

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Servants of India Society. TO-DAY is the nineteenth anniversary of the founding of the Servants of India Society. We have taken this opportunity of giving to our readers an idea, however inadequate, of the work of the Society during 1917-23, by publishing a summary of the report which has just been issued by the Society. The report itself is very brief and our summary therefore is more like an enumeration of the Society's activities than its report. We therefore request such of our readers as feel interested in its work kindly to write to us or the Secretary of the Society for a copy of the report itself. Since the death of its great founder, several young men have joined the Society and its activities have become more numerous and wider. While its commitments are increasing its financial resources, far from keeping pace with its growth, have been showing the opposite tendency. Through times of stress and strain the Society has kept its faith in the principles and laid down by its founder. It has sought the help and countenance of the Government for its work, but has not hesitated to oppose with all its strength the Government when they went wrong or committed excesses. It has stood for social progress, befriended the poor, the depressed classes and the aborigines, and always tried to remember that the Indian nationality of the future is to be above caste, colour or community. It earnestly appeals for the sympathy and support of the public at large.

O'Dwyer-Nair Case. WHAT the judgment in the O'Dwyer-Nair case was going to be like was foreseen both in India and in England by those that were watching the progress of the trial.

The judgment will not in any way influence Indian opinion either about Sir Michael O'Dwyer's methods of administration or the actions of General Dyer and other military authorities in the Punjab. What it will affect to an appreciable extent is the confidence of Indians in the British sense of justice, where British interests or racial considerations are involved. That confidence was by no means unbounded before, but after Justice McCardie constituting himself counsel for General Dyer and swerving so much from the judicial into the political path, very little of it can remain. The political effect of the judgment on India will be deplorable. The wound that for five years had not healed has now been opened afresh, and one cannot foretell exactly what complications will arise. Meanwhile, the sympathy of every Indian will be with Sir Sankaran Nair on whom this case has entailed very heavy financial loss. A man of sturdy independence as everyone knows him to be, we trust he will nevertheless allow the public to share with him a burden that has fallen upon him while discharging a public duty to his country.

Lee Report in the Assembly. THE discussion on the Lee Commission report has been adjourned till the September session of the Assembly. This virtually amounts to the acceptance of Sir Sivaswami Aiyar's resolution, and therefore the pledge of the Home Member stands, which was given on the understanding that the House passed Sir Sivaswami's resolution in substance. The pledge, given by Sir Alexander Mudiman on behalf of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, is very clear,—“that no decision on any questions of principle or policy shall be arrived at”—until the Assembly has had an opportunity of examining the report in the September session. It is true the pledge does not amount to discountenancing any of the claims put forward on behalf of the Services, and is really a course dictated by common sense. But under pressure from Service interests and the Conservative die-hards, the Government of India and the Secretary of State have in the past often disregarded common sense and antagonised Indian public opinion, and therefore we are glad that on this occasion they took Sir Sivaswami's warning and refrained from courting unpopularity which an attempt to rush through decisions on such vital matters would involve. Not only do we want time to

consider the repercussions of this report on military officers, who are more numerous than those in the civil services, but as pointed out by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, these recommendations are to be considered with reference to future constitutional advance. Hurry would be simply disastrous.

* * *

Swarajists Non-co-operate! THE leader of the Swarajist party in the Assembly, which is pledged to "non-violent non-co-operation"

with the Government, so violently co-operated with the bureaucracy—of course in order to destroy it—last week when the Tariff Bill was under discussion, that there was a sharp dislocation in the body of the party. Mr. V. J. Patel, non-co-operating according to his own peculiar lights, had proposed an amendment to the Bill imposing certain restrictions on foreign capital that may flow into the country on account of the protective policy embodied in the Bill. After some discussion the House adjourned, being unable to come to an agreement. When it re-assembled, Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Elisha of non-co-operation in the Assembly, produced an amendment which had the previous approval of Sir Charles Innes, in supersession of Mr. Patel's. This amendment of the non-co-operating Pandit left in the hands of Government the determination of the conditions that should be imposed on foreign capital and the Government gladly accepted it. Mr. Patel's non-co-operating conscience however, was roused—its rousing being quickened by his own amendment being thrown overboard by the leader of his party, and he exclaimed, "Why—it leaves everything in the hands of the bureaucracy." He pressed for a division and discovered that not more than half a dozen Swarajists stood by him against the Pandit. Though the division had shown the majority of the party to be on his side, the Pandit thought it expedient to resign, or threaten to resign, his leadership. The party passed a fresh note of confidence in him. Mr. Patel apologised for having allowed his conscience to stir, the dislocation was set right, the Pandit's interpretation of the doctrine of "non-co-operation from within the Councils" was confirmed by the party. It is understood, by the way, that light has come to the bureaucracy and they are now quite eager to be annihilated by this variety of non-co-operation.

* * *

Hyderabad Reforms. WE are glad to know that there exists in Hyderabad a State Reforms Association, the primary object of which is to educate public opinion on the question of constitutional reforms and to aid the Government in introducing a suitable scheme. The Association came into existence some time after H. E. Highness announced his intention of enlarging the Legislative Council and if during all this time it has not been much in evidence, it is because, we are told, some 'unforeseen difficulties' prevented it from doing any work. Among

those difficulties was a Firman prohibiting all political meetings. Along with some prominent citizens, the Association repeatedly tried to obtain permission for convening a political conference for formulating a scheme on behalf of the people, but without success. The Nizam having recently, however, appointed a committee to submit a scheme to him within a short time, the Association has published a well thought-out scheme, which merits the careful consideration of the committee. The constitution proposed is similar to that enjoyed by the advanced provinces of British India, but the franchise proposed is high enough to make the constitution easily workable even in a politically backward area.

* * *

Segregation in Kenya. THE White Paper on Kenya of last July has adopted the principle of non-segregation of races, but the

Kenya Government has done nothing so far to carry it out in practice. The Administration surrenders in the most abject manner to the least threat of trouble on the part of white settlers, but it has strength enough to hurl defiance at the Imperial Government and to observe the principle of segregation, though the latter has disowned it in the most solemn fashion! On May 12, Lieut-Col. Meyler asked a question in the House of Commons about the segregation still practised in Kenya Colony on the Government's own railways and steamers: he asked whether separate accommodation was reserved for persons of special races, and whether waiting rooms, &c., were not closed to travellers of certain races. Mr. Thomas had of course to admit that racial discrimination was made on railways, &c., but he added (showing how misinformed he is), that "in such cases every effort is being made to ensure that equal facilities are available to persons who pay the same fare." It is a most disingenuous answer, and if Mr. Thomas does not wish to lay himself open to this charge, he must ask those who drafted the answer for him to give an explanation. Now, e. g., the waiting rooms at the railway stations are not open to Asiatic travellers, whether of the second or first class. What effort is made to provide equal facilities to them in the matter of accommodation in waiting rooms? The segregation also extends to hospitals and schools. Is it pretended that equal facilities are given to all persons whether of Asiatic or European origin in this respect? In this connexion we may note that the Uganda Government, in order to enforce the policy of non-segregation, has repealed clauses in the existing leases of houses which forbade residence of Asiatics in certain areas reserved for Europeans, but the Kenya Government has held fast to the policy of segregation.

* * *

Political Murder. TOO much pother has been made about the resolution passed at the Bengal Provincial Conference regarding a recent political murder in Bengal. The resolution purports to give praise to the murderer for his disinterested patriotism and spirit of self-sacrifice, and incidentally condemns, not this particular murder, but violence in general. Members of the House of Commons, not knowing the mentality of Swarajists at whose inspiration the resolution was adopted, think that this is a direct incitement to murder, while really it is nothing more than the usual Swarajist heroics which the public in India has by now learnt heavily to discount.

MAHATMA GANDHI.

OF Mahatma Gandhi there is a good deal of deification on the one hand, and a good deal of traducement on the other; but a just appreciation of his worth and influence as a force in Indian politics, is very hard to find. The little volume in the admirable "Builders of Modern India" series entitled "Mahatma Gandhi" by Messrs. R. M. Gray and Manilal C. Parekh* is just such an attempt at a sympathetic understanding of the actions of this pre-eminent leader and their inner springs, without the slightest tinge of hero worship about it. The writers have taken the same view of Gandhi's activities as we have ourselves consistently taken: they are critical, in places severely critical of his politics, but throughout profoundly appreciative, as we have uniformly been, of the high moral plane on which he conducts all his movements. In judging of his spiritual character they have applied a very exacting standard and have found occasion to notice some slight lapses from it, which but adds to the sincerity of their general estimate, and the very high tribute they pay to the elevating influence of his leadership is on that account of far greater value than the conventional praise usually bestowed upon him for his saintliness.

The authors generally do not approve of non-co-operation and other allied political campaigns of Mahatma Gandhi. While fully alive to the grave injustice inflicted upon the Moslems by the Sèvre treaty and to the enormity of the crimes committed during the time of the Punjab horrors, they still think that these were sad episodes and did not reflect the deliberate policy of the Government. They neither believe that people of even the most delicate sensitiveness and the keenest scruples were called upon on account of these events to regard the Government as satanic and any kind of co-operation with them a sin, nor that the method of non-co-operation recommended by Mahatma Gandhi was calculated to make for the progress of the country. Morally unnecessary, dissociation from Government was politically a blunder, in the existing circumstances of the country. This sums up the authors' general opinion of Mahatma's recent political activities: but they have also expressed disapprobation of certain specific items in his campaign. For instance, the boycott of the Prince of Wales's visit was, in their view, a fatal mistake on the part of Mahatma Gandhi. They realise that these activities carried on with marvellous energy seriously imperilled the peace of the country and bear witness to the great patience and forbearance which the Government showed on the whole under the most trying circumstances. In this particular, the Liberals who shared the authors' view of non-co-operation have condemned the repressive policy of Government much more severely than the authors seem inclined to do. The ultimatum addressed to Government by Gandhiji after the miscarriage of the Round Table confe-

* Association Press, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta. Pp. 136. Price: Paper Rs. 1-4, Cloth Rs. 2.

rence in Bombay is condemned in this book as utterly devoid of justification. To such an ultimatum, the writers say, "no government which had not abdicated its responsibility for maintaining order could yield." Thus the writers have tried to keep the balance even between the reformers who sought to rectify administrative abuses and those in authority who had to deal with popular agitations. Of the ultimate results of the non-co-operation policy the authors have nothing very complimentary to say. They recognise, with everyone else who deals with this subject, the widespread awakening of the masses which has resulted from the movement,† but they have had to admit that, to judge from the tangible achievements of non-co-operators in giving effect to the several items of the non-co-operation scheme, the movement has proved a dismal failure. What appeals to the writers most in Mahatma Gandhi's activities is the momentum he has been able to impart to constructive work of the highest value in the upbuilding of our country; e. g., removal of untouchability, and so forth. It is too much to claim that even here much solid work is done, but a change is now discernible in the mental attitude of men towards plans for social reform. Such beneficial results are freely acknowledged in this book, but, it is shrewdly added, that "they have nothing essentially to do with non-co-operation." Thus, the verdict of the authors may be given in the following words: Justification was lacking for inaugurating a movement of non-co-operation; nor was it half as wisely planned as it was energetically prosecuted; and ultimately it did not succeed. However, though it failed in its principal political motive, it has had some notable success to its credit in its incidental non-political aims.

The authors also canvass the underlying motives of Mahatma Gandhi on some occasions and consider whether and to what extent he may be said to have compromised his principles in dealing with those situations as he did. For instance, the Khilafat wrong was recognised by everyone; but Mahatma Gandhi adopted wholesale the most extreme Mahomedan view on this point. In thus persuading himself that that view was entirely

† On this point the writers say: "The wisdom of the Moderate leaders may be unimpeachable, and it may be to their policy that the people will return at last. But if the nation has been roused from indifference, and if there is a beginning of preparedness for a new kind of national corporate life, it is due not to the counsils of the wise, but to Mr. Gandhi and the preachers of his challenging creed." This is unfortunately only too true, for the history of India during the past twenty years shows that time-honoured methods of political agitation never made a wide appeal during this interval and a departure from these methods was always needed to bring about political consciousness, but it also produced other undesirable results, and had ultimately to be followed by a reversion to the same old methods which had been temporarily discarded. The question then, is whether those who believe in the expediency of time-honoured methods should reject them only because these methods do not strike the imagination of the people, and advocating other methods in order to bring about a popular awakening, finally return to old methods when the awakening has taken place.

sound, he must (the authors say) have had in view the vital necessity for India's political advancement of indissoluble Hindu-Moslem unity (p. 99); and he must have felt that by adopting this view without a searching scrutiny and seeking to give effect it, he would secure the inalienable friendship of the Moslems, without which Indian questions can never be satisfactorily solved. In doing so, however, he must have sacrificed to some extent his personal conviction about the Khilafat question, and is so far as he did so, he showed himself willing to compromise. Referring to the same subject, the authors say: "Would he not have accomplished more if he had had less to do with political expediency, and had refused to ally himself with those who, though willing to work with him for their own ends were inspired by a different spirit? He might have been a voice crying in the wilderness. But he might have left a more permanent impression upon the history of India" (p. 89). Another instance: The riots in Bombay at the time of the Prince of Wales's visit affected him so strongly that he suspended the projected inauguration of civil disobedience. The outbreak at Chauri Chaura moved him still further: he switched off the whole movement of non-co-operation and practically gave it up in favour of social reform; but strangely enough, the far more extensive and revolting atrocities of Malabar he ignored altogether as if non-co-operation had nothing to do with them, whereas, in point fact, non-co-operation had at least as much to do with Malabar disturbances as with Bombay and Chauri Chaura. The authors rightly say: "There is nothing in his whole career more difficult to understand and vindicate." They might have added among these indefensible passages in his career his active canvassing for recruits to fight on the side of the allies during the recent war. To one who regards the use of violence as a sin, such a campaign should have been impossible in any circumstances. It may be added by the way that the results which attended this recruiting campaign were too poor for words, revealing the sad fact that even the most strenuous and influential worker fails ignominiously when he exerts himself on the side which happens to be unpopular, which fact goes far to exculpate the Liberals in their failure to make much headway at the present time. There is also another point which, in our opinion, the authors should have considered in assessing the influence for good which Mahatma Gandhi exerted. Personally his moral influence was of the noblest character, but the movement attained such a marvellous amount of popularity in so brief a space of time that most of the leading politicians allowed themselves to be driven into it without conviction about its efficacy. The result was a widespread moral atrophy. Though, so far as the originator of the movement was concerned, the campaign was prosecuted with the most scrupulous regard for the contrary convictions of other people, it gave rise to a fearful amount of duplicity and insincerity amongst our public men. Could

not part of this at least have been avoided if greater precaution had been taken, and in any case does not this detract somewhat from Gandhiji's moral influence? While the authors have thus occasionally criticised Mahatma Gandhi, the spirit which actuated them in doing so was as friendly as friendly could be. It is the most sympathetic review we have seen of his life written by those who do not share his political views.

APOLOGISTS FOR INDIAN PRINCES.

WORKERS in the cause of the subjects of Indian States are all too few; but apologists for the rulers of Indian States are to be found in galore even amongst red-hot agitators in British India. These suddenly develop a solicitude for the prerogatives of royalty, discover manifold uses for caution and circumspection in conceding popular rights, become alive to the grave danger of reproducing a westernised democracy in an eastern country and show the utmost eagerness to slur over administrative abuses. Now we have also been presented with a ready-made philosophy to fit in with this somewhat strange phenomenon of a multiple personality. We are told that conditions in Indian States are different from those in British India. Difference in conditions is a well-worn plea, which only helps to make men suspicious of the intentions of those on whose behalf it is advanced. Opponents of social reform shelter themselves behind it: "Have reform by all means," they say, "but, for heaven's sake, do not import foreign ideas about reform into our country, whose national genius is entirely different from that of England." Echoes of the same cry are heard from opponents of political reform, too. "Democracy is good," they say, "but are you sure that it can safely be transplanted into India where Kings have from times immemorial been cherished as parts of divinity and subjects are enjoined to obey their rulers without question?" We have no doubt that there is a substratum of truth in these objections, though extravagantly put. But they nearly always proceed from those who desire not to adjust social or political reform to the surrounding conditions so much as to destroy all reform, root and branch, and the objections have therefore a very unreal ring about them. Rulers like the Maharaja of Bikaner, when they nagged at the British Government for introducing inadequate "Montford" reforms into British India, were naturally asked why this commendable zeal for democratic government does not show itself in the concerns of those states over whose destiny they themselves preside; and we remember H. H. of Bikaner invoking in his aid the familiar argument that conditions are different. Now the same argument is requisitioned not by rulers, but in their behalf by politicians whose tolerance of autocracy in Indian India can only be excelled by their impatience at the slow growth of constitutional reform in British India.

We daresay conditions in Indian States are different from those in British India, but is it enough to make this commonplace statement in order to justify the unwillingness of Indian Princes to introduce even a beginning of self-government? On the face of it, conditions in Indian States should prove more favourable to the establishment of democracy there than in British India. Rulers and ruled belong to the same race and have no reason to apprehend sinister motives either in one or in the other. The same amount of confidence can never be reposed by the foreign rulers of British India in their subjects. One would therefore expect Indian States to give the lead to British India in the matter of constitutional government. But, in point of fact, it is considered a marvel of progress if any Indian State travels about half the way on the road, and a psalm of thanksgiving is heard in every quarter. Indeed, this affinity between rulers and ruled in Indian States is admitted by apologists for Princes, but as they argue out the case, this becomes a factor which makes not for acceleration, but for retardation of constitutional reform. If rulers and ruled have a community of feeling and interest, where is the need, they ask, for representative government in Indian States? Autocracy yields the same results as democracy in actual practice: then why trouble to introduce an untried system of government? This is how they employ the argument that the *personnel* of government is already Indian. And if representative government is at all to be introduced, it need not be of so drastic a form as in western countries, nor need we be so suspicious of rulers as they are in countries like England. This argument would have some validity if England also were ruled by foreigners, but it does not happen to be so, and yet it feels the need of responsible government. Do we in India object only to foreign autocrats and have no objection to indigenous autocracy? The average man will certainly say, as said Mr. Joshi regarding capitalists, that *swadeshi* autocrats are no better than foreign autocrats. But our Radical politicians think differently. They want full responsible government at one stroke in British India. If this is not conceded, they are prepared to offer wholesale opposition to all measures and make government impossible. In Indian States, it is enough to them if native autocracy is just mixed with a dash of constitutional government. Thus full self-government in British India may well be equated, according to them, to a rudimentary form of representative government. If only His Exalted Highness of Hyderabad had heard of this equation set up by Radical Swarajists before, he would not have made the ludicrously extravagant offer of full self-government to Berar, but would have offered to maintain, we suppose, a Council with one-fifth elected members, fully empowered to submit representations to the Nizam's Government, who would indeed bind themselves to give due consideration to all such representations. But

how foolish of the Berar people to refuse even such an over generous offer! Or is it that they feel that, the *personnel* being wholly Indian, full-fledged self-government in Berar is not only superfluous, but positively mischievous?

If Mr. Jayakar feels that the difference in conditions between British and Indian India requires Indian States subjects to pitch their demands for popular rights at a different, i. e. a lower standard, and to adopt different, i. e. non-agitational methods to achieve their end, he should have devoted his address at Sangli to a clear and detailed enunciation of his views on these questions. It is surely not enough to say: "Citizens of Indian States should strike out a new path for themselves in politics instead of merely imitating the methods which circumstances have forced upon us in British India. They will be only adding to the obstacles to political progress in the States if they insist on following methods evolved to a large extent for the purpose of dealing with the conservatism of a system the principal characteristic of which is that it has been and is still mainly alien in its inspiration and in its *personnel*." The "citizens" of Indian States to whom this homily is addressed feel a little perplexed as to the precise manner in which they are to maintain a difference in their method of work, and the method adopted by the "subjects" of British India. They need enlightenment. Will not Mr. Jayakar who missed an opportunity at Sangli supply it now, calling to his aid if necessary all the untapped resources of intellectual acrobaticism of the *Indian Social Reformer*?

THE WORK OF THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY.

A SHORT SUMMARY OF THE REPORT. THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY have published a brief account of their work during the period beginning with January 1917 and ending on 31st May 1923. The following is a summary of that condensed report:—

Membership—During the period the strength of the Society, excluding Permanent Assistants and Attaches, rose from 19 to 23. The Society lost four members—Dr. Deva by death, and three others on account of wide divergence of political views. On the other hand there were eight new admissions. There were, besides, two probationers for membership at the end of the period; so that in spite of the Non-co-operation movement and the Society's strong opposition to it, the strength of the Society has been steadily increasing. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri was the elected President throughout the period and Mr. G. K. Devadhar the Vice-President since the creation of the office in 1919.

Deputations:—During the period several members of the Society went to England and other Western countries on important missions. In April 1919 Mr. Sastri and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru went to England as members of Moderate Deputation to place the views of the National Liberal

Party on the Indian Reforms Bill before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Mr. Sastri gave evidence before the Committee, and both he and Pandit Kunzru did much propaganda work on the state of things in India and the happenings in the Punjab. Mr. Sastri again went to England in May 1921, as one of the Indian representatives to the Imperial Conference which met in London in June and July of that year. To him there fell the important duty of presenting the case for equality of treatment on behalf of lawfully domiciled Indians in the self-governing Dominions and other parts of the Empire. The Conference, excepting the representatives of South Africa, accepted the principle in the shape of a resolution. At the end of the Conference the Dominion Premiers having invited Mr. Sastri to visit their respective countries to help them to give legislative effect to that resolution by talking to the members of their Parliaments and their constituencies, the Government of India deputed him in May 1922, after obtaining a unanimous vote of the Assembly, to visit Australia, New Zealand and Canada. Before this and immediately after the work of the Imperial Conference was over, he was appointed a member of the Indian Delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations which met at Geneva in 1921, and in the winter of the same year he was chosen to represent India on the British Empire Delegation at the Limitation of Armaments Conference at Washington. Again, in April 1923, Mr. Sastri went to England as leader of the Kenya deputation, appointed by the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State

In 1918 Mr. Devadhar, then editor of the *Dnyan Prakash*, accompanied by Mr. D. V. Ambekar, went to Europe as a member of the delegation of journalists sent by the Government of India at the invitation of the British Government to visit the western theatres of war. After the Armistice, the Wadia Trustees very kindly enabled him to spend a few months in studying educational, co-operative and social service institutions in Great Britain, Denmark and other countries. In the period under report Mr. N. M. Joshi was chosen no less than three times to represent Indian labour at the International Labour Conferences—in 1919 at Washington and in 1921 and 1922 at Geneva. These visits he utilised for studying social welfare work, trade union organization and labour conditions in America and the advanced countries of Europe. From November 1921 to June 1922 Mr. V. N. Tivari served on the deputation appointed by the Government of India to investigate and report on the condition of Indians settled in British Guiana. Mr. Sri Ram Bajpai was deputed to England in May 1921 by the U. P. Government to study the Boy Scout movement and undergo training there. He spent nearly a year in England and on the continent of Europe.

Political Propaganda :—The period under report happening for various reasons to be one of intense political activity, the President and other

members of the Society devoted a good deal of their time for political propaganda. They had their due share in the formulation and popularisation of the Congress-League scheme, on which Mr. Sastri wrote a pamphlet. When the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms occupied the field and an influential minority of Congressmen, including most ex-Presidents of the Congress, decided to support them, even at the cost of seceding from the Congress, the members of the Society joined them in organising the National Liberal Federation and popularising the Reforms. They have been active members of the provincial organisations of the Federation and have participated in its annual meetings, Mr. Sastri having been chosen to preside over the Nagpur session in 1922 and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru being the Chairman of the Reception Committee in the session at Allahabad in 1921. The members of the Society did propaganda against the Rowlatt Act, the *Satyagraha* movement started against it by Mr. Gandhi, and later on against the Non-co-operation movement started by him.

In connection with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Mr. Sastri served on the Franchise Committee. Before the Reforms came into force, Mr. Sastri served on the Imperial Legislative Council from 1916 to 1920 as an elected member of the Madras Legislative Council constituency. After the Reforms he has been an elected member of the Council of State. Mr. N. M. Joshi has been a nominated member of the Assembly as representative of labour. From 1921 to 1923 Messrs. Kunzru and N. A. Dravid served as elected members of the U. P. and C. P. Councils respectively, while Mr. N. K. Kelkar was a Minister in C. P.

Soon after the Jallianwallah Bagh tragedy Mr. V. N. Tivari visited the Punjab and spent several months there in investigation and administration of relief to victims on behalf of the Seva Samiti of Allahabad. Later he helped Pandit Jagat Narain when he served on the Hunter Commission.

Co-operative Movement.—All Branches of the Society, especially the Bombay and Madras Branches, gave much attention during the period to the spread of the Co-operative movement. Mr. Devadhar has been identified with activities of the Bombay Central Co-operative Institute as its Vice-President. He presided over several district and other Co-operative conferences and in 1920-21 served on the Mysore Co-operative Committee. Messrs. Joshi and Deole were also connected with the Co-operative movement, the former through the Social Service League and the latter through other institutions. Mr. Patwardhan has been intimately connected with the Maharashtra Branch of the B. C. C. Institute. In the Madras Branch, Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiah gave nearly the whole of his time to Co-operation, until he was transferred to Poona in April 1922. He was Secretary of the Madras Provincial Co-operative Union and editor of the *Madras Bulletin of Co-operation*. After his transfer to Poona his place has been taken by Mr. K. G. Sivswami Aiyar of the Madras

Branch. Before his appointment as Minister, Mr. N. K. Kelkar was identified with the Co-operative movement in the C. P. as Governor of the C. P. Co-operative Federation. During the latter half of the period Mr. L. N. Sahu conducted a Co-operative journal in Oriya from Cuttack.

Social Service—Every Branch is actively engaged in social services. According to the policy followed by the Society from the outset, the members of the Society work through independent institutions, either already existing or started by the members. The Bombay, Madras and Allahabad Branches are intimately connected with the organisation and work of the Bombay and Madras Social Service Leagues and the Seva Samiti of Allahabad. The Bombay and Allahabad institutions have developed into really great organisations. Much of Mr. Devadhar's time in the latter part of the period under report was taken up in organising and developing Maternity and Infant Welfare through the Seva Sadan Society of Poona and its branches at Baramati, Sholapur and Ahmednagar, and also by means of a scheme for the special benefit of the Bhatia community in Bombay. Mr. Joshi is promoting the welfare of labour by every means open to him—through the Bombay Social Service League, the Legislative Assembly, Trade Unions and other labour organisations, and through conferences. Mr. Thakkar has latterly been giving the whole of his time for work among the Bhils of Panch Mahals in Gujarat. At present the work is carried on in five rural settlements each of which contains a school, a small dispensary and a centre for temperance and co-operative propaganda and miscellaneous social work. A boarding home for primary school children is also being maintained. During the whole period under report Mr. K. G. Chitalia was the Secretary of Bhagini Samaj of Bombay, which has for its object the education of women and the development of social service among them. The Samaj issues leaflets and pamphlets on various subjects in Gujarati, conducts home classes for grown up girls and women, and arranges meetings and lectures for them. The members of the Madras Branch devoted considerable time for the welfare of leather-workers by organising co-operative societies, panchayats and conferences for them. They were engaged in relief work in Malabar for several months after the Moplah rebellion. The work done at that time is continued by the administration, by a member of the Society specially placed at Calicut for the purpose, of the Malbar Reconstruction Trust, named after Mr. Devadhar, in appreciation of his services in organising relief after the rebellion. The Madras Branch has also taken over the management of the Mangalore Depressed Classes Mission started by Mr. K. Ranga Rao more than 25 years ago. The Mission maintains several day and night schools and a boarding house, and provides free mid-day meals to the students and training in carpentry, weaving and other minor industries. It has also

settled some families on agricultural lands.

The organisation of relief in times of famine, epidemics and other calamities has always been recognised as an important public duty by the Society. In 1918-19 when there was an unprecedented scarcity of food grains several members took part in relief work, through local organisations, in Bombay City and Presidency and also in Madras City. The U. P. members organised famine relief in Garhwal district in 1918, Messrs. Thakkar and Sahu in the district of Puri in 1920 and Mr. Suryanarayana Rao in the districts of Bellary and Anantapur in 1920 and 1921. Mr. Sahu organised cyclone relief in Beagal in 1919. During the influenza epidemic all Branches took part in organising relief through institutions with which they were connected. The most important item of relief during the period, however, was the Malabar Relief in 1921-22, extending over several months and occupying the undivided attention of several members.

As special efforts in the field of education must be mentioned Mr. Devadhar's work for the Seva Sadan Society of Poona and its branches, and the Boy Scouts organization in the U. P. to which Mr. Sri Ram Bajpai has been giving most of his time.

Journals—For general propaganda, the Society is conducting at considerable financial loss, the *Dnyan Prakash*, a daily paper in Marathi, and the *Servant of India* and the *Hitawada*, which are weekly journals in English published from Poona and Nagpur respectively. During the period under report these papers were being looked after by Messrs. K. G. Limaye, S. G. Vaze and N. A. Dravid, respectively. Mr. Kaul conducted in 1917-19 a bi-weekly Urdu paper at Lucknow and from 1920 onwards a monthly magazine in Urdu. The Society has besides published several pamphlets on political subjects of importance, the majority of them having been written by its members.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, MAY 22.

INDIAN DEPUTATIONS.

MR. SASTRI, Mrs. Besant, and others have seen the Secretary of State and discussed the situation at length with him. I hear that Lord Olivier is not ignorant of Lalaji's views as well, though the latter, for obvious reasons, has not been to the India Office. Mrs. Besant is seeing the Prime Minister to-morrow.

Mr. Sastri, Mrs. Besant and Munshi Iswar Saran addressed a crowded meeting at Bradford on Sunday last, Mr. H. C. Charleton, one of the Leeds M.P.'s, presiding over a very friendly and sympathetic audience. Mr. Sastri, who explained that he was a representative of the Liberal Federation of India as well as of the National Convention, said that all parties in India were united in demanding Dominion status. The new Legislatures under the Act of 1919 had done remarkably well.

Sir Frederick Whyte, the President of the Assembly, had borne emphatic testimony to the Indian capacity for parliamentary institutions. The official part of the Assembly joined the non-official part in 1921 in asking for a revision of the constitution before 1929 and it was surprising that people should now ask why, if India was prosperous and well-governed, she should clamour for self-government. The question should rather be, Why not? Self-government was the natural and proper thing. It was too late to start fundamental objections and difficulties. They were there in 1917 when the famous declaration was made pledging the Parliament of Great Britain to the grant of responsible government to India. Diversity of racial types, languages, and religions did not come into existence during the last year or two. Government must combat the difficulties along with the chosen representatives of the people. Their long and honourable history, their literature, philosophy and art were sufficient refutation of the theory of natural unfitness. The suggestion of unfitness was galling to the pride of eager Indian patriots. These were making up their minds that if, forgetful of her pledges and disregarding the lessons of history, England desired to have trouble, she should have it with a vengeance. Was it not a tragedy that trouble should be necessary as a proof of India's earnestness? It was in keeping with the growth of English freedom. It was a history of constant struggle, of refusal of supplies, of rebellion and bloodshed. It was against the traditions and contrary to the peaceful and gentle character of the Indian people. But they were apt pupils and stern necessity was schooling them to the violent methods of western political agitation. The recent proceedings of the Assembly in rejecting the Finance Bill of the Government was but the beginning, and but a mild beginning at that. Why did English politicians and statesmen profess surprise and even resentment at it? What else could people do whose hearts had been made sick with hope deferred? To secure their unstinted support during the war, England made big promises, but when the time came for payment, she was seeking pretexts for getting out of them. Let her dismiss idle fears. Trust begot trust in the East as well as in the West. Faith and generous treatment would be rewarded a thousand fold in India. It was safe to give her Home Rule. And it was becoming unsafe to withhold it any longer from her. To go back upon the Government of India Act would be an act of political apostasy.

Munshi Iswar Saran said that to a lawyer the theory of trusteeship was utterly untenable. Who created the trust? For how long was this trust created? What was the object of the trust? Questions such as these could not be satisfactorily answered. If they could conquer or occupy a country, the fact of conquest did not constitute them trustees for the people of that country. There were certainly Hindu-Mussalman differences, as well as between Brahmans and non-Brahmans in certain parts of the

country. The position of the depressed classes was certainly not satisfactory. These difficulties were greatly magnified and exaggerated here. What country was there which had not its own social problems to solve? People here had no idea of the efforts that were being made in India to put these things right. Why did they not hear of these Hindu-Mussalman troubles in the Indian States? "Leave us to solve our own problems," he exclaimed. "We shall not take long to solve them." If a riot took place in one part of India people here seemed to imagine that the whole country was in a disturbed state, forgetting that at the same time millions of people of all sects and communities were living in peace and friendship with each other. India was seething with discontent and matters might easily become dangerous unless something were speedily done to ease the situation. India was not asking for generosity, but simply for justice. They had been called primitive and uncivilised, but he could not forbear to say that when the ancestors of his present audience were living in primitive and uncivilised conditions, his own ancestors had already developed a civilisation that still evoked the wonder and admiration of the world. It was in the interests of both countries that they should remain together in the same commonwealth, bound by ties of good-will, friendship and equality, not as masters and servants, rulers and ruled, but as equals and partners.

Mrs. Besant dwelt upon the slow impoverishment of India during British rule, with a view first to the exploitation of India and secondly in order to protect British industry from Indian competition. She emphasised the extreme poverty of the country and said the proverbial Indian patience was wearing thin. The second-hand constitutional clothes that we had made here did not fit the Indian people, who claimed the right that had been exercised by all the Dominions, that of framing their own constitution.

O'DWYER-NAIR CASE.

The O'Dwyer-Nair libel suit is still dragging its weary length along, and I learn that it may be expected to continue for another ten days or so, since the Defendant's case opened only yesterday. The presiding judge's attitude has aroused much adverse comment, to which, of course, public expression cannot be given owing to the law of contempt. I was informed yesterday by a well-known journalist that he would have been quite willing to risk an action for contempt, had his editorial board been willing to support him, as he felt certain that many people, not necessarily committed to Sir Sankaran Nair's point of view, would have welcomed what they would have regarded as a proper protest against judicial unfairness. Sir Walter Schwabe opened his address for the defence yesterday afternoon, and strongly criticised the plaintiff's attempt to shift all responsibility for excesses and maladministration upon the shoulders of his official subordinates or

the military. He had dragooned the Punjab in 1919. He would brook no interference whether from above or below. Accuracy of thought and memory were not his strong points. For the first time it had appeared during the hearing of the case that he approved of General Dyer's firing on the Amritsar crowd after the matter had been fully discussed by him with General Baynon. For the first time it appeared that aeroplanes which were sent to bomb Gujaranyala after the military had obtained command of the town were sent by his directions. The defendant, whose distinguished career he described, had been anxious to see the success of the constitutional reforms. For this reason he had written the book and had therein thought it necessary to deal with Sir Michael O'Dwyer's maladministration in the Punjab that had led to Mr. Gandhi's campaign. The recruiting in the Punjab was nothing short of terrorism of the worst kind, but if the jury did not take that view, the defendant relied upon the defence of fair comment. He had sifted with the greatest care some hundreds of statements regarding outrages made to him by persons who had come forward. Sir Michael had said that if outrages had occurred he did not know of them, but it was not possible that he should not have known what was going on. Sir Walter Schwabe's address was not concluded at the adjournment of the Court last evening.

KENYA POLITICS.

Sir Robert Coryndon, in opening the new Legislative Council at Nairobi, commented upon the absence of the Indian element for whom provision had been made in the constitution. Instead of showing that their absence was due to refusal to accept a position that would connote, in the eyes of the whole world acceptance, of a second-class citizenship, he had the audacity to suggest that the Indians were not sincere in their allegations of concern for native welfare, since their help on this subject could have been given through participation in the Council proceedings. Sir Robert Coryndon is flagrantly dishonest in his attitude. He knows perfectly well that, in the last council, though on many occasions problems affecting native interests were taken up by the nominated Indian members, they were systematically ignored by the official and European non-official members. He also knows—and there is reason to believe that he would not hesitate to condone such dishonesty—that the white settlers would not scruple to use any such collaboration in the Council proceedings by the Indians as evidence that the latter had acquiesced in the second-class citizenship that had been devised for them, or that, alternatively, the Indian members were merely engaged in stirring up unrest among the native population, for whose best welfare the white settlers, according to Lord Dalamere, are so ardently concerned.

The latest piece of cynical hypocrisy on the part of the Kenya Legislative Council and Admi-

nistration is nauseating to a degree. It appears that the Rev. A. G. Fraser, the principal of Trinity College, Kandy, who has just been appointed to the principalship of a new native College in West Africa, delivered a sermon at Westminster Abbey some time in April. He is reported in the Church newspaper, the *Guardian*, to have referred to "the race prejudice and colour laws which have increased in recent years," and said that "never had the theory of domination and exploitation been more crudely preached." The following is a pungent passage from the sermon:—

"The human greed that roused Lord Shaftesbury was not destroyed by the Factories acts. When Lord Dalamere tells us 'There is not a settler in Kenya who is not there on the understanding that Kenya is advancing along the lines of self-government,' it sounds innocent. But he is talking of a self-government from which Indians shall be practically excluded, and in which Africans can take no share. It is to be government by a ring of employers of labour, a ring already shown by cruel labour laws how little they can be trusted. Britain has given to her Empire a great peace, and usually a system of justice superior to that which held the field before. We have done much good, and I believe much better than any other Empire. But there is also another side to the picture. We have also done much harm."

Naturally, the immaculate white settlers of Kenya are much affronted by this plain speaking. They are so much accustomed to the polite and even effusive compliments of the local tame missionaries of the Dr. Arthur and Bishop of Uganda type that they are entirely at a loss to know how an untame and honest missionary came to give his frank and disinterested testimony to a crowded congregation at Westminster, in the presence of the glorious dead. As a protest against "unfounded slanders and abuse of the pulpit for political purposes" the Kenya Legislative Council (where a missionary sits to "represent the Natives") has, with the full approval of that inestimable Governor of strong anti-Indian proclivities, Sir Robert Coryndon, adjourned. The officials and white non-officials, the newspapers of European inspiration, and the local Y. M. C. A. have united in holding up their hands in horror against Dr. Fraser. Perhaps, instead of adjourning, the Council might have expressed its regard for native interests better had it sat to repeal anti-native labour laws.

INDIAN POSITION IN S. AFRICA.

According to the *Times* correspondent at Johannesburg, General Smuts has been endeavouring to catch votes in the Western Transvaal by excelling even his previous record on the Indian question. Naturally, he had his entire audience with him. He said he had been greatly struck and moved in going through the Western Transvaal at what he saw in the matter of Asiatic trading. They must find some reasonable solution of the difficulty. He thought one course which should be adopted was a complete revision of the licence system, not only as regards Asiatic, but for all persons irrespective of race or colour. This, of course, is mere rhetoric, for General Smuts is well

aware that no revision of the trade licensing system is intended to or will affect non-Asiatics. That revision, he went on to say, must give to local committees power to issue licences for trading and no licences should be issued unless it were through the hands of those committees. Such a law had been passed in Natal last year on the advice of the Government, and he hoped that the Transvaal Provincial Council would pass a similar law. In other words, General Smuts is inciting the anti-Asiatics of the Transvaal to rob Indians of their few remaining licensing rights in the Transvaal by placing the issue of general trading licences entirely in the hands of the Indians' trade competitors, for the committees will be almost entirely under their influence, and the Indians will have no representation on these licensing committees. Nor is it intended that they shall have. General Smuts thinks that there should be special bodies in the towns and the country to deal with licences. The next thing, he said, to do was to provide against the Europeans and the Asiatics living side by side. That difficulty would largely be met by the Class Areas Bill, about which there was so much row. He had adhered to his standpoint on the Asiatic question. One can almost visualise the great General before his audience of ardent anti-Asiatics, and taking advantage of their racial animus and intense prejudice as he remarked, with pride:—"In England at the Imperial Conference I made it clear that my policy was the policy of the people of South Africa and I should be absolutely wrong if I did not stand by that policy." On his return the Class Areas Bill was drawn up. That Bill might have to be strengthened, but it should be passed. By the two measures he had mentioned he believed that in due course the Asiatic problem would be solved. He added, with his tongue in his cheek, that existing rights must be respected; they could only be taken away by paying compensation. They might have to do that too, but he quite realised that the existing position could not go on. "It would kill our towns and paralyse us as a people." So General Smuts takes off the mask. He will despoil and rob the Indian population in as many indirect ways as he can. When they are stifled from want of air, when they are strangled from want of opportunity, the Indians, who have not already been ruined or compelled to flee the country, may be compensated at some nominal figure. That is his reply to Mrs. Naidu's powerful advocacy of her compatriots' cause. General Smuts is perfectly well aware that the Western Transvaal is not being ruined, but that its prosperity is advancing by leaps and bounds. He knows quite well, that in so far as there may be temporary depression it is not in the least due to Indian trading, which, in fact, makes it possible for many whites to keep their heads above water, who would otherwise be driven insolvent into the large towns and thrown upon the streets. If he wants to preserve the white population against non-white competi-

tion, sooner or later he must include the natives and the half-castes (the "coloured" people) in his circumscription. And this is the gentleman who poses as the liberator of oppressed peoples before the League of Nations. The great difference between him and his opponents is that they are less insincere anti-Asiatics than he, and are outwardly franker in their hostility.

RIOTS IN BRITISH GUIANA.

It is interesting to learn that the coroner appointed to inquire into the riots resulting fatally to a number of Indians in British Guiana is a member of a legal firm, two other partners of which are appearing before him, the one to represent the police, who fired on the mob, the other to represent the owners of the estate whose labourers were under a grievance and many of whom suffered so severely. One wonders what sort of report this worthy gentleman is expected to produce. It is likely that a question on this peculiar relationship will be asked in Parliament as well as some others on Indians in Fiji. Col. Woodwark asked Mr. Thomas whether news of the riots had been censored and prevented from reaching this country, but was told that this was not so, though not a word was allowed to appear in the papers here until a semi-official "explanation" appeared weeks later in the *Daily Mail*.

LALA LAJPAT RAI IN ENGLAND.

Last Saturday Lala Lajpat Rai attended the Students' Union at Gower Street, and delivered a long and on the whole temperate speech to a large audience, consisting mostly of students, some of whom presented him with a purse of £80 and an address. He drew a distinction between the approach to constitutional questions by Mr. Sastri and his friends and the Swarajists. The former, he said, asked that certain important things should be given them. The latter asked for complete Swaraj, subject to such agreements as might be reached by two equally-treating parties. He would not allow abusive criticisms of Mr. Sastri from one or two youthful members of the audience. He indicated that he was gradually veering away from Mr. Gandhi towards the Swarajists. He briefly described Mr. Gandhi's differences from Messrs. Das and Nehru, and repudiated on Mr. Gandhi's authority the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent's story that Mr. Gandhi was about to recommend co-operation.

Mr. Fenner Brockway, one of the prominent I. L. P. leaders, who recently opposed Mr. Winston Churchill at the Westminster by-election, presided, and said that the Labour Government had missed a great opportunity of reconciling Britain and India. If on taking office Labour had said to India that it could not recognise any inherent right of the British people to rule India, had released all political prisoners, and had invited representatives of the Indian parties to make proposals for the revision of the situation for discussion at a round-table conference, there would have

been an instant response from the Indian people, and the disastrous period of estrangement would have ended. The National Council of the Independent Labour Party has passed the following resolution:—"The National Council of the I. L. P. welcome the statement of the Prime Minister at York on April 19 that the British Government will be prepared to meet elected representatives of the Indian people to discuss the best possibility with them of settling the dispute, and that a conference should be held of representatives of different Indian parties with representatives of the British Government to consider the best government of the Indian people."

INTERVIEW WITH MR. SASTRI.

Mr. Sastri has been interviewed by Reuter, and *inter alia* said:—"In general we plead for the complete autonomy of the Provinces of India and the handing over of the civil departments of the Government of India to Ministers responsible to the Legislature. By civil departments I mean all departments except those in charge of the defence of the country and the political and foreign departments. On this general demand there is no difference of opinion among Indian politicians. With regard to the precise method, of course, there is a difference between those who have already lost faith and those who still have faith in the statesmanship of Great Britain. The former think that Great Britain will not listen unless there is serious trouble of a political character. We still hope that the necessary adjustments will be made before matters get out of hand. The situation is not yet dangerous but is likely to become so unless some decisive step is taken to conciliate a reasonable proportion of India's population." Mr. Lajpat Rai contested several of Mr. Sastri's statements at the Hostel, especially his suggestion, after Kenya, that there were still any responsible leaders in India who retained any faith in British statesmanship. He said that, in view of the position of impotence of the Labour Government, the Swarajists would continue their programme, whilst maintaining a sympathetic attitude towards whatever the Labour party might place before them with a view to realise Swaraj. It is doubtful, however, whether, after thinking over Lalaji's speech his young audience will have derived much consolation from his remarks, which, in some essentials, must have been disappointing to them, and in others indefinite.

MISCELLANEA

LEE COMMISSION REPORT.

U. P. LIBERAL ASSOCIATION'S CONDEMNATION.

A MEETING of the committee of the United Provinces Liberal Association was held on Wednesday, June 4, at the 'Leader' Office with the president, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K. C. S. I., LL. D., in the chair. Besides transacting other business, including the election of some new members of the Association, the committee considered the report of the Lee Commission and adopted the following resolutions:—

POINT OF VIEW WHOLLY WRONG.

1. While reiterating its conviction that the appointment of the Royal Commission on the superior civil services in India by the Secretary of State for India was a most ill-advised step, particularly because the future of the Services in India cannot effectively be dealt with independently of the future of the constitution of India, the committee places on record its deep sense of disappointment with the report of the Commission. While recognising that by the terms of its reference the Commission was precluded from dealing with any issue of a constitutional character, this committee is of opinion that the point of view adopted by the Commission and the basis of the report are wholly wrong.

OBNOXIOUS TO INDIAN OBJECTIVE.

2. In the opinion of this committee the recommendation of the Commission with regard to the preservation of certain proportions between the European and Indian elements of the services for an indefinite period of time are wholly obnoxious to the recognised objective of the Indianisation of the services.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S POWERS.

3. Further, this committee strongly protests against the continuation of the powers of the Secretary of State in relation to the services. In the opinion of this committee the powers now exercised by the Secretary of State should be transferred to the Government in India, acting under the control of the legislature.

PROVINCIALISATION.

4. This committee is also of opinion that the scheme of provincialisation of the services associated with the administration of transferred subjects, while seemingly satisfactory, so far as it goes, cannot be approved inasmuch as the Indian demand is for the transfer of all subjects in the provinces to the control of the legislature, as the Commission's recommendation will create a new motive of opposition to this demand on the part of the services, now reserved, and as the recommendation itself is far too limited and qualified to result in an effective increase of the control of Ministers and legislatures over these services.

NO RECRUITMENT ABROAD.

5. While this committee welcomes the recommendation about the increase of proportions of Indians in the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service, and other services, it feels that the period prescribed for working up to that increase is much too long. In the opinion of this committee it is impossible to work up to any scheme of dominion self-government in India without adopting the principle that the venue of recruitment for all higher services shall be India, the Government having the power to recruit abroad for special appointments on special terms if and when this may be necessary. This committee looks upon the Commission's recommendation on this subject as wholly inconsistent with the Indian point of view.

MEDICAL SERVICE.

6. While the committee approves of the establishment of a civil medical service it is of opinion that the proposals with regard to the constitution of the military medical service by the R.A.M.C.(India), and to the large proportion of civil medical posts to be filled from the latter will amount to a continuation of the present Indian Medical Service in another, and from the Indian point of view, a more objectionable form. In the opinion of this committee there should be two distinct medical services—an Indian military and a provincial civil—the former entirely independent of the British War Office and recruited both in England and in India, and the latter wholly in this country.

THE FINANCIAL RECOMMENDATIONS.

7. While this committee would not object to the removal of such real and legitimate financial grievances as the services may have, it is strongly of opinion that the recommendations of the Commission in this respect are unreasonable in themselves and also impose a much heavier strain on the finances of India than they can, consistently with the need of the country, bear.

COMMITTEE DEPRECATES HURRY.

8. This committee expresses its dissatisfaction with the report in so far as it fails to give any satisfactory reasons for many of its recommendations or to refer to evidence given before them. This committee expresses its anxiety that the evidence should not have been published and urges the Secretary of State to do so without any delay. This committee further desires to enter an emphatic protest against the Secretary of State and the Government of India desiring to give effect to what they consider to be some urgent recommendations without waiting for or in opposition to the expression of opinion by the Indian and the local legislatures, and feels that such action on their part, and the report itself, instead of creating any harmonious relation between the services and public opinion in India, will bring about an alienation between the two.

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