would now pay even less for the land to the outgoing raiyat than he would have paid in the uncertain conditions heretofore prevailing. That is benefitting the raiyat with a vengeance! It is worthy of note that the landlord's right to *salami* and pre-emption would extend to all sales and gifts and even in cases of exchange the landlord is entitled to a *salami* though at a lower rate. It means that no scheme of mutual exchange and consolidation of the holdings will be possible. Another fact worthy of note is that while under present law a co-sharer landlord by purchasing a holding cannot acquire a right of occupancy the Bill makes a present to the co-sharer landlord who purchases or pre-empt a right of occupancy. This is the result of the years of agitation on behalf of raiyats for removal of vexatious clogs on their right of sale of their holdings! And in aid of this statute of spoliation advocates of the Bill have the cheek to utter high-sounding apologies in the blessed name of justice and fair play!

The gross inequity of the Bill would thus be plain even if its provisions are considered on the lowest plane of justice. If it is permissible to speculate on the higher moral considerations, the injustice and economic unsoundness of proposals would be found to be positively outrageous. The economic position of zemindars and middlemen whom this Bill has rewarded is that of parasites who are living idly upon the life-blood of society. Leaving history apart, for their historical position is even worse, their present position is that while the raiyats pay about thirteen crores of rupees in rent, only about three crores of rupees come to the Government as revenue. The landlords, including middlemen are, therefore, absorbing ten crores of rupees every year out of the proceeds of cultivation without giving any return in the shape of any service to society barring the voluntary gifts to charities made by some of them. Sound economic theory should therefore be concerned to find out how to eliminate this economic parasite. The Bill does not give any thought to this question. What it does is to make a present of an additional three or four crores of rupees or thereabouts to them. It is estimated that about fifteen or sixteen crores of rupees worth of raiyati lands are sold every year. So then, what with their guaranteed *salami* of 20% and with their right of pre-emp-

tion the landlords may easily be trusted to make three or four crores more a year out of these transactions. The gross economic injustice of this measure therefore hardly needs elaboration.

I am not unmindful of the fact that the raiyat is not always a cultivator. In point of fact a great many of the cultivating raiyats have sold their holdings and are cultivating their lands as burgadars or under-raiyats under their purchases. In other cases with increasing prosperity the raiyat has ceased to cultivate and is exploiting farm labourers or under-raiyats. That is a most distressing fact and points to the growing process of degradation of the cultivator to the position of landless labourer. One would welcome any measure to counter this movement. But no such measure is in sight. One might also agree that these middlemen raiyats are not entitled to any more consideration than zamindars or tenure holders. But the fact stands that even now the great bulk of land belongs to cultivating raiyats. Any measure which hits the raiyat therefore in the interest of the landlord hits the peasant raiyat, though it also hits other persons who enjoy the legal status of a raiyat without actually cultivating themselves. Such a measure therefore is deserving of the strongest censure from the point of view of the hundreds of thousands of cultivating raiyats who are hit by it.

NARES CH. SEN-GUPTA.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

LONDON, August 23.

ON THE EVE OF THE PACT.

ON the signing of the Peace Pact, there are certain facts and truths which seem to stand out clearly through all the mists of discussion, and which are indeed their cause. There is a logic of peace. Logic may play little part in history notwithstanding the philosophical definition of human nature, and those engaged in politics, like the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, may openly be sceptical about it. There are, nevertheless, certain points in the flux of affairs when it would intrude itself and set people thinking. No new departure can be taken without a sense of values and the deliberate adoption of new ideal, involving as it does the examination of the nature of events with a view to its revision, is of the essence of the logical procedure. The realisation of the goal may be difficult of attainment for a variety of reasons, but none can control the thinking process which can make its implications manifest. The renunciation of war among nations, like in the case of renunciation of conflict among individuals, has to be followed by the institution of another mechanism in the place of war as a court of ultimate appeal, to make it true. Such a regulating centre is an absolute necessity in a land where national egoism, individual assertion, and affirmations are exalted virtues. The distinctive feature of this supreme tribunal has to be the power to create an absolute conviction that before it all nations are alike. Far from the world being anywhere near such a conception, really, the international horizon is now writ large with such notions as *faits accomplis*, *status quo*, and so on. These fictions work as all legal fictions do and have nothing more substantial or fundamental in them than that they may be worked as long as they can be worked. No higher allegiance than naked utility can be made to support them. It is therefore we find that on the eve of the Pact which the powerful nations are bolstering up, ambitious nations which do not yet belong to this category repudiate peace and disarmament alike. The *Tevez*, taking its cue

probably from the announcement that the Italian Government does not intend to send to Paris a special representative for the signing of the Kellogg Pact, contains a bitter and ironical leading article on the subject of the Treaty. The writer makes sarcastic reference to a supposed change of title of the Ministries of War in France and England, and professes particular surprise that England, the special home of humour and the land of Pickwick, should lend its support to this "pacifist pantomime". In the *Tribuna*, Signor Francesco Coppola, dealing with disarmament, rejects the argument that France, in view of her Atlantic coast-line and colonial possessions, needs a greater navy than Italy, and adds—

"If France has a great colonial empire to defend, Italy has, in all due time and by the widest stages, a colonial empire to acquire—at least unless that has become suddenly illegitimate for Italy alone, which until yesterday, that is until after the War, in the matter of division of the German and Ottoman spoils, has been considered glorious in the case of France itself, of England, and of Belgium, as previously in the case of Spain, Portugal, and Holland. . . . If ever all this task of disarmament were to become an objectively serious matter, it is to Italy that the stronger forces should be assigned. The best plan is in any case to make no hypothesis as regards the future."

Here is the political philosophy of Europe perpetuated with a vengeance in its own native land.

U. S. AS WORLD LEADER.

It must, all the same, be recognised that while absolute equality of nations and international amity is the ideal, the definite pursuit of the ideal has to begin at a certain point, and the realisation of the conditions necessary for its manifestation is the end, not the beginning of the process. It may be that such a definite beginning appears to favour some nations more than others, but is such apparent injustice confined to politics alone? The world is full of it, and the mystery of justice is the most imponderable of all universal mysteries. Moreover, very often, one may indeed say always, the realisation of an ideal as it appears in the abstract and its actual materialisation are contradictory. Mental deductions jump at once to the peak at which actual attainment arrives laboriously through tortuous routes. World-Peace, so far as we know it in history, has seemed to be most stable only where there was the world-dominion of some great Power. Even in our time, despite the acceptance of the political doctrine of nationalism and the legal doctrine of sovereignty, internationalism has largely been a matter of the influence of one or more Great Powers rather than one of complete accord between all the Powers. The fact is that the idea of Democracy as between nations is just in the initial phase of its realisation, and just as democracy within the State was not achieved until there were powerful men to champion its cause, so also the idea of equality as between the States will need to be ushered by powerful sponsors. As in the one case, so in the other, not always will the champions be all that they may appear to be. Our opinions and enthusiasm will have to be guided by the ultimate results of their acts rather than by their individual merits. And thus regarded there can be no question that America's emergence as world-leader, which is the one great fact arising from the Pact as a *fait accompli*, cannot but be productive of good.

That fact has been a dynamic factor in the world of diplomacy. It is responsible for setting Chinese Nationalism on its feet, and for making Japan wary against precipitous action regarding China. The nature of its effects on the continent of Europe is still obscure, but nobody doubts that that will be far-

reaching. The Franco-British naval agreement has been one of its direct products and Washington's reaction to this measure will be evident from the following message from that place:

"The Franco-British Naval Agreement has come to cause a stir in official circles in Washington. . . . The President is represented as being of opinion that the Franco-British accord provides for such a combination of British and French forces as would, in effect, place the American Navy in a position of inferiority contrary to the spirit of the Washington Naval Treaty with its Five-Five-Three ratio. If the French and British Governments persist in executing this agreement, the American naval programme, it is intimated, would then have to be enlarged in such a way as to make the United States Navy the equal of the French and British navies combined. Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Kellogg are agreed, however, that the United States must continue to cooperate in the work of the Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations. The reports that the United States would withdraw from the Disarmament Commission are, it is stated authoritatively, without foundation. The American delegation will, however, be instructed to announce that talk of disarmament is useless until it is clearly explained what the purpose of the Franco-British agreement may be."

What another breakdown of disarmament at Geneva would mean to the League is apparent; nor is the question of naval disarmament the sole issue which brings the world-organisation in Switzerland face to face with America as world-power. Through the initiative of the British Foreign Office the Secretary-General has been made to draw the attention of the Member-States of the League to the Peace Pact, and that step has been widely interpreted as being intended to define the relation between the obligations of the Covenant of the League and of the Pact with some degree of precision. A most obstinate point in such a consideration is the right of neutrals in the event of a blockade, and the views of the State Department at Washington on this subject are too well-known to be reiterated. Moreover, within the past few days, another delicate question has arisen which can be used by those who would embarrass America for that purpose, through the instrumentality of the League. Having withdrawn from the League, Costa Rica says that she cannot return to membership unless the League announces the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. Argentina, which has made a similar request, and other Latin countries have also a profound interest in the Monroe Doctrine and it is needless, to repeat that the United States would not welcome any attempt at Geneva to limit what Americans consider, together with the policy of 'no entangling alliances', to represent the fundamental tenet of their foreign policy.

AMERICA AND EGYPT.

The most interesting, and in many ways the most remarkable, result of America's emergence as world-leader is perhaps the arbitration treaty between Washington and Cairo which is now in the negotiation stage. This has been variously interpreted; in France, as America's retort to the Anglo-French naval agreement, and in England, as a slight diplomatic provocation for which the best answer is coolness and indifference. The *Times*' Washington correspondent's brief reference to the treaty is, however, full of significance.

"Speculation is permissible," says he, "as to whether the Secretary of State, who will spend at least two days in London during his brief visit to Europe, has not preferred to translate an intention into a *fait accompli* before arriving in England."

There is every reason to believe that neither the entire text of the Anglo-French naval agreement nor that of the United States' proposed arbitration

treaty with Egypt, nor even all the points at issue between the British Government and the United States' Government concerning the British reservations in the Peace Pact, have been published or are known. What is certain is that the United States has now reached the distinction of being first among the world's Great Powers. The centre of gravity in international politics has shifted consequently, and we may find some consolation in the fact that the change would make Great Britain exceedingly cautious in all her dealings. Her domination will be qualified by prudence wherever it is exercised, and we may now benefit by the fact that we have ruling over us a race of people whose primary virtue is political wisdom.

OUR PARLIAMENTARY LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

SIMLA, September 8.

THE SIMON ISSUE.

THE Simla session of the Assembly promises to be interesting, although the question of appointing a Committee to co-operate with the Simon Commission may not come up for discussion. Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh from Monghyr had given notice of a resolution bearing on the Simon issue, but for some unknown reasons he tried to ballot altogether different resolutions. Government too do not seem to be too eager to move in the matter. Perhaps they are afraid of the President who never gives out his mind. The Council of State is of course eager to elect some members, but their number is yet to be fixed.

BILLS AFFECTING LABOUR.

Labour has again figured prominently in this session. There have been four Bills before the Assembly, two of which vitally affect their interests. The Public Safety Bill, though aimed at foreign Communists might be used to suppress even legitimate agitation, unless satisfactory safeguards are introduced. The Trades Disputes Bill after a still-birth four years back is also directed at some of the legitimate activities of trade unions, which is clear from clauses similar to those in the English Conspiracy Act of 1875. Attempts will no doubt be made to improve the Bill, but it is yet too early to predict what the improvement will be.

ATTACK ON MR. PRESIDENT PATEL.

Two adjournment motions were unsuccessfully attempted on the first day. Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh moved for leave to adjourn the business "to repudiate unjust, unworthy and undignified and deliberately malicious attacks on the President by the *Times of India*, regardless of all decency and decorum and containing aspersions, sneers and reflections upon the conduct of the President and calculated to lower the dignity and honour of the Chair and the House". The mover showed how it was a definite matter of urgent importance, and wondered why Government did not repudiate any responsibility in the matter. Munshi Iswar Saran quoted a paralled instance in which the then Home Member, Sir Alexander Muddiman, had issued a repudiation on their behalf. The speeches in support of the adjournment motion showed that they understood Government to have inspired the attack, a suggestion which was promptly repudiated by Mr. Crerar, the Home Member. There was tense excitement when the Chair gave the ruling. Mr. Patel admitted that the matter was one of urgent public importance; but a motion for adjournment must have some relation, directly or indirectly, to the conduct or default on the part of Government and must be in the nature of criticism of the action of Govern-

ment. He, therefore, saw no reason to admit it since Government, through their spokesman, had disowned any connection with the offending article.

QUININE FRAUDS.

Col. Gidney next moved an adjournment of business on the subject of fraud in imported quinine, which he held was responsible for the appalling death toll in India due to malaria. He charged Government with abetment in that fraud by collecting revenue on the so-called quinine, which contained more of lime and alum. Mr. Bajpai, however, thought that Col. Gidney had overdrawn the picture and the facts as stated by him could not be substantiated. There was no definiteness of issue and Col. Gidney himself had admitted that the matter was of long standing. Hence the President disallowed the motion for leave.

THE PRESIDENT'S SEPARATION SCHEME.

Mr. Gaya Prasad's question on the separation of the Assembly Office from the Legislative Department led Mr. Patel to make a statement showing that deadlock had resulted between himself and the Government and he invited the House to discuss the subject and record its opinion thereon. Ever since Mr. Patel assumed charge as President, he has tried to bring about the reform, but it has been put off for one reason or other. As matters stood so far, the Secretary of the Assembly owed no allegiance to the President and was responsible to the Governor General in Council and generally identified himself with Government. The President could not regard his advice as coming from a wholly impartial, disinterested and independent source. Mr. Patel submitted a scheme to the Government of India outlining his essential demands. Government, however, was advised by their legal expert that the separation could not be carried out. The demand contained in the scheme was practically turned down and no agreement could be reached. The House was surprised to find that the Government had submitted a despatch to the Secretary of State, without consulting Mr. Patel, although he was the party most concerned in the matter. It was still more surprised to learn that Mr. Patel was refused a copy of the despatch, for which he asked in his statement on the subject the next day. Mr. Crerar told the House that the Government was much in agreement with the scheme but would not take the House further into his confidence beyond saying that correspondence was proceeding upon it between the Secretary of State and the Government of India. He, however, promised the House an opportunity to express its opinion before the scheme was approved and put through by the Government. Pandit Motilal Nehru felt that decisions would be arrived at, behind the back of the Assembly and a discussion after that stage had been reached would be of no avail. The way in which Government moved showed that they merely wanted to drag on till such time as the present Assembly would cease to exist. It was eventually settled to allot a day for the discussion of the matter. As the upshot of the whole dispute the Secretary of the Assembly would no longer be a member.

THE PUBLIC SAFETY BILL.

The discussion of the Public Safety Bill, for removing foreign communists from India and giving summary powers to Government was quite unexpectedly postponed to a later date, owing to non-compliance with the standing order, requiring due notice to be given to members. Government was keen on rushing it through by taking advantage of the absence of a number of non-official members. Mr. Crerar contended that it was an urgent matter and remarked that it was alright for the Opposition to call it 'indecent haste', but he failed to understand why

the elected members did not come up to Simla in time. My forecast is that they may agree to send the Bill to the Select Committee, but want to see that it is reported on early and passed.

CABLE AND WIRELESS MERGER.

Among the resolutions discussed on Wednesday, Mr. K. C. Roy's resolution asking for correspondence between the Government and the Secretary of State relating to the cable and wireless merger scheme created some interest. Mr. Roy showed that India was the biggest consumer and ought to have her interests safeguarded by having a proper representation on its board. It was also feared that India's interests would be jeopardised by private control. Mr. Mac-Watters assured the House that the public would have to pay less and yet have the advantage of future improvements. Government had not yet committed themselves entirely to any final arrangements, and the suggestions of the Assembly would guide them. If, however, India did not decide early she would lose a seat on the Imperial Advisory Committee, as the establishment of the Communications Company was a settled fact. Members pressed for a representative who would represent Indian India and not merely official India. The resolution was carried against Government.

OUR U. P. LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

ALLAHABAD, September 7.

COMMUNAL PROPAGANDA.

THE All-Parties Conference at Lucknow, which came to a close on Aug. 31, is an event of outstanding importance. The Conference made the first definite attempt towards securing unanimity of opinion on all vital questions confronting the country at the present moment and its success is marvellous.

But there are dangers ahead. With each succeeding day after the close of the Conference we in the United Provinces are becoming more and more painfully aware of the mischief which is being done by reactionaries and communal zealots. The communal trouble is the one great danger and for the time being it seems to be overshadowing all others. The Muslims have been in the enjoyment of excessive communal representation by means of separate communal electorates and they cannot easily be persuaded to give them up. The so-called leaders of the community will now get an opportunity to play on their feelings and provoke them on the issue of communal representation. It is not unlikely that at the coming provincial Conference the Muslim community will lead its opposition to the Nehru Committee's proposals. Work in that direction is already in evidence. The only hope is in the Maharaja of Mahmudabad and others of his type who have contributed so largely to the success of the Lucknow Conference. Now that the Conference is over, and when there is so much more to be done, will they remain silent and let the enemies triumph once again?

A MINISTER AND A PROFESSOR.

Speaking at a public meeting yesterday, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru suggested a remedy, effective though not equally easy, for communal politics. He suggested a complete boycott of all those who broke the law in the name of and for and on behalf of communalism. And he thought that that was the best form of boycott. Perhaps, such a course would have to be adopted sooner or later; otherwise things are getting fast out of control. A "confidential" document prepared by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan and

a few others in the name of the Muslims of the United Provinces and meant for the consumption of the Simon Seven, has now come to light. The document clearly shows the length to which anti-Hindu feeling can go in a Muslim. A hymn of hate is sung from beginning to end and a few alleged facts and figures are given in support of the writer's contention. The document has been prepared by and under the guidance of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Chairman, committee of U. P. Muslims' demands. Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan on his own admission, has been financed by the Hon. Nawab Muhum mad Yusuf, Minister of Local Self-Government. The "consistent and persistent support" of the Hon. Minister has been freely acknowledged by him. This secret document furnishes among other "facts" the following:—

- (1) "When a local body contains a Hindu chairman, the administration is Hinduised".
- (2) "An overwhelming majority of Municipal boards have Hindu Chairmen, and consequently Hindus have established their ascendancy in these towns and cities".
- (3) "We may say that generally the administration of the (local) bodies has been Hinduised. Hindi language is thrust on Muslim children and every attempt is made to denationalise them... Our culture is despised, discouraged and steadily opposed. Our civilisation is held up to ridicule". "Our greatest heroes are traduced, while those Hindus who rose into rebellion against our rulers and sullied their hands with the blood of innocent women and children, are revered and deified".

Thus it goes on maligning the Hindus under cover of secrecy. Any way, Dr. Sapru's advice has not fallen on deaf ears. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, professor of History, Allahabad University, should beware that a complete exposure of him in the press and on the platform will not at all add to his stature as a public man before his students.

OUR MYSORE LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

BANGALORE, September 5.

STUDENTS' RIOTS.

THINGS in Bangalore are quiet now after the riots. Perhaps I should not enlarge on what happened here and dignify it with the expression "riot", for we did not have anything approaching a riot at all in Bangalore. What we had were only school boy freakishness and a few sporadic engagements with rowdies. Opinions may differ as to the wisdom of the steps taken by the Government to meet such a situation, which, though slight in itself, was unprecedented in the history of Mysore. But looking dispassionately and at this distance of time at these happenings one feels that if the Government had not taken the strong measures that it did Bangalore would have been a bad place to live in. For I think that nothing except the presence of the military would have restored order on the day and nothing except strong executive action would have stopped irresponsible writing and mischievous talk. It is deplorable that some papers published here should have taken an unfair advantage of the occurrence in order to fan the flame of a communal conflagration. There is the sort of mentality which fiddles when Rome burns or which sings when there is a corpse in the house.

I do not quite know if I am giving the impression of special pleading for the present Administration. If I have, nothing is further from my thought. The present Government is normally human; being human it may have erred in this matter in its judgment. I do not know. But what I would hate to do

whether it was wrong or not, is to refuse to put what oil I can afford on troubled waters, or to help create disaffection whether between communities or between the public and the Government. In regard to the latter's guilt or otherwise one may await the finding of Sir M. Visvesaraya's Committee on which is appointed a judge of the Chief Court as well. But in regard to the latter's *bona fides* I have absolutely no suspicion though such a statement would have been quite uncalled for except for the fact that there are some publicists who question it with unholy persistence. I may also add here that reviewing all the incidents that have occurred and taking a long view of the situation, the Government has done all it could to meet not only the trouble but also future possibilities.

REVIEWS.

REFORMS AND THE COMMISSION.

THE WORKING OF DYARCHY IN INDIA, 1919-1928. By KERALA-PUTRA. (Taraporevala.) 1928. 7½ x 5. pp. 159. Rs. 4.

THE author has adopted for his book too restricted a title, for it contains in reality a rapid but able survey of the operation of the "Montford" Reforms in their entire sphere. He is convinced that the Reforms have proved a notable success and has no doubt that the Statutory Commission would be very favourably impressed by the popular case if only it were put before them. Indeed he says,

"It is more than likely that the Commission may report in favour of granting India a constitution which could, in course of time, without frequent parliamentary inquiries and legislative changes, be expanded into that of a self-governing Dominion. Such a course would clearly be justified from the results achieved by the Montagu Act."

But he fears that, a boycott being decided upon by all progressive parties, the Commission's "views will be moulded by official opinion", and it would appear that this book is intended to supply the Commission with a corrective in the form of a summary statement of the nationalist standpoint. If so, no nationalist will have reason to complain of the manner and matter of advocacy employed in this book.

One reservation will of course have to be made and it is a large reservation. The book represents the line of thought that was current before the emergence of the Nehru report in the political arena; Kerala-Putra is willing to leave defence and foreign and political relations in the hands of the bureaucracy for some time longer and would preferably have a restricted franchise for elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures and nominations for the representation of the depressed classes. It is no fault of the author if the Nehru Report and the Lucknow Pact have in the meanwhile thrown what was formerly regarded as the National Demand completely out of date. But subject to these qualifications the author upholds the Nationalist position with arguments of unimpeachable validity. He has a rare gift of making what ordinarily is a dull subject very attractive to the reader by employing a style which is (to use Lord Balfour's description of Bagehot's classic on the "English Constitution") "forcible, rapid, high-spirited and clear", and which is "always spontaneous and never lacks point."

Like every body else, Kerala-Putra too has many harsh things to say of dyarchy, but he shows conclusively that such failure as has attended its working is due entirely to the inherent defects of dyarchy aggravated in some cases by grave and unwarrant-

able departures from the policy originally intended (e. g. absence of collective responsibility of the Ministers), but the very failure shows that Indians have, in very trying circumstances, made most of the new opportunities opened to them by the reforms. His conclusion on this point may be expressed as follows in his own words:—

Thus Dyarchy in the Provinces, though it did not usher in Responsible Government even in the Transferred departments, and only led to a strengthening of the power of the Governor on the Executive side, has, in the legislative and conciliar aspects, resulted in considerable success. The administrative efficiency of the Provinces could not be said to have suffered; nor could the Services complain of a parliamentary inquisition into their conduct. The Legislative work undertaken has been everywhere of a progressive and liberalising character, and, at least so far as the work in the Councils was concerned, all the fears entertained by the opponents of Indian reform have certainly been falsified.

Similar judgment is passed by him on the working of the Reforms in the Central Government:—

The Central Legislature, in spite of the fact that it was given powers without responsibility, and therefore was encouraged in a way to take up an unreasonable position, has been one of the most successful features of the Reform Act. It has been critical of the attitude of the Government; it has on occasions used its powers for purposes of political demonstrations. But no impartial critic, who studies its debates and estimates its work, can fail to come to the conclusion that it has used its powers for the benefit of the people with reasonable regard to the difficulties of the Government and the anomalous position of a non-sovereign Executive. Its legislative work has been far-reaching and comprehensive; its influence, in matters of administration, has not been directed either towards a weakening of the Central Government or exercised without consideration for the supreme necessity of maintaining law and order. Its enthusiasm for social reform has been praiseworthy and it has been assiduous in its demand for Indianisation of the services and for a share in national defence. It has effected considerable retrenchment in administration and has continuously impressed on the Government the necessity of economy. . . . In the years of extreme financial stringency, the Assembly cheerfully assented to fresh taxation, imposing a heavy burden on the people, merely insisting, as it was in duty bound to do, that effective retrenchment of unnecessary expenditure must precede the demand for fresh taxation. . . . So far as the Central Government is concerned, the Reforms, therefore, have achieved a measure of success far in excess of what was hoped by Parliament and even the authors of the Act.

There are not many points in the book on which the reviewer finds himself in disagreement with the author, but one such point stands out prominently, viz. Kerala-Putra's view that "the Government of India, in its imperial capacity, i. e. as the Paramount Power, cannot be made responsible to a Legislature elected only from British India" (p. 119). This view, though supported by such a high authority as Keith (*vide Responsible Government in the Dominions*, 2nd Edition, p. 807, footnote 3) is totally erroneous. How, it is unnecessary to state here. Sir Sivawamy Aiyer has thoroughly exploded it in his *Indian Constitutional Problems*. There are some very useful suggestions in the book, one such regarding the extension of the electorate being as follows:—

"It is clear that any enlargement of the Reforms must be based upon a further liberalisation of the franchise. This is possible, by giving the right of votes to all who have gained electoral experience, by having been registered voters for a fixed period of time in the local institutions such as municipalities and local boards or have been members, for a fixed time, of any registered trade

union or co-operative society. As the electoral qualifications in the local government institutions are popular and democratic, and include as much of the urban and rural population as could be reasonably thought capable of political education, and as the trades union and co-operative societies, expanding and popular bodies, whose membership brings considerable knowledge of affairs, an enlargement of franchise based on these proposals, would tend to liberalise the electorate without the risk of political power passing into the hands of the uneducated masses. It will, at the same time, give political representation to the labouring classes whose interest may otherwise suffer, by an electoral system based entirely on property qualification."

S. G. V.

WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE.

ROADS TO THE CITY OF GOD. By BASIL MATHEWS. (Edinburgh House Press, London.) 1928. 7¼ x 4¾. pp. 116. 1s.

THIS little book by a distinguished publicist gives an account of the World Missionary Conference held last April at Jerusalem. The gathering was one of the first importance, both for its personnel (missionaries and national Christian leaders came from fifty nations in all parts of the world) and for the range of its vision and for the daring of the resolutions which it adopted. It was truly a "world" conference.

No less remarkable than the delegation was the scope of the programme and the liberality with which it was considered. It is not impossible to find even today an occasional sneering reference to missionaries who are still supposed to consign to unconditional damnation all who will not accept their teachings and who ignore and belittle all that is noble in the religions with which they would compete. There are such missionaries; but they are both in number and weight of such insignificance that—especially since the Conference at Jerusalem—any critic who makes such allegations will show himself to be the victim either of ignorance or prejudice.

Readers of THE SERVANT OF INDIA will be specially interested in the social and international problems considered at the Conference. The consensus of opinion at Jerusalem was that Christianity stands for the rule of Christ in all the relationships of life—industry, education, agriculture, racial issues, economics. The Conference was well equipped to deal with the world menace of inter-racial antagonisms; it emphasised the fact that no Christian could have anything to do with social discrimination; it recorded with enthusiasm how the Archbishop of Cape Town recently led a great deputation to protest against the Colour Bar Bill; it called upon Christians everywhere to carry on active propaganda to develop inter-racial friendliness by the education of children, by the exchange of students of different countries, by literature;

"to develop the consciousness of every nation that the common courtesies of life are an elementary duty, whether in relation to members of other races who may be guests or fellow-citizens in our own land, or in relation to the peoples whose countries we may visit. In lands where different races live side by side full participation in social, cultural and above all, religious inter-racial fellowship and, the development of personal friendship which it engenders, is the natural expression of our common Christianity, and is obviously to be welcomed as a step towards world-wide understanding."

Perhaps the most pressing problem with which the Conference was faced was that of the industrialization of Africa and the Orient.

"The question", said Mr. R. H. Tawney, "whether the world outside Europe will travel the European economic road, between dazzling material progress on the one hand and squalor and class hatred on the other, or whether it will learn, as Europe has not yet learned, not only to conquer nature but to be the master of its own soul, seems to me to be among two or three of the most vital issues with which the next generation is faced".

The Christian is committed to a life-long fight against all exploitation, against the uncontrolled profit-motive to which human beings are simply fodder: he is called to try to spiritualise and moralise industrial productivity so that, instead of exploiting, it may serve the interests of humanity. The main principles of a Christian sociology were outlined by Mr. Tawney—

"That human personality is sacred, and that the materialism which sacrifices to economic interests the welfare of human beings—the health and development of children, and the freedom and responsibility which should be the right of men—is an odious outrage on the image of God; that human industry should be a life of fellowship in service, not struggle for self-advancement: that society has a corporate responsibility to use its power to secure for all its members the conditions of spiritual and physical well-being. Economic progress is not an end, but a means; and rapid economic development in a society not prepared for it is not a blessing, but a misfortune; and the naive illusion that a society becomes more prosperous if its output of commodities increases while the institutions which provide its moral stamina are undermined, will deceive no one who accepts the Christian view that material wealth is to be valued in so far as, and only in so far as, it assists and enriches the life of the spirit".

Closely connected with the universal problem of Christianizing the conditions of life of the workers of the world is the vast area of rural needs, the spiritual and physical well-being of the thousand million peasants of the world. These "rural people are primarily human beings needing the fulness of life. They must be enabled to take their share in the major ends of the race. There must be adequate economic return to support the reasonable needs of life. But the great need is education. In India, said Mr. K. T. Paul, the conditions of rural life are determined by dire poverty, terrible ignorance, and illiteracy. In China it is much the same, save that there the farmers have begun to organise in a temper of discontent. In South Africa a diminishing amount of soil available to meet the needs of a growing rural population is forcing the Negroes to the mines. In Korea, where eighty per cent. of the population are rural, education is largely for city life. In Japan, however, every child must go to school for six years, and so the thirty million peasant farmers of Japan are literate. Similarly the agricultural situation in South America is good; farming is vigorously supported by national banks and by government training of agricultural teachers.

By living among such people Christ raised the world's estimate of the dignity and mental and moral values of work with the hands on the soil and among animals.

"Jesus, who lived right in the midst of a little people with little needs, laid the foundations of education of rural communities where the soil and its products are the gifts of the Heavenly Father, and where man finds the fulness of life in developing his communion with the Father and the soil that He has given."

Finally, the subject of education was considered by the Conference, and much stress was laid on the need for religious education. Education without religion is incomplete; religion without education becomes ignorant and superstitious. The combination is the crying need of the modern world. The life of

Jesus is itself a perfect example of educational method. His most familiar title was "Teacher" and "learner" was the name given to His followers. Three characteristic notes, said Dr. Raven, mark His teaching.

"(i) *The note of life*. He is concerned with the development of personality, and only with instruction as this serves the larger end. There is little of catechetical or dogmatic teaching, and scarcely more of direct information. His lessons always arouse interest and insight rather than foreclose inquiry.

(ii) *The note of freedom*. He never compels or forces upon His hearers what they have not ears to hear. With an infinite regard for them He offers a wealth of educational resources, leaving them free to assimilate or to reject.

(iii) *The note of fellowship*. His richest teaching is given within the community of His followers. They share with Him and together a way of life. Education finds its goal not in a lovely perfection, but in the organic and organized life of human society."

H. V. ELWIN.

SHORT NOTICE.

ON STIMULUS IN ECONOMIC LIFE. By JOSIAH STAMP. (Cambridge University Press.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 68. 3s.

AT the outset the author warns the reader against confounding stimulus with incentive or enlarged scope; unless there is an increment of incentive there is no true stimulus. In order to study the laws of economic stimulus, he has traversed the fields of physics, chemistry and physiology, in order to get some clue by analogy. An observation of the physiological action of stimulants does not lead to any generalized principle; nor does the study of stimulus in plants yield definite generalization. The author feels however more hopeful of deriving assistance from experimental psychology, especially the psychology of labour tasks. As important economic stimuli, the author instances rising prices, changes in demand, and reduction of taxation; while discussing these he gives a fresh warning against using 'stimulus' in the sense of an increase of automatic scope. As for classification, he gives an ingenious division of them according to result—class A showing permanent gain or lifting of the stimulus; class B in which the stimulus may lose the effect and sink back to the *status quo*; class C showing permanent loss so that the stimulus sinks back to a line below the normal line of its working. Sir Josiah Stamp thinks that monetary factors in trade fluctuations as stimuli belong to class B and no one ought to be overjoyant about them; similarly causes like mass miscalculation of production and demand belong to class B. A reduction of costs through re-organisation and creating better stimulus to work more efficiently are cited as belonging to class A. The question is whether economic advance is to be secured under conditions of stability or under more violent and incalculable changes and the author decides in favour of a mean with appropriate and mild reactions and for this purpose he would prefer a control over the monetary policy and price level. Whether higher wages can be a proper stimulus to the whole industrial organism cannot be decided without watching its effects on the output as well as on the other factors of production; on this question the author is inclined to be cautious. Any stimulus to overcome the conscious efforts of a diffi-

cult way of working belongs, the author says, to class A; even a stimulus in the form of creative invention which brings with it severe reactions and belongs therefore to class B has great value if a new truth or fact is discovered. The author admits that the substitution of a new variety of stimulus may lead to an alteration in the laws of increment. With all due deference to a first-rate statistician like Sir Josiah Stamp one has to say that his search for mathematical exactitude in the sphere of psychology has been futile with the consequent result that many parts of the book have been rambling and incoherent to a degree. Pages 58-66 are an illustration in point. In the end we find very few definite conclusions.

G.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS PUBLICATIONS.

- The Food of Japan. By Egerton Charles Grey. (C.H.681.1928. III.2) 9½ × 6½. pp. 161.
Health Committee. (12th Session.) (C.254.M.79.1928.III.8.) 13 × 8½. pp. 125.
Official Vital Statistics of Switzerland. (C. H. 669. 1927. III 16.) 1928. 9½ × 7½. pp. 88. 2s. 6d. (Hand-books series, No. 12.)
Second Report of the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law. (Questionnaires Nos. 8-11.) (A.15.1928.V.4.) 13 × 8½. pp. 96.
Memoranda on Cordiac Drugs, Thyroid Preparations, etc. By E. Knaffi Lenz. (C.H.734.1928.III.10.) 9½ × 6½ pp. 69.

- THE PROTECTION OF MINORITIES. By L. P. MAIR. (Christophers.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 244. 8s. 6d.
FEDERAL AND UNITED CONSTITUTIONS. Ed. By ARTHUR PERCIVAL NEWTON. (Longmans.) 1923. 7½ × 5½. pp. 444. 15s.
THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF FREE TRADE. By J. M. ROBERTON. (King.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 190. 8s. 6d.
A HISTORY OF TRADE AND COMMERCE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CANADA. By HERBERT HEATOR. (Thomas Nelson, New York.) 1928. 7½ × 5. pp. 334.
OUTLINES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. By JOHN J. CLARKE (Pitman.) 1928. 7½ × 4½. pp. 230. 5s.
REMINISCENCES AND ANECDOTES OF LOKAMANYA TILAK. Vol. III. Ed. By S. V. BAPAT. (Kesari Office, Poona.) 1928. 7½ × 5½. pp. 212. Rs. 2.
THE LOST DOMINION. By AL. CARTHILL. (William Blackwood.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 351. 15s.
THE WORKS COUNCIL. By C. W. GUILLEBAUD. (Cambridge University Press.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 305. 16s.
MONETARY POLICY, 1914-1928. By D. M. NASON. (Martin Hopkinson.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 113. 7s. 6d.
THE METHODS AND PRINCIPLES OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION. By R. H. L. LEE. (Thomas Nelson, New York.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 232.
MOSQUITO REDUCTION AND MALARIAL PREVENTION. By J. A. CRAWFORD & B. S. CHALAM. (Oxford University Press.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 107. Rs. 3.
THE WEST, A STUDY. By K. KUNHI KANNAN. (S. Ganesh, Madras.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 355. Rs. 2-8-0.

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