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TOPICS OF THE WEEK

Personal. Mr. S. G. Vaze has been deputed by the *Servants of India Society* to make a tour of the East-African territories, with the view of obtaining a first-hand impression of the situation, of studying the incidence of the proposed Immigration Rules, and of gaining an insight into the "Native" question. Mr. Vaze left accordingly on the 9th inst. and may not be back until February.

The Bourgeois Quandary. THE political situation in England seems to be taking a more hopeful turn than hitherto seemed likely. Labour, we are told, should be given its chance to govern. This sudden magnanimity on the part of Liberals and Conservatives many of whom had made it a habit of depicting Socialists as enemies of mankind, may come somewhat surprisingly to those who still are ignorant of the rising temper of British labour. Indeed we may be quite sure that, if there was any chance of insuring the security of fiddling politicians against the rage of the homeless whose city is being burnt, these same gentlemen would not be quite so eager to 'give Labour a chance.' The number of ugly incidents at the last elections was an indication that people, who for three years now have been under-employed and unemployed and who are only just being kept alive, are not in a mood to listen much longer to sage advice given to them by be-furred and be-jewelled ladies and gentlemen who at election time come to them in their Rolls-Royces, to solicit a continuance of their suffrages. Another winter of unemployment with nothing better than the only policy which a Conservative-Liberal Government could offer—that of Mr. Asquith-Micawber, waiting

for something to turn up—is apparently just a trifle too big a risk and, seeing that the choice apparently lies between a hunger-revolt and a Labour Cabinet, the comfortable classes are probably extremely well advised in choosing the latter.

* * *

Labour at White-hall. THE hope of the Liberals of course is that, by holding the balance they will be able to prevent Mr MacDonal from indulging in any but the mildest of Socialist ventures. Here it is well to remember that the Liberal Party of to-day is not really divided as regards Mr. Asquith or Mr. George—but as regards the Old Guard and the Young Hopefuls. The latter's so-called 'Manchester Programme' consists mainly in a copy of most of Labour's programme for social and economic reform, whilst the Victorian survivals of course still believe in "Business first." Young Liberals cannot but vote with Labour on any measure likely to be put forward by Mr. MacDonal to relieve unemployment on an adequate scale; the one problem overshadowing all others at present. Indeed much of the Labour programme, as far as it advocates the immediate launching of a large building scheme, the establishment of great central electrical power-stations and similar capital developments, is the very programme which Big Business itself had urged on Mr. Baldwin. Hence Mr. Mac Donald is sure in such measures of a large amount of quite general agreement. As regards Foreign Politics, all parties are also agreed that no further drifting in the wake of France is possible: and no better man than Mr. MacDonal, who is innocent alike of the war and of the Peace, could be found to carry out what has become a truly national policy. Sooner or later of course a moment would come, when all the bourgeois parties would make common cause against any vital threat at the vested interests of capitalism. We for one are confident however of Mr. MacDonal's generalship so to arrange matters, that when that clash comes it will come over a principle which would provide Labour and not its opponents with a first class election cry. With that and with the earnest of an unemployment problem well on the way towards solution, the British Labour Party would certainly seem to have every chance at a further election of being returned with such a secure majority, as would enable them safely to carry out the rest of their policy of reducing the present chaos to some sort of rational order.

oil. MR. BALDWIN is pursued by the epithet 'honest'. As a term of derision we frankly dislike it; as a statement of fact his very insistence on it makes us somewhat doubtful. These doubts have been strongly reinforced by the news one heard the other day that this utterly defeated and discredited Government of his, which only continues to exist because it has postponed meeting Parliament, was about to sell the Nation's holdings in the Anglo-Persian Oil Co., before meeting its inevitable doom three weeks hence. If this report is true, the political indecency of the attempt is probably unparalleled in English annals and sheds a lurid light on the stranglehold which the oil-lords of the world have on high politics. Mr. Baldwin's "Protection" plan having been safely deposited in the dustbin, he now quickly tries to "protect" the oil trust, ere his potential successor, Mr. MacDonald, is given time to protect the nation against the oil trusts! That indeed would be a pretty picture of "honest" Mr. Baldwin's fairness; but it really would not be surprising. For "Oil" rules the hour and the oil magnates certainly will not be found wanting in a last effort to make hay whilst the sun is still shining. The latest developments in Mexico inevitably point the same way. President Obregon's government, which has ruled Mexico now for nearly four years—and be it remembered, has ruled it firmly and efficiently—was never recognized by the U. S. A. for the reason that, being a Socialist government, it had *inter alia* curbed the power of Standard Oil and other oil magnates in the large stretches of Mexican oil-bearing lands. It is surely a very curious coincidence that just as President Coolidge was reported to be on the point of affording the long overdue *de jure* recognition to the Mexican *de facto* government, a "revolution" should (so very opportunely for the oil magnates) have broken out against the Federal Government of President Obregon in the very States, which contain petroleum deposits. Truly, great is Oil and of its servants there is no end. What next? Mosul, of course.

Sir William Vincent. THE telegraphic summary of Sir William Vincent's recent speech in London on the qualities of British administration in India will greatly enhance the love with which he is regarded by his many Indian friends and as greatly mitigate the ill-will of his more numerous enemies in this country. Warm and forbearing in private relations, Sir William delighted in appearing before the public eye as a champion of the Services and an opponent of progress—thus incurring the bitter hostility with which a superficial world pursues what Huxley would have called an inverted hypocrite. Sir William opposed Mr. Montagu's Reforms and tried all he could to limit their sweep. At the same time no one who has watched him in the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State could deny that he fully understood their spirit and endeavoured to interpret them liberally.

Those who were admitted to his confidences knew that he held the views to which in the comparatively free atmosphere of London he has given clear and fearless expression. But the limitations of the office of Home Member are many and might repress the most valiant and reckless civilian. For the inception of the Rowlatt Act and much of the consequent Punjab tragedy Sir William must be held answerable. It would not be a matter for astonishment if his private diary were found in later years to include the moanings and self-reproaches of an honest soul which had held great power, but had not used it with restraint and charity. Two others now in London share with him the responsibility for this unutterable woe of modern India. These too were good men in their way and not unfriendly to India, but a fit of madness had seized the world of officialdom at the time and no advice, no entreaty, no remonstrance even from their best friends could check their disastrous march towards this catastrophe. Apart from the particular items of mistaken policy and attitude conscientiously enumerated by Sir William, there is one lesson of transcendental importance which the occasion should teach men of his class in India: Don't be too self-righteous while in office, listen to opposition when it is one-voiced, so you will save the regrets of conscience, private or official, in the evening of life when one has the perspective to see errors, but not the power to rectify them.

* * *
THE Kenya Gazette of November 23rd just to hand, which contains the full text of the already notorious "Bill to consolidate and regulate Immigration and Employment" confirms the worst fears one felt on perusing the abstract cabled to India a few weeks back. The Bill materially is but an expansion of the actual ordinance in force: but in its spirit and evident intention the additions and emendations have but one aim in view, viz. to change the control of immigration from being a subject ruled by explicit statute law to one left to the unbridled discretion of the executive. § 5 of the existing law prohibits the immigration of seven specified classes of people. The first of these classes is "any person without visible means of support or any person who is likely to become a pauper or a public charge." The Bill does not touch this provision: but it perverts its original—and quite plain—intention by including in this category (under § 11) any immigrant, to do whose work a suitable substitute could be found within the Colony! *e. g.* if A. B. & Co. get a clerk from Bombay and "the Immigration Officer is satisfied" that A. B. & Co. can "obtain in the Colony an employee suitable for the work" intended: then that unfortunate Bombay youth—and were he heir to all the millions of Malabar Hill—becomes by the fiction of what in Kenya is to pass as law, "a person without visible means of support, or likely to become a pauper" and on that ground is prohibited from landing! § 12 newly introduces (quite *en passant*) a new category of immigrant—the "desirable immigrant"—who is defined as one who "can prove to the satisfaction of the Immigration Officer that his services are necessary for the economic requirements of the Colony." Is it taking a very pessimistic view to think that such "proving" to satisfy Mr. Immigration Officer will turn out an extraordinarily difficult matter and that, as a consequence of a "non-proven", most immigrants from India will automatically become "prohibited immigrants"? Finally a new § 13 deals with those rash "intending immigrants."

who propose "to carry on any trade, business or occupation" (other than a profession) and who *eo ipso* will become "prohibited immigrants", unless they can satisfy the Immigration Officer (a) "that there is an opening for such trade &c.", (b) "that it is in the interests of the African natives of the Colony that such trade &c. be undertaken." May we respectfully suggest to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that it would be a graceful not to translate this new Kenya Bill from disingenuous Legalese into plain English, and may we at once subjoin—not that we expect a prize!—our own attempt at such translation:

"The immigration of Indians into Kenya shall be entirely at the discretion of the Immigration Officer."

* * *

THE Madras Legislative Council cannot be said to have greatly distinguished itself over the reso-

Ut alliquid fieri videatur.

lution moved by Mr. Satyamurthi on the 11th inst. that "the Government of Madras withdraw from any further participation in the British Empire Exhibition of 1924." Instead of the Council giving, as the proposer wished, "a lead to the country, as the first Council who were discussing the question," it weakly adopted Mr. Thanikachalam Chetty's amendment which only charged the Madras Government to "incur no further liability in connection with the said Exhibition;" thereby, in Mr. Satyamurthi's words, "torpedoing an honest endeavour to convey the real feelings of the people" on the subject. That 59 should have voted for the amendment (42 voting against and 4 remaining neutral) is all the more surprising as the amended resolution could only muster 40 supporters (including the three Ministers), 7 voting against and there being as many as 53 abstentions. The resolution, as carried, reminds one of nothing so much as of the bottle of coloured water prescribed by a doctor who by way of explanation to the apothecary wrote (in Latin) in his prescription: "That it may seem that something is being done."

* * *

Matunga. THE riot at the G. I. P. Workshops at Matunga last week seems to have been provoked by the brutal manner in which the Company's doctor is said to have examined workers for fitness to continue in their employment. It is quite possible of course that these examinations may have been carried out with roughness and tactlessness, and that callous indifference to the sense of decency of what after all are human beings might have so exasperated them as to make them rise in wrath against this new indignity. However that may be, the real culprit surely is the Company—and our capitalistic Society at large—which makes it possible to treat "labour" as it would any material necessary for the manufacturing process; ruthlessly throwing aside, like a worn out cogwheel, a worker who after some years of work for the Company is left with health impaired, and replacing him by some new recruit, not to say victim, fresh from the villages. The inhumanity of such principles and the barbarity of the practices which are their outcome, however, are still almost universally taken for granted by the public at large, and until the fundamental right of labour to be a first charge on all industry is acknowledged in the conscience of all citizens, it will be possible for employers, as in this G. I. P. case, to say unblushingly that "what they most resented, was the money value of the damage done."

THE LATE MR. KASTURI RANGA AIYANGAR.

A notable publicist, powerful editor and dutiful son of India passed away the other day in the person of Mr. Kasturi Ranga Aiyangar. Proud and sensitive, shy and retiring, he did not court public notice, but his conspicuous office forced him, as it were, on the general eye. Feeble health and slowness of speech prevented him from attaining in public life the fulness of power and influence which by ability, equipment and character he deserved. It was rare insight, enterprise and confidence which he displayed when after some years of not very lucrative practice at the Madras Bar, he purchased the *Hindu* newspaper and installed himself as chief editor, undeterred by the timid counsels of friends or his own lack of journalistic experience. A habit of careful and selective reading, a natural reticence which afforded occasion for firm and consecutive thought, a mental elevation which despite errors and defects more or less serious kept him safe above the mean and the sordid, combined to give him a position second to none amongst leading and authoritative exponents of public opinion. His paper attained a fame and influence which far exceeded those which his great predecessor, Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar, knew, and which as a Madrassi I was proud to see admitted throughout India. It was not necessary to agree with him to recognise his judgment; it was not necessary to be friendly with him to admire his patriotism. The traits which, above all, were worthy of imitation in Mr. Kasturi Ranga Aiyangar's character were the courage with which he braved official displeasure, the promptness with which he resented personal discourtesy and the dignity which marked his bearing in encounters with the powers that be. Writing for myself I cannot refrain from alluding to the pleasure I experienced on reading his telegram of cordial welcome after my unfortunate Kenya mission: it was something I thought to be reconciled to this undoubted patriot after an estrangement of many years. It is a vain grief, one which it is no dishonour to own, that my ill-health prevented me from visiting him and shaking his hand before his end. Death closes all accounts. It is much to be wished that the sense of awe and irrevocableness which prompts us to ignore the unpleasing and dwell lovingly on the pleasing in the contemplation of a life which has just closed, should shed its beneficent influence even during life, so making public burdens somewhat less heavy and public duties somewhat more attractive.

V. SRINIVASAN.

KHILAFATISM IN EXTREMIS.

THREE weeks ago we commented on the sharp *communiqué* issued from Angora to the effect that "The Turkish Republic has absolutely nothing to do with other Moslems"—a snub which naturally proved particularly difficult to explain away by our Khilafatist friends, who had spent the last few years in persuading India that the Khilafat was not only the vital concern of all Indian Moslems, but even of all Indian non-Moslems as well. The *Bombay Chronicle* at the time bravely bore up and proved to its own satisfaction (a) that Angora had never said the words it was reported to have said, (b) that the words meant the very opposite of what they seemed to mean. Unfortunately for it, the protest of the Aga Khan against this Angora attitude has last week provoked Angora to a further pronouncement on the subject, which certainly cannot be charged with ambiguity. Once more, in most explicit terms, Angora has not only spoken, but acted; and in sending its "Turkish Independence Tribunal" to Constantinople, it has decided on a regime of terror as the best method of eliminating opinions differing from the official Angoran view. As however—notwithstanding all Pan-Islam endeavours—India is not yet ruled from Angora, these differences of opinion amongst Indian Moslems do still find very poignant expression in India just now. Mr. M. Pickthall, in a personally signed article of the 13th does not disguise that his own sympathy is with Angora, but his main effort is really directed to drag in the Jezirat al Arab "wrong" as a hopeful red herring. Sheikh Husain Kidwai on the other hand expresses his disapproval that the Turks themselves should now apparently be doing, "what the whole Khilafat agitation in India and England was directed against—Mr. Asquith's idea of 'vaticanizing' the Khalif." Whersupon Dr. Syed Mahmud and Messrs. Sobani issue a fulmination against the simple minded Sheikh who has dared to "condemn the Nationalist Turks." Finally the Central Khilafat Committee assure Mr. President Mustapha Kemal by cable that they and they only represent Indian Moslem opinion, beseeching him to beware of all imitations and to rest assured that Indian Moslems pin all their faith in the Turkish Republic and will accept no Khalifa but one "recognized by the Republic."

The spectacle is not an edifying one and every true friend of religion must hope that it will speedily be ended. The whole trouble indeed lies just in the fact that the question is not nearly as much one of religion, as of politics. Ignorant religious fanaticism has of course been made a cat's paw of, but most of our Khilafatism has in its intention only too patently been, if not from the beginning, then certainly as the movement gathered impetus, a political move. No other Moslem country has troubled its head about the Khalifa; the very fact that the head of a heterodox and, but for the eminence of its present

pontiff, quite insignificant sect should be a spokesman of orthodox (Sunni) Moslems in a religious matter in which his own sect differs fundamentally from theirs, proves that nobody considers the Khilafat a theological issue. Every religion can but benefit by the separation of temporal from spiritual power: hence we have always welcomed both Mr. Asquith's and Mustapha Kemal Pasha's "vaticanization" policy of the Khalifa, and we sincerely trust that it will be persisted in. On the other hand we have nothing but disapprobation for the plan of keeping a Khalifa *in petto*, in order to utilize his international spiritual influence for furthering purely national, in this case Turkish, aims. If ever we hope to be a Nation and to have *Swaraj*, we shall be more than foolish, if we continue to countenance interference in the political sphere by any spiritual potentate, residing outside our borders, not only subject to but avowedly the creature of, a foreign Government. India would not stand it, if the Pope in the interest of Italy tried to meddle with Indians who happen to be Roman Catholics: it is high time, that all Indians, whatever their religion, should dissociate themselves from any pseudo-religious movement which can only result in transferring the allegiance of a large number of our fellow-countrymen to a Foreign Power.

That Power may be the Turkish Republic, as perhaps Angora to-day wishes it to be, it may tomorrow be an English puppet-King of Hejaz; it may at some other time be Afghanistan or Russia or Timbuctoo—we do not care. But after the cavalier treatment by Angora which is all the thanks that our Moslem fellow countrymen are getting, now that their simple faith has been exploited to the full and can safely be tossed aside, one thing surely is clear and needful: namely, for all of us to recognize that, if there is a great danger which looms ahead, it is not directed at the future of Moslem Religion, but at the future of Indian Independence.

THE NEW BOMBAY MINISTERS.

THE new Ministers whose names have just been announced will assume office to-day. K. B. Shaikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah is again placed in charge of local Self-Government, Mr. B. V. Jadhav becomes Minister of Education and Mr. Ali Mahomed Khan Dehlavi takes up the portfolio of Forests and Excise. We are afraid that these appointments will not be whole-heartedly acclaimed by the public though we must at the same time allow for the difficult position in which the new Governor has been placed. The Legislative Council is composed of groups as before. The two biggest groups are Mahomedans and Swarajists, each containing between twentyfive and thirty members. The non-Brahmans number about fifteen and there are about twenty Independents and Liberals, the rest being officials and nominated members whose names have not been published at the time of writing. The

Swarajists had declared in advance that they would not accept office though it has been suggested that they might have reconsidered the question, if an offer had been actually made. The Independents and Liberals form a loose group which has no coherence and would not command a definite following in the division lobby, though these two groups contain perhaps most of the ability in the Legislative Council outside the official benches. His Excellency had therefore necessarily to fall back upon the two remaining groups and has made perhaps the best available choice. Two of the three new Ministers have not held office before and we can only hope that they will prove successful administrators and offer them our good wishes.

From the point of view of Government and the smooth working of the Council machinery the new Ministers will be probably efficient. Their groups, if wanting in towering ability, are generally homogeneous and will give their votes as required in cases of doubtful divisions. Government will therefore command an assured majority in the Legislative Council, at least if—a fairly big "if"—the Sind members can be got to attend regularly. The Swarajists and Independents may shout their loudest; Government can smother them in the division lobbies. They may talk of wrecking the Councils; they will actually be made ineffective. These appointments are a first indication of the ability of the new Governor to manage the machinery of a party. We are only afraid that having got this solid majority, he and his bureaucratic colleagues may be tempted to use it for retarding the advance of the Presidency to complete autonomy.

K. B. Shaikh Ghulam Hussain has on the whole proved during the last three years a successful administrator. The Local Boards Act was a creditable piece of work; so was the Bombay Municipal Act. He will, however, have immediately in front of him a tough job in Ahmedabad where the extremists are out to make trouble as soon as the municipality is reconstituted next February. He worked well with his colleagues in the last triennium and generally backed them against Government. But he will have a much harder job now as the Senior Minister.

Mr. Dehlavi is almost an unknown man who is said to have had some experience as the Karbhari of a native state in Gujerat and is credited with fair ability. One only hopes that he will not bring native state methods into British administration. He has also got a difficult part to play as he will have to reconcile the growing feeling in favour of prohibition with the supreme necessity of keeping up the revenues of Government.

The appointment of Mr. Jadhav is however the one which will call forth the most divergent opinions. By the non-Brahmans his nomination will be rightly held as a triumph of their side. The advanced classes on the other hand are sure to regard him with some apprehension as he has never shown any moderation in his advocacy of

non-Brahman claims. During the last Council he never failed to take advantage of any opportunity to inveigh against Brahmans; in season and out of season he attributed the backwardness of the non-Brahmans to the machinations of the wily Brahmans. He has been currently reported to have been the guiding spirit of the rancorous agitation—occasionally leading to violent outrages—which has its centre in the Satara district. A man with an excellent university career, he from the beginning joined the service of Kolhapur and was one of the moving spirits—some say, the tool—of recent Kolhapur politics. He tends to look at every question from his own special point of view and imports communal considerations into the most indifferent subjects. On the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions he supported the existing system, as separation will provide a few more places for the advanced classes! He occasionally refused even to support the other non-Brahman members in the last Council when they joined the popular party as in the case of the Malsiras revision settlement resolution. He does not command the respect or the affection of the non-Brahmans; these now accept his leadership as they cannot help it. He has been long wanting to have the charge of Education as thereby he hopes to raise the non-Brahmans and still more to put the Brahmans down. Some people fear a determined attack on Brahman education as a result of his appointment. But we are sure that responsibility will sober him. He will find that the backwardness of his community is more due to their own ignorance and want of keenness to advance themselves. Nobody will oppose any of his schemes to advance his own brethren. The last Brahman minister did his best to do so also. The Indian public has come to realise that the backwardness of any portion of the people keeps the whole country backward. But in the next educational regime the myth of a Brahman conspiracy against the non-Brahmans will be once for all effectually exploded and this myth once out of the way the coast will be clear for a close collaboration of all classes in the advancement of our Presidency. We therefore welcome M. Jadhav and trust that his new experience will make him a stalwart in the national as opposed to merely communal cause, long before his three years are up.

THE FOURTH ESTATE.

THE recent death of Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iengar has undoubtedly removed the foremost figure from Indian journalism to-day. His paper, the 'Hindu' was the first great venture in Indian-owned papers and the greatness of its success is a measure of its late editor's journalistic greatness. Simply looked at from the point of technique, there can be no doubt that the 'Hindu' is far and away the best Indian daily to-day—well printed, well informed, well written and deeming no human activity as falling outside its scope. Indeed it was entirely fit

ting and deserved that Mr. Iengar should have been selected as first President of the newly formed "Journalists' Association of India," an office he so pathetically was not destined to fill for more than a few days.

Like all really great daily papers, the "Hindu" was the expression of *one* man. In that it followed the lines of the great English tradition in journalism, of which the Walters family and their London *Times* are perhaps the most outstanding examples. It is this same journalistic expression of one personality which has made the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Morning Post* the two best English daily papers of to-day. But there is no doubt that this great tradition is, in England certainly, in rapid process of being entirely superseded by what was at its first emergence called the 'half-penny press.' The three English papers singled out by us are great, certainly: but none of them have a large circulation. They, as did all the dailies before 1870, still cater for only a small section of the general public. Before 1870, before compulsory elementary education was introduced in England, the reading public was largely the cultured and thinking public. To a large extent this still applies to us in India; it may be well therefore for us to consider what 1870 did for English journalism and be prepared for the dangers wherewith the near future is threatening us too.

The introduction of compulsory instruction certainly achieved what it set out to do—it taught people the 3 R's. If it never set out to teach people to think more clearly nor to apply their thinking powers to only worthy objects, it most decidedly achieved none of these things and as a consequence, as the after-1870 youth began to grow up, an inevitable demand sprang up for the kind of "reading matter", of which "Tit Bits" is only too typical. As inevitably a journalist sooner or later was bound to arise, who would endeavour to provide all actual and potential *Tit Bits* readers also with a daily, and therefore political paper, such as would conform to their own standards. This journalist happened to be Mr. Alfred Harmsworth, later Lord Northcliffe, who once said that "when I first came into the newspaper business, all London dailies were produced with an eye to about a quarter of a million people: I have come to produce papers for the remaining forty millions." Mark well, that he said "newspaper business": not, "newspaper profession." Until his day, the journalist had something to say which he was desperately in earnest about; some advice to tender, to follow which he considered of the utmost importance to Society and which to act upon he therefore bent all his energies to persuade his readers. The journalist's professional advice was like that of the other learned professions—the physician's, the lawyer's, the accountant's: it provided him with a means of livelihood, but it only had value, inasmuch as it had no price. Mr. Harmsworth did not thus envisage journalism as a

profession: for him it was a business out of which money, much money, could be made. As a consequence, he had no views or convictions, to which he wished to persuade the people of England: his only wish was, to persuade them to buy his paper. He catered for their tastes—he had no idea of directing or elevating them. As Mr. Norman Angell the other day put it so well in the *Nation*: there is a regular Gresham's law in business journalism. "The million-a-day paper must so select and present news as to make the day's history seem to confirm the prepossession of the moment; and the confirmation, of course, strengthens the prepossession." The first condition of the very existence of such a press is that it must pander to whatever prejudice, whatever weakness, whatever folly is prevalent at the time: and in the process of competition for circulation the paper which most adds to that prejudice and folly, will inevitably secure the biggest circulation and the largest dividends. Thus, here too "the bad drives out the good", until, glancing at the productions of the Rothermere & Co. press today, one devoutly hopes that no lower level is left for them to descend to. The late Lord Salisbury who, on being shown the first daily picture paper (*The Daily Mirror*), exclaimed: "Mr. Harmsworth, after having invented a paper (*The Daily Mail*) for people who cannot think, has now, I see, invented a paper for people who cannot read"—accurately expressed the final cause of the modern sensational press.

With us in India a paper which has a circulation running into five figures, is considered "big." As a consequence the very machinery for producing such a restricted quantity must remain within manageable limits—whilst it is obvious that the capital, which has to be sunk in an industrial establishment capable of turning out several million copies of newspaper within a few hours per day, must be of a size attainable by only a few of the very wealthiest of people. The very money at stake demands, that nothing in the policy of the paper can ever be permitted to jeopardize the safety and lucrativeness of the investment, which depends entirely on the size of the "circulation." Once that drops, advertisements—that principal source of income—will drop too: for as the circulation increases, the value of each advertisement space increases too. Hence the newspaper business demands enormous circulations at all cost, and the newspaper profession, alas, prostitutes itself to secure them. Indeed, what room is there for professional conduct? More and more, the publicist is driven to work through the mechanism of dailies and other periodicals, which are owned by a few huge trusts, who are not in the business "for their health," as the pretty saying is. Thus Sir Edward Hulton's trust owned some forty periodicals—dailies, weeklies, monthlies; political, sportive, technical and what not—and since the Hulton Press amalgamation with the equally huge concerns of Lord

Beaverbrook and Rothermere a couple of months ago, it can almost be said that the whole "popular" press of Great Britain (for Scotland too is held fast by this octopus, no less than England) is now in the hands of one unitary concern. The power of this press is perhaps best illustrated by the difficulty which the "Daily Herald," the only British Labour daily, encounters in merely keeping alive, although the last elections have shown that nearly five millions of people in Great Britain are sufficiently interested in labour to vote for the Labour Party's candidates. Only a subsidy from the Party keeps the 'Daily Herald' afloat—why? Mainly because advertisers are capitalists and because they will not subsidize organs which aim at their own undoing. And the 'Daily Herald' is not the first attempt either made at a labour daily in London. In New York similarly a labour paper (*The Leader*) was recently started—but ably staffed and conducted as it was, it failed within a few months of its coming into existence.

The position is becoming very grave indeed. The root cause of all lies in the confusion of business and profession. A newspaper by its nature fulfils primarily a public function and only secondarily does it also serve as a private business. The Harmsworthian invention has inverted these functions and not a few people nowadays see the only way out of the impasse in a transfer of the press from the ownership of private business men to that of corporate interests. Thus Lord Astor, who deserves the profound gratitude of the English nation and of all journalists for having rescued the *Times* out of the clutches of a Lord Rothermere, last September arranged for the future ownership of that historic paper to be vested in certain trustees chosen for the high national offices which they fill. The *Daily Herald*, as already mentioned, is now owned by the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress; and there has just been talk of transferring control of the *Morning Post* to the Tory Party. Such solution would no doubt end the scandal of a sensational press, which is only produced in order to sell. But one has grave doubts, whether such an arrangement would really make for greatest journalistic efficiency. We began this article by emphasizing that all that is best in dailies is the single expression of a journalistic master mind. The result of the transfer of the *Daily Herald* from Mr. George Lansbury to a Party Committee certainly indicates that, however ably staffed, a paper under the command of a committee cannot rival in excellence one run by a single ruling personality.

What then—is there no way out? We believe there is, and we believe that it can be found, and found only, in separating the two branches of journalism: news getting and news commenting. The former we believe had best be 'socialized'—by which we mean that a journalistic guild of reporters (given as much of a monopoly by the State as the latter already grants to, say, the legal

profession) should bring out a daily news paper, containing all the news. Internationally linked up, each national guild would serve as a collector and conveyor of all the news from its own territory and as an exchange for all foreign news: its one business being, to publish every day a synopsis of news, and its one aim, to be accurate in its facts. Not being in the hands of any publicity bureau nor under the control of any sectional interest, but conducted by professional men in a professional manner, there would be no room for tendentious selection of news, suppression of facts to please certain theories, nor all the other manipulations to which modern news-purveying is so lamentably prone. Side by side with, but quite distinct from, these impersonal records of fact, the daily or perhaps only weekly comment on this world's news would be conducted by independent journalists or groups of journalists, whose judgement and power of interpretation would commend them to their readers. In fact, this is much what happens in India today. Many readers here already habitually go to one paper for their news and to another for their views.

Why should we not proceed on these lines and consciously hold up as our own ideal in this country the one big news paper, common to all, coupled with a multiplicity of periodicals which merely give the views and comments of individuals or parties or other groups? As far as circulation goes, none of these papers would be "big"—certainly none of them are in that sense "big" today. It does not follow that for reason alone they need be "little": little, that is, in the only things that professionally count—*influence, integrity, fairness and soundness of judgement.* The danger to democracy of the press in the West has not yet vitally affected India. But the formation of a body like the "Journalists' Association of India" is a good opportunity for taking stock of the "Fourth Estate" in our own country; profiting by the warning example of modern journalism in Europe and America; and therefore not afraid, to strike out on a line of our own, as we would, instead of drifting in slavish imitation through all the stages which journalism has had to pass through elsewhere.

SOCIAL WORKERS IN CONFERENCE.—III.

5. PUBLIC HEALTH.

D. DEFECTIVE CHILDREN.

THE first point that here arises is one of nomenclature: 'defective' in India not referring solely to the "mentally defective" as is the English usage; but including the blind, the deaf—even the leprosy! The Conference rightly urged Government to separate these different sections in their classifications and also drew attention to the—compared with e. g. Ireland—meagre information provided in the census statistics. Mr. P. N. V. Rau, B. A. M. C. T. B., of Mysore had brought out this point in his paper on the 'Eubation and Care

of Defective Children'; Prof. R. K. Kulkarni, M. A., LL. B., of Gwalior, in his 'Education and Training of Defective Children' distinguished between merely delicate, crippled and backward children, and the feeble-minded proper. His proposal was segregation of all sub-normal children into special schools, since the ordinary curriculum was quite unsuitable for them. Mr. P. N. Desai on the other hand pleaded that defective children, especially the blind, should be sent to ordinary schools at first, in order to remove their feeling of isolation and to foster their self-reliance. The Principal of the V. M. School for the Blind at Bombay (Mr. H. D. Chhatrapati, B. A.) had already mentioned the 'Difficulties in the Education of the Blind in India' and emphasized the need of teaching the blind that they are part and parcel of the universe and the seeing that they cannot be allowed to let the blind go on 'moping in the dark.' Mr. F. W. Pereira B. A., LL. B., of the Bombay Institution for Deaf-Mutes, had written on the 'Education and Care of the Deaf', and what he said about them, viz. that if left untrained and deprived of the humanizing, and moral effect of language and literature, deaf-mutes are prone to evil, to vice, and crime, and take to begging on the public streets, pickpocketing and theft', of course *mutandis mutatis* applies to all defectives. One of the resolutions passed on this subject therefore urged 'that provision be made for training the defectives into habits of work and reliance, thus checking their proneness to vagrancy.' Another resolution requested the Government to send abroad for further studies qualified teachers of the blind and deaf, deplored the inadequate number of special schools in existence for the blind and deaf and emphasized the paramount need of an After-Care Society, which will help along defectives after their training for a trade is accomplished.

E. TUBERCULOSIS.

The last subject dealt with at the conference was the "Prevention and Cure of Tuberculosis," on which Drs. R. B. Billimoria, Draper, B. S. Kanga and M. N. Moos had sent in papers. The first mentioned in this connection the need for the regulation of tenement construction and for a standard of ventilation, and held Municipality and State responsible for providing opportunities for the treatment of the disease, when contracted. Dr. Draper of the Salvation Army drew attention to our food and drink supply as ready sources of tubercular infection and Dr. Kanga to the sinister role played by the zenana system in spreading this disease. But we have no hesitation in saying that Dr. Moos' proved the most arresting and informative contribution made. Dr. Moos, who is not only an M. B. & B. S. of Bombay, but also an M. D. and D. T. M. of London and D. P. H. of England, has only quite recently returned from London, where for some years he was Tuberculosis Officer of the Boroughs of Stoke Newington, Hackney and Poplar: facts we mention to show that Dr. Moos speaks authoritatively and with

knowledge which is up to date. The prime fact brought out by him—a fact which needs publishing far and wide—is that Tuberculosis is merely the result of outraging the laws of nature and health and that no healthy adult is liable to tubercular infection. "Tuberculosis," says our author, "is an industrial and social scourge, its prevalence, distribution and death-rate being a clear indication of the sanitary intelligence of a community." As a consequence he holds that too much attention is paid to the dangers of the infected sputum and little or none to the soil into which the bacilli are received. From this it follows further that "away from children a consumptive is harmless and, if properly trained, willing and able to carry out the instructions of his doctor, not a source of danger, for neither the breath of the patient nor the atmosphere of the sick room is really infectious. Still less should these unfortunate patients, who need every care and sympathy, be shunned as social lepers and put to other grievous hardships." The fact now established seems that every city-dweller constantly ingests small doses of the tubercle bacilli, which, if he is otherwise healthy, will gradually immunize him. Country people, migrating to industrial centres, thus gain immunity—but, if they are underfed and overworked, their system will be incapable of effecting such immunity and fall a prey to the disease instead. Amongst city people infection takes place in childhood, since apparently no child, however healthy, has the resisting powers of an adult. The danger there is, that if the quantity of poison ingested is large enough, it may remain latent in the system and at an opportune moment later on break out into virulence, if it does not kill the child outright.

It thus seems evident that we are just now in a transition stage, as far as knowledge of phthisis is concerned: a fact which is only too apt to bewilder the layman who looks for a straight lead along very definite and simple lines. That this is so, became immediately apparent at the Conference, when many non-medical delegates, unable to weigh the medical evidence or to appreciate the gradual development of new theories, gave way to complete scepticism on the whole subject: an attitude not improved by a medical delegate, Dr. K. K. Dadaoanji, who whole-heartedly plumped for Spahlinger's much debated and still more-doubted serum, in which he saw the one-panacea for and only solution of the whole question. True, he was the only doctor present who took this line, and he had all the rest of his confrères solidly arrayed against him: still, the lay mind fastened on the one fact that "even doctors disagreed" and seemed dangerously inclined to advocate a "masterly inactivity" in regard to the whole problem. Time was getting late and the Chair closed further speechifying so that after a short but vigorous appeal on the part of Dr. H. V. Tilak the vote was taken as to whether or not Government and Municipalities

should be approached for the creation of more Tuberculosis Dispensaries, Hospitals, Sanatoria and Officers and for the encouragement of isolating the children of infected parents. Feeling seemed to run quite high and in any case the vote taken was fairly evenly divided: still, the "ayes" had it in the end, much to the satisfaction of all who, knowing how dangerous a thing a little knowledge is, hold that, where expert knowledge is required, the expert's evidence must be accepted. A final resolution—uncontested—was perhaps even more satisfactory inasmuch as it called upon Government to "invite the co-operation of all employers of labour to provide an adequate living wage and sanitary housing accommodation for their employees."

CONCLUSION.

THIS completed the business of the Conference and, the time being very much advanced, there was little time for valedictory compliments. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who had presided over the 2nd Session (held at Delhi in 1918), turned up, apparently for the "closing speech of the President" but the latter instead of taking place from 4 to 6 p. m. as per programme, was crowded into a few minutes, after the clock had struck seven. Mr. D. G. Dalvi and Mrs. H. Hodgkinson moved and supported a vote of thanks to the President, who had indeed richly deserved it for the patience, good humour and tact with which she had discharged functions which even a much younger person must have found very tiring. But Mrs. Besant looked as calm, fresh and smiling, when she was garlanded at the close, as when she took the chair on the first day.

Thus ended the Fourth Session of the All Indian Social Workers' Conference: the first having been held in 1917 under Mr. Gandhi at Calcutta, the second at Delhi under Mrs. Naidu in 1918, the third at Madras in 1922 under Dr. Maitra. The first two sessions lasted one day each only, the third two days, whilst the present fourth extended over four days. Even so, there were ever so many subjects which never got on the programme at all (we would only mention Prohibition and Industrial Welfare) and now that the experiment has been so successfully made to have a four days' Congress, future years may yet see Social Workers making a whole week of it, once they are about it. As it was in Bombay, the time was so crowded, that little opportunity offered, for visitors to make a round of any of the multitudinous institutions for which the City is so rightly famous. For future Conferences we suggest that it would be an improvement, if the whole body of delegates were split up in many more groups than two and given an opportunity of visiting the special institutions &c. in which they are specially interested.

To say that Mr. N. M. Joshi was the General Secretary of this Conference is to say that all the arrangements made were all that could be desired and that everything was done in a business-like

way, with a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of fuss. The Boy Scouts of the Bombay Social Service League rendered yeoman service too towards the smooth running of all arrangements and one really wonders nowadays whatever people used to do on such occasions before Boy Scouts had been invented! A Social Work Exhibition (mostly consisting of posters) was open to the public every day from 8 a. m. to 8 p. m. and the vast throngs it drew was an ever new source of surprise to many delegates from other parts of the country, where, one was told, unfortunately no such public interest could have been looked for.

An easy sneer is often heard against the holding of any such Conferences, which, one is asked to believe, effect nothing but pass a few pious paper resolutions. It is safe to say that few of such people frequent the Conferences against whom their cheap jibes are directed—unless perhaps they happen to have had a pet resolution of their own turned down thereat! Social Workers, as all public-spirited persons engaged in the task of leavening the Commonwealth, need badly conferring amongst themselves—to gain fresh encouragement in their fight against indifference and antagonism, to compare their own efforts with those of fellow-workers elsewhere and to get taken out of the groove of their own sectional interest into the broader life of a big Conference, where every effort is realized to be but part of a greater whole. And objectively too, even derided "paper resolutions" have their great value, both as regards propaganda, in that they make some of the public at least aware of the problems existing and of the solutions proposed; and in keeping up that steady pressure on the Legislative and Executive, without which no cause was ever materially furthered. The "pious resolution" of a drop of water running off a granite slab may seem futile to the mere onlooker: the fact remains, that no rock can withstand the steady drip of little drops of water. And if this last session of Social Workers has done anything, it has certainly freshened up and added its *quota* to the persistent and in the end irresistible stream of public opinion, which will not rest until we too, in Blake's burning words,

"...have built Jerusalem
In India's fair and ancient land."

THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS ON CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE—II.

ACCORDING to the Paper Currency Act (1920), the security portion of the Reserve is not to exceed the metallic portion. If therefore the metallic portion exceeds 50 p. c. of the total note-circulation it can be replaced by a corresponding portion of securities. The sale of three crores worth of gold is based upon this provision. The advantages of this operation are the accrual of interest on this sum and the relief given to sterling borrow-

ing in England. In addition it would strengthen the position of sterling and hasten the parity of the sterling-dollar exchange. This is the case for the sale of gold.

Now so far as securities will bring interest, it is a clear advantage. But this raises the issue with regard to the function of gold in the Reserve. If the gold is superfluous we can afford to sell even a greater quantity and replace it by either Sterling Securities or Rupee Securities. The very fact that we have not done it so far is a clear indication of the belief that the Reserve ought not to be brought down to the lowest point permissible by law. Anything that is likely to weaken the faith in the Paper Currency ought not to be attempted. Of course we admit that the sale of 3 crores worth of gold by itself is not likely to weaken the credit of the Paper Currency. It is therefore necessary to decide the strength of the metallic Reserve not only in relation to the law but in relation to practice.

Now in India where Banking is not perfect and people are liable to a scare, it is in our opinion desirable to have a Reserve of 60 to 65 p. c. of the total issue even if this involves a loss of interest. According to this standard only 5 crores can be spared. Any further sale on a large scale ought to be scrutinized with great care.

The relief given to sterling borrowing may be conceded and we may pass on to the effect of the sale of the gold on the dollar-sterling exchange. Now a sale of gold in India would *pro tanto* prevent the withdrawal of gold from England which would otherwise have been imported. This would help sterling to reach its parity with gold, but only by a little. Unless therefore an assurance is given that this operation would expedite the process, a strong case is not made out for the use of the Reserve to prop up sterling.

For the last few years a tendency is growing up to regard the two, viz. the Gold Standard Reserve and the Paper Currency Reserve as one and interchangeable. This may be convenient at times but on the whole this tendency is to be deprecated. The objects of the two reserves are different and they should be kept apart. Now it is only the Gold Standard Reserve that can be used for the purpose of Exchange, and not the Currency Reserve. Lord Meston in his evidence before the Chamberlain Commission said 'that the Paper Currency Reserve being a trust fund it is unjust to employ any part of it for earning interest or for any other purpose, than converting notes.'

To manipulate either Reserve for general financial purposes is not right. It is only because the post-war problems have become complicated and require exceptional treatment that we can acquiesce in exceptional measures.

If however the Indian Reserve is utilized for assisting the ultimate parity of sterling we should have the assurance that as soon as this consummation is achieved we should have a Gold

Standard. All the gold used at present should be replaced in India with a view to have a gold coinage and assimilate our system to the English system. Then the problem of exchange which has been the nightmare of Indian financiers would vanish for ever.

The likely effects of the sale of gold on Exchange may be noted. As a result of the stiffening of the dollar-sterling exchange gold will be cheaper in England and imports of it will tend to lower exchange; but this sale of gold will prevent it to that extent.

Another resolution advising the Government to restrict its borrowing outside India is a belated recognition by the European Chambers of what Indian opinion has been urging for the past decade or two. Foreign loans increase the Home Charges and make the question of Exchange more and more troublesome.

If the major portion of the loans are raised in India the payment of the interest is reduced to a simple transfer of accounts in the Imperial Bank. The ease with which Treasury Bills are subscribed is an evidence in point. The harmony of interest between the Government and the people becomes closer by each giving to the other and taking from the other. We would recommend that gradually the old sterling loans should be amortized and replaced by Indian loans in Rupees.

We have no wish to refer here to the points of divergence between Indian Commercial opinion and European Commercial opinion. But in the interests of harmony it were to be wished that by the time the next Associated Chambers meet, these divergences were removed and a common platform reached.

V. N. GODBOLE.

REVIEW.

THE NEW EDUCATION IN GERMANY.*

The three forces that, for centuries co-operated in administering and organising education in Germany, were the German State, the Church and the University. The respective influence of these forces varied from time to time. Up to the time of Luther and in a sense up to the Great War, school in Germany was regarded as a daughter of the Church. Luther broke with this idea and proclaimed the State as an Authority as sacred as the Church herself, but from the founding of the German Empire (1871) onwards, the State has assumed an ever increasing control over educational matters.

Education in Germany made very rapid progress during the last century and from the beginning 'had been led most distinctly from above'. Germany has the lowest percentage of illiteracy in the world. Before the war it was .05 per cent. The quality of the education imparted is, according

* This completes the review of Dr. T. W. Roman's book on "The New Education in Europe"—see our issues of the 6th & 13th inst.

to those fit to judge, very high. In the opinion of Prof. Sadler 'In Prussia secondary education is a guaranteed, standardized article; in England it is still for the most part *'verbum et praeterea nihil.'*' The malady of the German system of education lay in its mechanical and formal administration and organisation. The highly centralised bureaucratic system left no choice or initiative in the Local or School authorities, the function of the latter bodies being more or less advisory and seldom extending beyond advice on the building and furniture of the school. It was a system of education in which everything was done for the people and nothing by them.

The question of religious instruction has always been a fruitful source of school-quarrels in Germany. Before the war the Catholic population was 37 per cent. of the whole. This made denominational schools necessary, but even this arrangement failed to put an end to the eternal religious fights. The German Constitution (1919) has now separated Church and School entirely. The Socialist Government abolished religious instruction of any kind in the schools. This led to serious political fighting among different parties and, although a compromise was arrived at, the question is far from being settled even at present.

Fundamental and far reaching changes have taken place in German education after the revolution of 1918. To understand these changes, it is necessary to note the three principal political forces, controlling the different parties in the country. They are the monarchist, the catholic and the socialist. The former two are conservative and agree in essentials. They maintain a non-progressive if not reactionary attitude towards education. The Socialists as soon as they came into power adopted a vigorous and progressive educational policy. Education ceased to be subservient to the State. The local and school authorities were given very large freedom in determining the policy and curriculum of the schools. The elementary school teacher, long considered an underling to the pastor, thus acquired a new dignity and the cooperation of the parents with the teacher was a significant feature of the new education movement. But by far the most important feature of all was the attitude towards war, socialism and nationality. The educational policy of government was suffused with spirit the of internationalism and pacificism. Section 148 of the German constitution has the following: 'A moral education, a sense of responsibility to the State, personal and professional integrity in the spirit of German nationality and a reconciliation with the nations, are to be set as goal in all schools.' Surely a great advance from the 'Deutschland über alles' spirit. To implant in the children a sense of loyalty to the Republic was one of the most difficult tasks that the new system had to face. It was a distinct

departure from the past, when extreme efforts were made to instil an admiration, however hypocritical, for their rulers through the texts used in the schools.

German educationalists are groping, though in deadly earnest to evolve a system of education that gives full expression to the spirit of the time. Their efforts have met with conspicuous, though partial success. Mr. Roman describes some of the experimental schools and the forces affecting this educational movement. We shall note a few of them in briefly using the words of the author as far as possible.

Life School.—The school has no definitely fixed curriculum or programme. The staff tries to build new human beings and not imitators whose first function and greatest achievement are feats of memory. It is to be a striving towards the creation of active beings, whose spirits are controlled by a will and who have the capacity to do.

Hamburg School—is so called because the system originated in Hamburg. Reading and writing in the lower classes are not taught but the psychological moment is awaited when the child demands such instruction as a result of its activities in painting, modelling, observation and meditation. The child shall not perform the tasks that have been set by the teacher, but those that have been set by life itself. The teachers regard a child's natural powers with something of a mystic awe.

The Kerschensteiner school (normal)—The teacher must belong to the social type of beings. The fundamental principle of his own being and becoming is love. Education is nothing more than the formation of that to which we are called forth from within. We cannot educate directly. We can only cultivate and perfect that which slumbers in germ in the soul of the child.

The Garden School—for apprentices and adults. The idea underlying the movement is founded on a belief that every man and woman should have some outside activity to break the monotony of routine labour.

The Wander Birds.—Beginning as a protest against strict discipline, the movement subsequently took a romantic turn. Wanderings by night, camping, reciting and studying folksongs and folklore are some of the features of the movement. Both the sexes mix freely in joyous friendship and the movement is characterised by high if unconventional moral fervour. Moral aberrations are indeed very few, a fact which fossilised moralists will please note.

The Wander Day—was started during the war and was frankly a militarist movement, the aim being to train the older school children in the profession of war. The movement continued after the Revolution but the military significance was completely wiped out. It is now the custom for all the children of the higher Schools to spend an entire day every month in the open air tramping and exploring. These last two movements are strongly opposed to alcohol and tobacco.

The German Republic thus has done not a little for the education of the people. The political storm that is now raging in that country renders it impossible to forecast the events even of the near future. But if the Republic triumphs, there is every prospect that it will yet score more triumphs for a true and sound Democratic Education.

J. B. SEN.

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