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BOOKS RECEIVED

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE dissolution of Parliament has come as a great surprise. Of course there had been a lot of talk of it, just before Mr. MacDonald resorted to it: but then, that sort of talk has not been lacking at any time during the ten months that Mr. MacDonald has been in office. The occasion came over a trivial, paltry question, as to why prosecution of the Communist Worker's Weekly was first instituted and then dropped. Reading the telegrams, one gets the impression that the Liberal party was girding up its loins for a fight against "Socialism", hoping to work up a crisis over the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, but by no means anxious to push things to extremes over this Campbell case. If the break had to come, it was probably good tactics for Mr. MacDonald to take his stand then and there and dare the Liberals to join the Conservatives in a vote of want of confidence. The Liberal party is in a sorry plight; sorrier even than the plight it has been in all these ten months. Having reduced itself to be the Tory party's auxiliary, why should anybody vote for its candidates? The coming electoral contest is clearly going to be one for or against Labour: but in that case, what progressive voter will give his suffrage to the Liberal? The pity is, that in these circumstances, with three cornered contests eliminated, all the probabilities are that the Conservatives will get back to the House with however small an absolute majority. Labour of course will gain much in strength and the Liberals will be squeezed out altogether: but the odds seem to us all on the Conservatives forming the next Government. Does that mean Nathaniel Curzon back at the Foreign Office? One shudders at the mere thought. And a Winter-

tonian régime once more at the India Office? Perhaps Sir George Lloyd? Only too likely, we are afraid. And then when it is too late, people in this country will probably suddenly realize what staunch friends Indian aspirations have had in Lord Olivier and the Labour Party!

SPEAKING under the auspices of Mr. Jinnah on Unity, the Bombay Presidency Muslim League on Hindu Muslim unity,

Mr. Jinnah emphatically pointed out that real unity could exist only if every individual understood the rights of citizenship, if as in Modern Europe religion became the concern of one's own conscience and the welfare and interests of the State were given the supreme place. The rest of his speech was, however, directly opposed to this excellent principle, for he pleaded, not for the obliteration of communal consciousness but for its accentuation by urging the extension of communal representation to municipalities, local boards and the public services. He also made the amazing statement that the Lucknow Pact was not put in practice. That Pact advisedly limited communal representation to legislative bodies. In the discussions that led to it, it was clearly understood that communal representation was not to be extended to local bodies, the universities and the public services. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report accepted the Pact and it was given effect to in the constitution of the various legislatures. How Mr. Jinnah has been able to ignore so obvious a fact passes our comprehension. One can understand bigoted communalists wanting the extension of separate representation into every conceivable field, but not an enlightened leader like Mr. Jinnah who places the interests of the State supreme. Mr. Jinnah rightly emphasised the importance of education, general and political, for the growth of a sense of citizenship. But it is not communal consciousness and the subordination of general to communal interests, which necessarily result from the extension of communal representation, that will give the political education needed for the growth of citizenship. This aspect of the question is dealt with at greater length in our leading article.

Mysore Finances. THREE years ago Mysore was involved in a serious financial depression, the State budget showing a deficit of Rs. 21

lakhs. One is glad to know, from Mr. Bannerji's interesting address to the Representative Assembly, that she has now quite got out of that depression and is able to balance her budget in spite of unforeseen expenditure due to loss on Iron Works, increase in the Civil List, and relief of distress and repair of damages caused by the recent floods. The difficulties of three years ago were due partly to high prices, over which the people of Mysore could have no control, and partly to unwise expenditure on economic schemes by Sirdar Kantaraj Urs. The schemes were initiated by Sir M. Visvesvaraya in a prosperous period and he also knew how to husband the finances. But his successor lacked his ability and foresight and blamed the originator of the schemes for his own fault. The net result, however, was the enforcement of strict economy in the administration and change of management in the Bhadravati Iron Works. It was largely for the latter that Sir M. Visvesvaraya had been blamed. He therefore came forward very patriotically to set right its affairs and share the responsibility for making it a financial success. He has not only introduced great economies but has changed the entire outlook from that of utter despondency to one of great hopefulness. It is still working at a loss it is true, but that is on account of the abnormally low price of pig iron and not due to insufficient output or any inherent defect in the scheme. The State is now financially quite out of the wood.

* * *

Separation Scheme. ONE of the important financial reforms introduced in this connection is the separation of the general finance from the finances of productive works. In this respect Mysore has gone much further than British India. The latter has introduced separate finance only in respect of railways; but Mysore has done so in respect of all productive works, which together are treated as one account. The railways in British India are required to pay a share of their surplus profit into the general exchequer, but in Mysore the productive works make no such contribution, the entire surplus being intended for increasing the efficiency of existing works and for financing new productive works. One may well ask whether the Mysore arrangement is as fair to the taxpayer as the other, since in the past when railways and other productive works operated at a loss it was the general taxpayer who made good the loss. Though open to this criticism, there is, however, much to be said in favour of the complete separation of finances in Mysore in the present circumstances. There are many economic schemes awaiting initiation and development—for laying railways, exploiting minerals, developing the Malnad, increasing irrigation and generating electricity—one of them being the harnessing of the famous Gersoppa Falls. These schemes cannot be remunerative for a number of years, during which period they would have little chance of being pushed on vigorously if they had to

depend on the convenience of the general finances. After all the population stands much more to gain by the development of industries and other economic projects than a slight reduction in taxation, which in Mysore, unlike most Indian States, is less heavy than in British India. Moreover, the general taxpayer is soon to get some relief from another quarter. The Government of India have now accepted the principle that the military expenditure of an Indian State and the subsidy paid by it should not together exceed 15 per cent. of its general revenue. Mysore has long been paying the heaviest tribute of all States. If the new principle is applied to it as no doubt it will be, it will be entitled to a reduction of Rs. 13 lakhs in its tribute.

* * *

Future of States. MR. BANNERJI also touched on the difficult question of the future position of Indian States. Their interests were vitally affected by the actions and policy of British India. Several States made an indirect contribution to Indian revenues by means of the salt tax and customs. When tariff walls were raised to protect British Indian industries, it was necessary to examine how the interests of Indian States, whether as consumers or producers, would be affected. He said further:

"The outlook is changing rapidly in British India and if the position of Indian States remains as it is, it is no exaggeration to say that their interests will be seriously prejudiced. We have to constantly urge for the introduction of such measures in any new scheme of constitutional changes that may be brought into existence sooner or later as would give a right place to Indian States from which they can exercise their voice in respect of all matters vital to their interests and future progress. This problem is being seriously studied and suitable proposals are being formulated to ensure that Mysore secures her rightful place in the councils of the British Indian Empire."

One would certainly like to see those proposals, for the question is by no means easy of solution. There are in particular, two great difficulties in the way of any scheme of representation of Indian States. One of them is that the bigger States like Hyderabad, Mysore and Baroda are unwilling to be members of the same chamber as the small States which have only a few villages for their territory. The second is the disparity between the advanced and the backward States: the former would put forward the interests of the people and the latter that of the rulers. The real solution, we should think, lies in the goal of Indian States' administration becoming responsible government like the goal of British Indian administration, and the rulers occupying the position of constitutional sovereigns. If that goal is acknowledged and steps taken for its realisation, then there will be no conflict of interests either between the States themselves or between the States on the one hand and British India on the other. The British Government which has accepted as its mission in India the political unification of the country and the training of its people in self-government, cannot do

better than exert its moral influence on the States to move them towards responsible government.

* * * * *
FROM the Jail Reports of provinces
Corporal Punish- which have now been coming in
ments. we cull the following statistics of
corporal punishments in jails :-

Province	1921	1923	Average male population
Madras	5	1	21,923
United Provinces	40	23	24,204
Punjab	54	49	15,344
Burma	81	84	16,149
Bombay	36	98	9,419

Corporal punishments being awarded only to male prisoners, it is only the male population of jails that we have to consider. And Bombay stands out in sinister prominence in this respect as having by far the smallest number of prisoners and by far the largest number of corporal punishments. The high figure reached last year, viz. 98 is no doubt due to Mulshi-Peta agitation, but to say this is not satisfactorily to explain or justify the enormous increase. Other provinces have not been without their share of non-co-operation or satyagraha activities, but in no other province was whipping resorted to so light-heartedly and without the compelling circumstances as in Bombay. The number of corporal punishments inflicted even in normal conditions does not compare favourably with the corresponding number in other provinces. In the United Provinces where the average male population in jails is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times that of Bombay Presidency, the number of corporal punishments is nearly the same and was brought down last year 42%. The Bombay Government ought to give an explanation of these unaccountably high figures. Madras stands at the other end, with only 5 corporal punishments in year before last and only 1 last year. This latter figure is, as the Report rightly says, a record figure, never reached before. The Bombay Presidency must emulate the fine example of her "benighted" sister.

* * * * *
In this connection it would be useful to compare the figures in England.

England. The prison population there in 1921 was 8,500 (this figure itself is rapidly decreasing year by year) and the number of inflictions of corporal punishment in Local Prisons was only 1 and none at all in Convict Prisons. It is of course well known that in England the permission of the Home Secretary has to be obtained before even visiting committees can sentence prisoners to corporal punishment. At first the visiting committees complained that this made their task difficult, but the Prison Commissioners, "after careful examination" were not satisfied that this allegation could be maintained. They found that there had been "a most notable rise" in the number of the offences for which corporal punishment was still inflicted, "from which it may be inferred," they proceeded, "that corporal punishment is not the only, or even a sure deterrent, against the commission of serious offences against discipline." On the contrary the infliction has a demoralising effect upon the whole prison population and is degrading to the officer who performs the duty of flogging, and we must insist that in India too the rule must be enacted that floggings should be administered only on the orders of visiting committees (which must be constituted) and with the express permission of the Home Member.

REFORM OF THE FRANCHISE LAW.

SEVERAL witnesses who appeared before the Reforms Enquiry Committee condemned the present communal electorates as tending away from the formation of an Indian nationality. The Moslem community have taken alarm at the advocacy of this view in influential quarters and began to use it as an additional argument in favour of the extension of the principle to all self-governing institutions, rural and municipal, to universities and school boards of sorts and in favour also of an assignment of a definite proportion in the public services. Other Indian minorities and the British community are naturally inclined to support the Muslim claim. Between these two opposed sets of views, the famous Lucknow compact seems in peril. The Unity Conference that sat recently in Delhi did not tackle the political side of the Hindu-Muslim problem. It is not unlikely, when Mr. Gandhi is strong enough, a future conference will endeavour to adjust the demands of the Muslim community to the paramount claims of the State. In the meantime a suggestion or two need to be placed before the public. They deal with some fundamental considerations involved in citizenship. In making the suggestions it is safe to assume that the present distribution of seats in the Legislative Council will continue, based as it is on the Lucknow pact. It is not meant that the distribution is essentially just and sound. It is assumed here only for the purpose of elucidating the suggestions.

A democratic polity is based on the fundamental postulate that the State commands the bondage, without reserve and without qualification, of all its citizens. The law ought not to sanction or create a loyalty incompatible with or exclusive of loyalty to the State. In so far as particular sections, communities or interests require to be safeguarded, every care should be taken that the paramount interests of the entire community are not ignored. The exclusion of whole sections of the people from the general list of voters removes them from the category of the citizens of the State and if further they are enrolled as voters of minority communities, they become citizens of these communities with interest distinct from, occasionally antagonistic to, those which the citizens under the general register are pledged to protect. In the canvassing of public questions, candidates would take up different attitudes and be swayed by different considerations according as they seek the suffrages of a cosmopolitan constituency or those of a particular section only. A franchise law is therefore radically vicious and inimical to the State if, while it permits of individual citizens voting in communal electorates, it at the same time debars them from voting in mixed electorates.

The present system in India belongs to this sinister variety. An Indian Christian, for instance, in Madras, in an ordinary election to the Legisla-

tive Council, can only vote for an Indian Christian; and his vote will not be sought nor general questions discussed in the general interest with him, by a Hindu or a Mahomedan or a European. The successful Indian Christian candidate will be deemed to be a satisfactory member if he emphasized the separate interests of his community, though he neglects measures for the benefit of the State as a whole, or even opposes them. Our short experience has been sufficient to warn us against the perpetuation of a plan which exalts communal patriotism above Indian patriotism and teaches the elected representatives of the people always to remember that they are Mahomedans, Indian Christians or Europeans even if they utterly forget that they are Indians. It is necessary to remember that the experience of democratic countries condemns a system of franchise like ours and that when it was first introduced into this country, it was defended as a necessary evil to be kept alive only so long as minorities felt that they would not be safe if they merged themselves without distinction in the general population. Instead, however, of this growing reconciliation, a progressive estrangement has taken place. The minority communities feel still that they have to be on their guard against oppressors. What was tolerated at first as a necessary evil has come to be cherished as a valuable possession. In fact, so pronounced is the deterioration that the leaders of certain of these communities openly opposed the expansion of reforms in India as though really citizenship of an India raised to the status of a Dominion were worse than the citizenship of a special community in a politically subordinate India. A corrective is surely needed to this sort of political education which would stereotype the vassalage of India, to allay the imaginary fears of a minority.

Taking the Moslem community for example, they now enjoy what is compendiously called excessive representation in the Councils. Suppose we divide this representation into two parts, one which would be their due according to the numerical proportion of the community and the other which would form the excess. If the part which is due be obtained, as at present, through separate electorates and the excess through the general electorates, by the expedient known as reservation of seats, then the required corrective would be provided to some extent: because in respect of at least a certain number of seats, Hindus and Mahomedans and Indian Christians and Europeans would vote together and the candidates belonging to all communities would canvass on the same terms, appealing to the same interests and seeking to make themselves acceptable to the general community. All voters would thus be citizens of the State, while some would likewise be citizens of their own communities. In the case of citizens having two loyalties, a chance would be afforded of learning to adjust and reconcile the two, where now the larger loyalty languishes for

want of exercise. In 1908 when the Government of India made their proposals to Lord Morley, they recommended that after the general elections were over, and it was known how many Mahomedan candidates had been successful, the balance of the representation due to that community should be obtained subsequently through supplementary elections at which that community alone should vote. Mr. Gokhale lent his support to this idea. At that time the principle of excessive representation had not emerged into clear view. Now that it has become a part of our system, it is perhaps wise, while it lasts, to divide it, as has been suggested into the due and excess. The due to be secured through special and the excess through general electorate. When measures are in question which agitate the Moslem community, their interests would be adequately safeguarded by the members comprising the due; and it is not unlikely that some members comprising the excess would support them. The community would thus lose nothing while the State gains somewhat. The objection that a Mahomedan would vote twice while a Hindu could vote only once, though valid, must be dismissed on the ground that some anomaly or other is unavoidable.

Should this proposal, which seems to us eminently reasonable, be discarded, an alternative will be put forward here as the minimum reform necessary to safeguard the principle, if not the substance, of State citizenship. In every minority community, we are sure there are individuals who would prefer, for franchise purposes, to be Indians first and Moslems or Europeans after. To them it is a penalty to be excluded from the general and relegated to a communal register. It does not matter even if they are exceedingly few. The State cannot be deprived of a single citizen. Our suggestion is that it should be open under the law to a member of a minority community to declare beforehand where he would choose to be enrolled whether in the general or in the communal register. It is only the most advanced and patriotic individuals who would prefer the general register. Their example will in time spread in their community until a considerable body, say, of good Moslems or good Christians, have shown the better way and hastened the time when the abolition of the special electorate may be taken to have come within the range of practical politics. Whether or not this consummation becomes possible, we maintain that it is not right for a State to deprive itself of the homage of any citizen, nor is it just to deny to a high-minded citizen the larger citizenship of the country. We do not know any valid consideration, unless it be the very minor one of administrative convenience, why any citizens should be compulsorily segregated. This reform is small; it is permissive; it carries no potential disaster to minorities; and it seems to us to be essential before our franchise law can claim to be an enlightened piece of democratic legislation.

• OPIUM POLICY.
THE ANSWERER ANSWERED.

I

MR. C. F. ANDREWS in his series "Opium Policy" kindly contributed by him to us and intended as an answer to Mr. P. Kodanda Rao's articles in July and August on the same subject, has asked for further elucidation on several points, mainly in regard to (1) Private Sales, (2) Morphia, (3) Mauritius, (4) League Policy, (5) Domestic Consumption.

1. *Private Sales.*—Mr. Andrews lightly observes that "a very large proportion of the export opium is still privately auctioned", a fact which according to him "accounts for a great deal of the mischief done by opium poisoning in the world at large", mainly, it would appear, because "it is impossible to say where this goes to" (p. 377). Reading this one feels sorely tempted to say to him, what he is so fond of telling Mr. Kodanda Rao: "I have felt certain that if only he had been able to study the whole question further".....(p. 376).

For not only is it not "impossible to say" where the privately sold opium goes to, but we shall proceed to tell him, here and now:

DESTINATION	1920	1921	1922	1923
Kobe	900	150	50	150
Saigon	950	1655	1700	2975
• Macao	531	440	500	240
	2,381	2,845	2,250	3,365
			Total 10,241	

No. of Chests exported both under direct sales agreements and through auctions	10,532	9,770	8,128	8,544
			Total 36,964	

Mr. Andrews seems to be under the impression that, once opium is sold at these Calcutta auctions, the purchaser can do with his property what he likes. This however is entirely contrary to the facts. For the purchaser may not sell any of it inside India at all and, even for export, he requires a certificate from the Government of the country, to which he wishes to export, before the Indian Customs Officers will allow this opium of his to be exported.

Mr. Andrews sees a sinister purpose behind private sales and turns them into an occasion for belabouring the Indian Government: as a matter of fact, the Indian Government is dead against private sales and would discontinue them tomorrow, if only all foreign Governments (especially France!) would fall into line and make their purchases direct from the Indian Government, as is already the case in respect of 2/3rds of all the opium exported from India. Japan has practically stopped taking Indian opium; it is French Indo-China and Portuguese Macao which really account for the continuance of the sales in India to private merchants. All the other Governments of the world are taking the opium required in their respective countries from the Government of India direct. One Government deals with another and

the whole traffic in this case is strictly and ideally nationalized. However, the French, Japanese and Portuguese Governments refuse to indent direct from the Indian Government and insist on leaving the business in the hands of private merchants. In the circumstances it is understandable that the Government of India refuses to supply these foreign merchants and refers the latter to Indian private merchants. Hence the continuance of the public auctions. But of course even in the case of these sales to private persons, the Government of France, Portugal or Japan (as the case may be) must issue certificates, authorizing the importation of each specific consignment to each specific consignee in their countries, before H. M.'s Customs in India will allow the stuff to leave India.

If then a Government is to blame for these "private sales", it surely is not the Government of India. Yet we have never heard either Mr. Andrews nor Miss La Motte nor any other well-meaning enthusiast even to breathe a word against the real "culprit" (if culpability there is), i. e. France. Would any of them indeed be surprised to hear, that it is our own Government, which is actively negotiating with Indo-China and trying to induce its Government to substitute a direct sales agreement for the present private trade?

Lest Mr. Andrews scent another "sinister motive" behind the crescendo of Indian opium imported by French Indo-China between 1920 and 1923, we hasten to add that this increase is merely apparent, the quantity taken by that country fluctuating violently from year to year as will be seen from the following table of exports to Indo-China :

Year	Chests
1913	450
1914	2150
1915	2675
1916	2625
1917	2595
1918	3790
1919	1920
1920	950
1921	1655
1922	1700
1923	2975

Now if it is agreed that there is nothing "sinister" about these private sales, there can naturally be no objection, to conduct them by way of public auctions. It is obviously desirable to keep the price as high as possible and this is better secured by auctions than in any other way. How effective this is, the prices secured testify. What is now done is to announce in September of each year the number of chests that will be put up to auction in the next year. This number is based on the probable requirements of those countries which have not entered into a direct sales agreement with India, the most important of which, as pointed out, is French Indo-China.

2. *Morphia.*—So much for the system of "private" sales. Now what about the use to which

this opium is put, after it has been exported from India?

Mr. Andrews asserts that "the Government of India are extraordinarily reluctant to acknowledge that the British manufacturers and others ever use Indian opium for the manufacture of morphia and heroin" (p. 378), "because the Indian-grown opium only contains 8½% of the poison, while the Persian and Turkish opium contains 12%" (p. 377). We are somewhat disinclined to believe that the Indian Government has committed itself to the sweeping statement that Indian opium is never used for the manufacture of morphia: anyhow, even allowing for a certain amount of hyperbole in style, it is quite evident that Mr. Andrews honestly believes that Indian opium is extensively used for the manufacture of morphia: indeed when he expatiates on the million "addicts" in the United States (p. 377), he obviously leads the reader to believe that the addiction is to Indian opium, or, strictly speaking, to morphia manufactured from Indian opium. Our chief regret, unfortunately, is that Mr. Andrews in these articles of his so rarely is "strictly speaking:" on p. 403, e. g., he gives a harrowing picture of "what opium addiction is like", when as a matter of fact it is morphia, &c. addiction that he means.

Now may we humbly remind Mr. Andrews that India does not export and never has exported a single grain of morphia or heroin or codein; nor of cocaine for the matter of that: simply because there is in the whole of India not a single plant extracting these alkaloids from the raw material. If the nthe plight of a million Americans addicted to these alkaloids is so dreadful, as we doubt not that it is: why, in the name of common-sense, go for the Government of India instead of for that of the United States, which allows under its very nose and jurisdiction the manufacture of these dreadful drugs? But, as in the case of France in our remarks sub (1), we have yet to hear of any reforming enthusiast pillorying the Governments of the United States and Switzerland, for allowing the "unrestricted" manufacture of morphia, &c., &c. Yet it is the Governments of the U. S. A., &c., which allow by import certificate the raw opium to get into their own countries first of all and then allow it to be turned into the form, under which alone it is used amongst the debauched of its citizens. But who ever heard Mr. Andrews declaim against America and Switzerland? No, it is always the Government of India, which is to blame.

But the crowning fallacy in this connection is his assumption that it is Indian Opium which forms—notwithstanding all protestations to the contrary—the main raw material for the manufacture of morphia, &c. Now it so happens that the League of Nations has just published (July 22nd 1924) a summary of information with regard to production and manufacture of opium, &c. (O. D. C. 1), from which we cull the following

statistics regarding the *Importation of Raw Opium*:

Imported by	From	Kg.	Total Kg.	Year
Belgium	France Turkey Greece	5 57 260	322	1923
Denmark	Turkey	122	122	1922
France	Gt. Britain Germany Italy Yugoslavia Greece Turkey India Other Asiatic countries	500 1,100 300 1,000 1,300 5,100 300 200	9,800	1923
Germany	Turkey	59,812	59,882	1921
Great Britain	Turkey Persia India Not specified	61,643 906 1 1,669	64,229	1922
Japan	Turkey Persia India England U. S. A.	40,126 23,235 3,637 7,590 4,292	78,880	1922
Sweden	Turkey	460	460	1923
U. S. A.	France Greece England Turkey	27 11,016 16,809 33,419	61,271	1922

In other words, even if all the opium imported by England from elsewhere than Turkey and Persia was Indian and was re-exported to the U. S. A. and even if all the opium imported by the U. S. A. through France was Indian: the total amount of raw opium imported by the U. S. A. from India would in 1922 have amounted to 1697 Kg. out of a total of 61,271 Kg., i. e. two and three quarter per cent. of the total! What then about the Indian Government and the American morphia addicts? What about the relative relevance of Indian and Near Eastern opium in respect of Western morphia addiction? Does Mr. Andrews still not find it "difficult to understand how bitterly the American people feel towards India which is letting the opium poison loose upon the world?" (p. 403). Or will he not kindly direct 97.2% of this "bitterness" now towards the gentle Levantine?

3. Mauritius.—Mr. Andrews makes a great deal of the exports of Indian opium to this island. The whole of his third article is devoted to "the story about Mauritius Opium" (pp. 389 ff.), as illustrating the immoral commercial policy of both the Governments of India and the British Colonial Governments. After the Hague Conventions of 1912 and 1913 the export of opium from India to Mauritius had increased tenfold in six years and the Government of the island had increased its opium revenue from less than Rs. 20,000 to more than Rs. 4,80,000. Here again the important point is overlooked that the Hague Convention did not come into

general force until 1920. Since then there has been no export to Mauritius whatever. Mauritius appears to have imported in 1916 unusual quantities for stocking purposes against a fancied increase in price. The actual figures are as follows:

1916	125	Chests
1917	30	Chests
1918	47	Chests
1919	—	Chests
1920	35	Chests

the average for the decade 1911-20 amounting to 38.4 chests. "I would ask him therefore to study over again those Mauritius figures very carefully indeed" (p. 378). Quite so; only it is Mr. Andrews we would ask to do so, not Mr. Kodanda Rao.

Mr. Andrews quotes two Ordinances, the one of July 29th, 1913, prohibiting the import of opium altogether, except for medicinal purposes, as from January 1st 1914; and the Amending Ordinance of Dec. 23rd, 1913, deferring the coming into force of the first ordinance, until the issue of a special proclamation. Unfortunately he stops there, hinting at much sinister meaning behind it all, and apparently quite blissfully ignorant that "there was a war on" in most places for five years, a war which not only prevented the ratification of Hague Opium Conventions, but actually tore up not a few other "scraps of paper". Now the Government of Mauritius, so far from allowing itself subserviently to be made a dumping ground for surplus opium which the Indian Government wished to sell surreptitiously, did issue, as soon as "normalcy" was attained, the said proclamation, to wit on May 17th 1920, and under it brought into operation as from June 30th, 1920, Ordinance 10 of 1914. So that as for "the story of Mauritius" the naked facts are (a) that it is of only historical interest; (b) that even its history happens to be terminologically inexact.

INTERFERENCE IN STATES' ADMINISTRATION.

THE withdrawal by the Chief of Sangli of the prohibitory order so thoughtlessly issued by him some time ago, will give intense relief to many minds, for all thinking people in Maharashtra began asking themselves, after the order: If so progressive a ruler—and Shrimant Appasaheb is universally recognised to be such a ruler—could on occasion be so high-handed, what is one to expect of those others who have firmly persuaded themselves that their States are ordained by Providence for the gratification of their personal desires? If agitation of the mildest possible type becomes taboo in Sangli, could it even be thought of elsewhere in the Deccan? When I was myself ruminating the situation caused by the ill-starred order of the Chief, I fell into conversation with one who, though entirely unconnected with the affairs of the Sangli State, knows the ins and outs of many smaller states in Maharashtra. He told me that I was too deeply affected by the order either to pro-

nounce a dispassionate judgment on its merits or to put the blame for it on right shoulders and that the critics who had subjected the Chief to much severe criticism did not make sufficient allowance for the peculiar circumstances in which all States were placed. I reassured him that the criticism was sharp just because Sangli State is counted among advanced States. If the order had emanated from, say, H. E. H. the Nizam, of whom nothing better is expected, its arbitrariness would not have given that shock of surprise and anger which the order of the Chief of Sangli did, and consequently the attack in that case would have been of a more conventional type. The pungency of the criticism directed against this order is therefore, properly speaking, a tribute to the enlightened character of the rule of Sangli in normal conditions.

I am not sure that I succeeded in inducing a sympathetic understanding of my point of view in my auditor, but I urged him at once to set out, for my behoof, the peculiar circumstances, owing to which the rulers of Indian States have, according to him, to do things against which their own conscience revolts and yet are unable to declare openly at whose bidding these obnoxious deeds are being done. His plea in one word was that the British officers did not allow Indian Princes to govern their States in obedience to their best impulses and—he added with a touch of sarcasm—that they were not altogether without a share of good impulses. These officers hardly ever interfered with the rulers if they refused to endow their States with popular assemblies or withdrew such assemblies where they existed, or abridged the liberties of their subjects within the narrowest possible limits, or imposed a crushing burden of taxation and squandered a large proportion of it on their own persons without accounting for the monies thus wrung from the poor, permitted their police to oppress the people and allowed gross abuses to go on in the administration of justice. But if the rulers, on the contrary, desired to take one step in advance of the British, then the representatives of the British Government would come down heavily upon the rulers and make their lives an intolerable burden. If they showed themselves to be more indulgent to popular agitators, they would be written down as disloyal and there would be no more hope for them. If they wished to introduce representative institutions and devolve a little of their power upon the people, again they would earn the frowns of the British officers, and it was not generally known what an awesome meaning the frowns of British officers conveyed to Indian rulers. In these circumstances what could the poor wretches—Indian rulers—do?

Such was, in substance though not in form, the reasoning that was addressed to me. I had never overmuch belief in the plea of Indian rulers being held back from their progressive intentions by British officers of evil design, and I always thought that this was merely a convenient excuse

used by rulers whose own autocratic instincts were strong enough without being backed up by any outside pressure. I know of at least one ruler whose administration was a by-word for erratic and cruel tyranny, who always used the stalking-horse of the British officers to cover his misdeeds. I voiced my utter incredulity in this matter, but there being little hope of any agreement between us on this point, I proceeded to reason with him on the basis of the facts supplied by him. This would mean, I said, that Indian rulers must always be more backward than British rulers. If they are themselves evilly disposed, they would of course go much farther than the British Government could ever do in the suppression of popular liberties and such other matters; but if they have the heart in the right place, if they are keenly desirous of helping forward the progress of the people, even then they must lag behind the British Government in all matters tending to the advancement of their subjects. If the best of Indian rulers must be at least a little more autocratic, at least a little less progressive than the British Government, then what is the use of keeping up the States at all? The British Government itself allows the utmost latitude to popular upheavals in its own territory. The self-restraint it showed in face of the worst phases of the non-co-operation movement was in several instances quite exemplary. If, however, even the more advanced of Indian rulers cannot suffer Mahatma Gandhi to deliver one of his most inoffensive speeches in their States, as is the case, lest their reputation for loyalty should be destroyed, why should the Indian nation cherish Indian Princes so much? Is it not, on the contrary, to their interest to work for the effacement of all Indian States from India's map?

If therefore it is desired by the Indian rulers that the public should credit them with good intentions frustrated by the Satanic Government, they must privately and publicly refuse to obey the behests of the British officials in matters in which they have no legal authority, and be prepared to run all the risks that this may involve. When, e.g., Mahatma Gandhi or Maulana Mahomed Ali goes to an Indian State and wishes to address the public, he must have at least as much freedom to do so therein as in British India. If the ruler of the State in question is pressed to prohibit the meeting by the representative of the British Government, he must summon courage enough to argue: if the British Government itself allows all such agitators to carry on their propaganda without let or hindrance, why should I stop such agitation in my territory? If agitation be bad, let the British Government itself show me the way by shutting it out from its own territory. If it is good, why should it not prosper in an Indian State? The least that an Indian Prince could do in these circumstances is to ask for a written order to put down agitation in his State if such is the desire of the British Government, and not to submit to internal pressure on any account. If he takes up

such a bold attitude, he will have the support of his own subjects and of the entire Indian population in British India as well. Let him fight out his battles with this support. Of course he will come into trouble with the British Government, but all the perils of such a position he must face. After all there will not be many perils. In law he is not a subordinate of the British Government; he is its ally and must be free to govern his State according to his ideas and according to the wishes of his own subjects. Now he has always to act as if he was for ever to be subservient to the Government. This happens because he has not yet secured the goodwill and warm support of his subjects. Assured of this, he can be strong enough to measure swords (metaphorically, of course) with the British Government. But so long as he does not ally himself with his subjects and dare the British Government to do its worst, but only succumbs to private threats, so long his plea that he is himself good, but has to act like a bad ruler because of the evil influence and even coercion of the British Government, will fail to carry conviction. If he is not openly in quarrel with the British Government and is still autocratic, i.e., withholds popular assemblies from the people and retains all manner of repressive laws on the statute book, does not provide educational facilities for his people, makes large revenue out of drink traffic, increases the burden of taxation and makes large inroads on the public treasury for his own personal expenses, puts down all public agitation for the attainment of greater political rights—he will be regarded as adopting this policy out of his own free will and not as driven into it by the wicked British Government. He should then expect no sympathy at the hands of the people.

S. M. C.

REVIEW.

CONDITION OF EDUCATION IN KENYA.

REPORT OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF KENYA FOR 1923. (Nairobi, 1924.) 62 type-script pages, foolscap.

The Report by Mr. J. R. Orr, the Director of Education in Kenya, for the year 1923 does not present any new departures. In fact no substantial changes in the system of education can be expected till time has come to record the action taken by the Administration on the report of the Phelp-Stokes Fund Commission and the report of Mr. Hussey, the Sudanese expert, which reports are now in the hands of the Government. But the old features still persist: almost entire neglect of native education and the step-motherly treatment given to Indian education as compared to European education.

Taking the second point first, we find that the European community is at present depending altogether upon the State for the education of its children.

There were only four private schools before (one of which was a High School and two Kindergartens), and the average number of pupils on roll was not above 20 in either of them, but all these were closed last year, thus throwing the entire white population (which surely is in a better position to fend for itself than any other community) on the hands of the State. In the Government schools for the Europeans there were, in 1923, 428 pupils on the school books; which is not a very high proportion, considering that the total white population of Kenya is 9,000. It is not higher than what obtains among the Indian community, where out of the total 23,000 population 1403 pupils were at school on an average last year. But what is noteworthy in these figures is that, while the State ministers entirely to the education of the whites, it leaves more than half the school-going children of the Indian community to be provided for educationally by private agencies. For of the 1403 pupils only 620 attend Government schools, while all the rest attend private schools. Some of these schools are fairly big, being attended by over a hundred boys—and girls.

Not only does the State exact nothing from the rich European settlers for the education of their children, but equips European schools far more liberally than it does the Indian schools—and they are only two—that it maintains. E. g. in European schools providing education for only 428 pupils a teaching staff of 32 is entertained; while in Indian schools which cater for the education of 620 pupils the staff consist of only 25 teachers. The quality of the teachers also is inferior. Of the 15 teachers employed in the Indian School at Nairobi only seven are trained, and the Headmaster reports, "Most of the teachers are quite capable of teaching Infant, Junior and the first three classes of the Senior section of the school, but not one out of the whole lot can take any subject in the 9th and 10th class, i. e. to prepare the boys for the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University." Again Mr. Maxwell, Adviser on Indian Education, reports, "With only a few pupils in each class, a teacher is usually responsible for *at least* three standards." (Italics ours.) "The European schools however are well-equipped for preparing candidates for the London Matriculation and the Cambridge Local Examinations (12 were presented for the Junior and an equal number for the Preliminary last year.)

The preferential treatment accorded to European schools is, however, best seen from the larger expenditure incurred by the State on their account. On European schools (providing education for fewer than 600 pupils) the total amount expended was shgs. 373,890, while on Indian schools (providing for the education of 1403 pupils) less than half that amount—shgs. 183,526—was expended. To be quite fair, we must mention that the State gets by way of boarding fees a net revenue of shgs. 52,800 from European children and an excess of shgs. 10,688

by way of tuition fees over what is recovered in Indian schools. But this accounts only for some shgs. 64,000. But the real magnitude of the disproportion in the State's contribution to the education of the two communities will appear when it is remembered how greatly in excess the Indian pays in taxes over his European *confrere*.

The injustice from which the Indian community suffers is, however, nothing when compared to the almost complete neglect of native education of which the Kenya Government is guilty. It would appear that altogether 43,311 native children were at school in 1923. If these Arab children are also included. This bears a low enough proportion to the little under three million population, but the education provided is mostly of the most rudimentary character. Even so, what part does the State play in the education of the native? Of the 43,311 children who are receiving education of however primitive a kind, only 1,240, or less than 3%, are in Government schools, the education of all the rest being conducted by mission bodies. The grant to Missions too amounted only to shgs. 197,290 or 18.6% of the total educational expenditure, while the contribution to European education (for 428 children) constituted 35.4%, or nearly double. How big is the native's contribution to the total revenues of the country and how little of it is spent on the native's own betterment is a theme on which much has been written before, and it is not desired to enlarge on it here. It is sufficient to draw the reader's attention to the fact that no signs are visible in the report under review of an attempt being made to alleviate the cruel injustices done to him in ever so small a degree.

There is, however, one point to which it would be well to advert here, and it is the depreciation of literary or intellectual education and the exaltation of vocational education. Of the great usefulness of the latter to the African there can be no two opinions: he requires training and guidance in every kind of handicraft. But literary education has claims which can never be equalled by the claims of technical education. For it enables him not only to earn a livelihood, but to lead his fellow-countrymen into paths of usefulness. An intellectually awakened African will not consent much longer to be the wage-slave of the white he now is, and no wonder the whites pour ridicule and contempt over any plan providing literary education of any other than of the elementary standard. For the technical education of the African, however, the European has much enthusiasm, not only because he is thereby held back from the education that will emancipate him, but also because it will tend to weaken the competition of his own (European's) rival, i. e. of the Indian. A recent article in the *Times* said, "A year ago this desultory public interest was given definite direction by the political situation, particularly the conviction of prominent leaders of the Settlers' Party

that the real solution of the Indian question lies in the ability of the community to squeeze out the Asiatic as an economic factor and replace him by skilled or semi-skilled Africans.... Naturally, therefore, technical education of the African is a favoured method of preparation of the Kikuyu and the Kavirondo, and I am afraid that responsible officers of the Administration have not been able to withstand the influence upon education policy of the political campaign on the subject of eliminating the Asiatic." The effect of the change in this policy was immediately noticeable. "In the 1924 Budget the grants to Missions for literary and technical education have been reduced by 30 per cent., and now stand at about £10,000, while the word 'literary' has been definitely deleted."

The State has adopted this policy in obedience to the behests of the white settlers and the only people that try to withstand it are the Missionaries who "believe that their efforts should be directed to the improvement of the African in his own home in the reserves and not to the preparation of the skilled artisans, in competition with State schools, for the purpose of supplying European employers engaged in a political movement." It remains to be seen if, as a result of the inquiry of the Phelps-Stokes Fund Commission, this policy is altered, but, as indicated in these columns before from the forecasts of some white settlers of the Commission's work, there is not much hope of any radical change being effected. The Indians, for their part, welcome all efforts to improve the productivity of the African, but they cannot shut their eyes to the fact that the African's primary need is for such education as will awaken him to the exploitation to which he is subjected by immigrant communities and will suggest to him the means of procuring his liberation from the bonds of slavery in which he is now held.

S. G. V.

CORRESPONDENCE

UNITED CONGRESS.

THE VIEW OF A LIBERAL.

Below we print extracts from a private letter from a valued friend who belongs to the Liberal party explaining his individual view of what the Liberal party's attitude should be to Mahatma Gandhi's proposals for a United Congress. For the moment the question has receded into the background, but as it may be raised once again and all of us will have to form our own judgment on its merits, our readers will perhaps be interested to have this expression of views. It need hardly be added that the views are personal to the writer and must not be taken as reflecting the considered opinion of the Liberal party as such.

"On the face of it, as seems to me from private consultations, two difficulties will be apprehended in the way of a United Congress once again: (1) the condition about spinning and the wearing of khaddar and (2) the Congress creed. On the second point I do not feel any serious difficulty. The Congress creed differs from ours only in being more elastic. There is nothing in it to which we

can take a positive objection. At worst it admits several people, whom, by our creed, we would exclude. Can we at all make that a ground for keeping away? It must be remembered that our going into the Congress does not necessarily mean a severance of connection with our party organization. If in the Liberal Federation we can carry on our normal political activities on lines entirely approved by us, why should we object to associate, for a few days in the year, (for that is what it will amount to), with men who come in on a wider creed, or a creed which is less precise than our own? We are ourselves now dangerously near the line where Swaraj outside the Empire is not only a theoretical ideal, but practical politics. Not very long ago, we said openly that if equality was denied us we would go out of the Empire. Is it then for us to refuse to join a Congress that has adopted a creed which contemplates, by implication, Self-Government outside the British Empire only as a distant goal and which, whenever an attempt is made to give it the form of independence from Great Britain, receives more strenuous opposition from Mahatma Gandhi than would be offered by the most confirmed Moderates? As for the means to be employed for reaching this goal, constitutional agitation *versus* legitimate and peaceful agitation, the question does not arise because the extra-constitutional agitation of non-co-operation is being abandoned, and it is on that basis that we are discussing Mr. Gandhi's proposals.

"The condition about spinning presents real difficulty. We do not believe either in the spirituality or the economics of the charkha, as Gandhi expounds it. Shall we then lend ourselves to a propaganda in which we have no faith? What I would say is, let us explain our difficulty to Mahatma Gandhi and do our best to persuade him to drop, or at least to relax, this condition. A similar attempt is likely to be made by the Swarajists also. By the Independents in the Legislative Assembly most certainly. If we present to him the ethical aspect of the matter, that it would mean a coercion of our judgment, the argument will appeal to him.

"We must bring to his notice the fact writ large on the face of our contemporary politics that the utter collapse of non-co-operation that is so patent now-a-days is due not to the sudden waning of people's faith in that movement but to the make-believe in which most of the prominent leaders indulged from the very first. They never inwardly believed in it though outwardly they swore by it. When therefore they are now found recanting their former publicly expressed opinions it must not be supposed that circumstances have effected a change in their views. They have never been in two minds on this question. Now and ever before they have regarded non-co-operation not only as chimerical but as mischievous, and seeing that they were destined to fail if they made an attempt to counter the movement, they professed to follow it, at the same time mentally registering a vow that when the movement became less popular, as it was bound to do in course of time, they would be its most strenuous opponents. This policy has led to what was aptly described in the SERVANT OF INDIA as widespread moral atrophy.

"Mahatma Gandhi must be warned in solemn tones against repeating the same mistake. If the Swarajists again find the proposals for unity too popular with the masses to be resisted with safety, they will agree to the condition about spinning, though never for one moment seriously intending to carry it out. Gandhiji will then perhaps have the momentary satisfaction that his creed of Khaddar has made a wide appeal in the country, but this satisfaction is sure to be followed by a much more cruel disappointment than he has now sustained, and we must try and save him from it. There is no one who pays a more tender regard for the individual convictions of other people than Mahatma Gandhi, and if he knows that there is throughout the country (despite appearances) keen mistrust and active disbelief in his charkha, I feel almost certain that he will not insist upon daily half-an-hour's spinning as a condition precedent to Congress membership. If he has given up non-co-operation itself, can he not be induced to give up spinning? In non-co-operation of sorts people had at least a

glimmering of faith: at all events they loved to trifl with it; but you can never whip up even a faint interest in spinning in the masses.

"Personally therefore I feel that there will not be much difficulty in replacing this condition about spinning by one like the encouragement to swadeshi in its broad sense, as was suggested in some quarters. Though this is my opinion I strongly deprecate using harsh words of such of our leaders like Dr. Besant as have agreed to the condition of spinning. After all we must admit that by agreeing to spin, they are certainly not acting against their conscience. At worst, they are, for the sake of restoring unity in the Congress, agreeing to do a thing about the utility of which they are not wholly convinced. Spinning is not positively injurious as non-co-operation was, and therefore it must not be supposed that by giving her consent to join, Mrs. Besant, e. g., has exposed herself to the charge which the Swarajists incurred, viz. that of hypocrisy. She does not profess to be convinced by Gandhi's claims about spinning. Her own view of the charka she has not concealed. But she sets so much store by unity that she is prepared to employ a part of her time in work that is not the most useful. There is nothing in this which is morally objectionable. Besides, it must be remembered that the acceptance of this condition by her is contingent upon there being unity in the Congress in the event of the fulfilment of the conditions by her and her followers, i. e., contingent upon all others accepting the condition and going in."

HOUSING OF UNTOUCHABLES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR.—I have read with great interest, tempered with feelings of pain and grief, the discussion that took place in the Bombay Municipal Corporation last Monday over Mr. Kanji's motion on the subject of ejection of some relatives of Halalkhors and Bhangis residing in Municipal chawls at Val-pakhady, Mazgaon. I am glad in a way that the Commissioner took the drastic step, presumably at the instance of his Health Department subordinates, of turning out bag and baggage on the street some of the relatives of Bhangi employees, including the husband in one case, as admitted by the Commissioner himself, for that will force public attention on the serious disabilities that untouchable castes of Dheds, Bhangis and Mahars are placed under in the matter of housing in Bombay. It is a patent fact that even the cultured men of these castes find insuperable difficulty in getting rooms to live in either for love or money, even on payment of full economic rent, unless they manage to pass off as men of some touchable caste. I know of cases where even high officers of a public body like the Improvement Trust have refused rooms to very decent men of the Dhed caste, merely because of their caste. I know of a rich Hindu landlord of Bombay being requested by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi to erect a chawl, at least to let out vacant land for erecting huts, for the exclusive use of these brethren, but without any result. Nay more, I know of cases in which people of Dhed caste driven from their villages by scarcity and poverty to the City of Bombay, are compelled against their will to accept the work of Halalkhors, though their own and their ancestral occupation was that of the weaver, merely to get a few square feet of covered space—mind you, it is no home,—for himself and his family to stretch their limbs, in Municipal Bhangi chawls. For no other landlord, whether he be a Hindu, Parsi or Moslem, would dare let out a room to a Dhed teacher or labourer for any consideration. Even the Improvement Trust has to let out a whole chawl—never a room or rooms in a chawl—to a Mahar or a Dhed, much less to a Bhangi though the latter may not be doing the work of actual removal of nightsoil. Such is the public prejudice that keeps the whole caste numbering thousands ever degraded, and often homeless and at the mercy of the Municipal Commissioner.

But I must not let this opportunity pass of mentioning one more result of this untouchability on the morale of some of our Health Department subordinates. Now it is well known

that the Municipality has not been able to build its own chawls for housing all its employees of the conservancy department, I mean sweepers and Halalkhors, even at this date. So there is constantly a dearth of living rooms for them. As soon as a new Municipal chawl is built and ready for occupation, of course on payment of the rent charged by the Municipality, the right of occupation is regularly sold by the Inspector in charge for a sum varying from fifty to hundred rupees a room, and thus the Inspector, and with him some others make a little fortune every time a new chawl is occupied. This sale does not take place by a public auction, but clandestinely through Bhangi Mukadam, the usual agent of the Inspector and others. Malpractices of this kind of squeezing money from poor sweepers and Halalkhors of Bombay by the Inspectorial staff are many and varied, but as they are not relevant to the subject in hand, I rest content with merely alluding to them.

In the matter of housing members of the untouchable castes, it is not only the Hindu landlords who are to blame but Parsi and Moslem also. All are agreed in tabooing such tenants, lest their pockets should be affected. Government and philanthropists may start special schools for their children or may erect special public taps or construct wells for their benefit, but will nobody in Bombay undertake to build special chawls for them in suitable localities? Will not these rich men who endow their thousands and lakhs in building temples, dharamshals and sanatoriums direct their kind attention to the housing of these unfortunate brethren, from whom we take the meanest and most necessary service? Surely, Bombay is not yet barren of such business-men who will invest their money in such a humane cause and for the help of the down-trodden.—Yours, etc.

A. V. THAKKAR.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

C. O. P. E. C. COMMISSION REPORT. (LONGMANS, GREEN & Co.) vols. 12. 1924. 6 x 4. £1 10s.

SĀDHU SUNDAR SINGH, EIN APOSTEL DES OSTENS UND WESTENS. By FRIEDRICH HEILER. 2nd Ed. Munchen. 1924. 8 x 5½ pp. 238. 5 mark.

ECONOMICS OF SHIPPING. By S. N. HAJI. With a Foreword of Sir D. E. Wacha. 1924. 10 x 6½. pp. 425. Rs. 15 or £1 1s.

A WOMAN ALONE IN KENYA, UGANDA AND THE BELGIAN CONGO. By ETTA CLOSE, F.R.G.S. (Constable & Co.) 1924. 7½ x 5. pp. 288. 8s. 6d.

LAND REFORM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. By L. E. TEXTOR. (George Allen & Unwin.) 1924. 7 x 5. pp. 157. 5s.

THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION IN ROUMANIA. By I. L. EVANS. (Cambridge University Press.) 1924. 10 x 8. pp. 197. 12s. 6d.

A PASSAGE TO INDIA. By E. M. FORSTER. (Edward Arnold & Co.) 1924. 7½ x 5. pp. 325.

AN "ALL-IN" NATIONAL INSURANCE SCHEME. By T. T. BROAD. Fourth Edition. (Henley & Sons, London) 1924. 7 x 5. pp. 40. 6d.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY OF VALUE. By G. R. DIBBLEE. (Constable & Co.) 1924. 9 x 5½. pp. 301. 12s. 6d.

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