

# THE Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

Office: BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY

VOL. IX, No. 16. }

POONA—THURSDAY, MAY 20, 1926.

INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6  
FOREIGN 10

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..	197
ARTICLES:—	
The Rising Tide of Communalism ... ..	199
An Appeal to Lord Irwin. By Dr. H. C. E. Zacharias	201
Labour and Employment in Mauritius. By J. B. Sen ... ..	202
REVIEWS:—	
The International Court of Justice. By Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I. ... ..	204
The Chaitanya Movement. By Prof. K. H. Kelkar, M.A. ... ..	206
Short Notice ... ..	207
MISCELLANEA:—	
Mr. Sastri on Congress Unity ... ..	207
BOOKS RECEIVED ... ..	207

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WE are extremely glad that the "General Strike" in Great Britain has been called off, and particularly so, because it has been called off by the good sense of the Labour leaders themselves. The strike of course never was "general" in the strict sense of comprising the bulk of the population. If really a strike anywhere is "general", it necessarily must succeed, because if, say, 90% of any population are bent on having their way, they are bound to have it. That of course is the fundamental fact on which democracy is based: and a "general" strike in a democracy, like Britain, is therefore superfluous. If the British voters at the last elections had returned an overwhelming majority of Socialist representatives, Socialism today would presumably have to be tried. The fact is that at the last elections the bulk of the people voted anti-Socialist: the general strike therefore was meant by "direct action" to override the will of the majority. That is why it was undemocratic and why we are unable to approve of it. We do not say, that direct action is always wrong: on the contrary, where the popular demands have no constitutional organ, nothing else but recourse to direct action is possible to express the will of the governed against the governors who would govern against the will of the governed. But in Great Britain the will of the governed is regularly being ascertained by the parliamentary vote: the general strike therefore really aimed at establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat. But the British have no stomach for dictatorships; and with characteristic

grit the majority of the people stood up to the striking minority and dared them to do their worst. And, their bluff being called, the labour leaders saw that continuation of the strike could only mean civil war and general anarchy: and seeing it, they called off their followers before the latter got altogether out of hand. A truly great and statesmanlike decision to take—and one that will forever be to the credit of British Labour and its leaders.

\* \* \*

MEANWHILE the lock-out in the collieries continues; but the general strike certainly has achieved this one result, if no other, of bringing it home to all that the reorganization of the British coal industry brooks no delay. It certainly has now enabled Mr. Baldwin to pledge his Government to the immediate enactment of a number of legislative measures, which will go a long way towards "socializing" the coal industry; notably bills for the amalgamation of mines, the establishment of a selling syndicate, a national wagon committee and a national Fuel and Power Council. As the Labour spokesmen pointed out last February, only by turning coal at the pithead into electricity, oil, coke, briquettes and chemicals can the use of coal remain remunerative: hence the importance of Mr. Baldwin's approval of a national Fuel and Power Council. To levy a special tax on the royalties and to earmark it for pit-head baths is a sensible first instalment of nationalizing the royalties themselves; whilst the bill to restrict recruitment for mines and for assisting displaced miners recognizes the fact alluded to by us last week, viz. that there are too many miners in Britain today. A minimum wage of 45s. a national Wages Board, profit-sharing, family endowment, housing improvements and a scheme of pit committees will have to reconcile the miners to a reduction in wages at the top; whilst the owners are promised a further £ 3,000,000 subsidy. On the whole, the proposals seem as good, if not better, than could be expected from a Conservative Government and if Mr. Baldwin's Tory-Democrat wing can under the duress of the General Strike wring at least consent to such advance out of their party, it is not only Mr. Baldwin, but all friends of Britain who will be able to congratulate themselves on the amount of good in the way of industrial reconstruction which has come out of the evil of the General Strike.

\* \* \*

THE passing of the Colour Bar Bill by a joint session of both Houses of the South African Legislature is a proof that behind all the nice faces (*pace* Mr. Andrews) of General Hertzog and friends, there remains the set purpose of their policy, which is, as it has been and as it will be, that of a white ascendancy over a population of non-White helots. As Mr. Gandhi pointed out in a press interview, this Colour Bar Bill is theoretically far worse than the Asiatic Bill which stands now adjourned to a Round Table Conference: and the accommodating spirit which showed itself in the Hertzog Government agreeing to the latter should therefore no longer deceive anybody that if White South Africa has consented to be *suaviter in modo* towards us, it intends to be none the less *fortiter in re*. We say, White South Africa intentionally, for the opposition of General Smuts is entirely a party manoeuvre. As we have said before, no White Government in South Africa, whether General Hertzog's or General Smuts', but is pledged to the policy of white domination and to the artificial bolstering up of the "Western Standard of life": if General Smuts today "puts up such a strong fight against it", it is because he is in the opposition today; for yesterday when he was in office he practically made the same proposals. The whole Bill is wrong in principle and we cannot be silent spectators of a terrible outrage on humanity without recording our emphatic protest against it. It is but small consolation to us in India even if we are assured that the provisions will not be applied to Indians, or that if applied, will affect but a handful of them.

THE Muddiman Committee recommended that Progress indeed! women should be allowed to sit in the Central and Provincial Legislatures provided the Legislatures concerned passed resolutions approving of such a step. The Government have by a recent Notification given effect to this recommendation. We are duly thankful. But even the unsatisfactory Majority Report of the same Committee recommended that the Depressed Classes and Factory Labour should also be given representation in the provincial councils, if possible by election. The Government are still sitting tight on this recommendation. Can it be because the first reform will not in practice mean any tangible progress that they sanctioned it, and refused to sanction the latter because it would be a real and immediate advance?

The same Muddiman Committee recommended the transfer to the control of popular Ministers of the departments of Excise and Fisheries in Assam, where alone they have hitherto been Reserved subjects. Government have given effect to it. And again we are duly grateful. But here too we are unable to enthuse over the progress, for if we should go by the progress of excise reform in other provinces where the subject was under the control of Ministers these six years, the change may not mean much. Witness the case of Madras. The provincial legislature, the public bodies, the social and other conferences and particularly the Non-Brahman and the Depressed Classes Leaders' Conferences have advocated prohibition. And yet the Madras Government, in the Department of Local Self-Government presided over by the Leader of the Non-Brahman Party in Madras issued a G. O. as late as the 23rd August last that "The Government consider that the Public Health Staff should not carry on anti-drink propaganda." Even propaganda against the evils of drink, and by a staff that is specially meant to conserve public health, is taboo! No

wonder Government consider it "safe" to transfer even excise to Ministers in Assam. The Muddiman Committee also recommended that the stringency of control over provincial legislation by the Government of India should be relaxed. And the Montford Report had said that the Government of India need not interfere unless the local Government and the local legislature differed on any matter, and the Joint Select Committee advocated that land revenue assessment should be brought under legislative control. When, however, the Madras Government sent up to the Government of India for their previous sanction a bill to bring under the control of the Madras Legislative Council the land revenue assessment and its variation in the Province, the Central Government have withheld their approval. The Government of India are progressive where the progress is unsubstantial, and awfully reactionary where the progress is likely to be substantial and immediately realisable.

ON the eve of the last presidential election of the Bombay Municipal Corporation the Hon. Mr. Jadhav, Minister of Education in Bombay, wrote to some of his friends on the body bespeaking their support to the candidature of a friend of his for the honour. The matter was recently raised by Mr. Dumasia in the Corporation which has, by a large majority, carried what amounts to a vote of censure upon the Minister. It draws the Government's attention to Mr. Jadhav's letter in question and requests them to take suitable action with a view to prevent the recurrence of such interference by their Ministers in future. We wish the motion had specifically stated how Mr. Jadhav was to be dealt with for his attempt to influence the result of the presidential election. We do not agree with those who so far forgot themselves, in the heat of the moment, as to style a Minister as an official; for a Minister is no more an official than any elected member of the legislature—a point made clear beyond doubt by section 80 B of the Government of India Act itself. Mr. Jadhav's regime may have been, and is universally regarded as, very disappointing; but that is no reason why he should be dubbed an official. There is of course no doubt that in writing to his friends in the manner he did, the Minister clearly identified himself with a particular party in the Corporation. In our opinion, this is very objectionable in the case of a Minister. In his dealings with the Corporation he has in a way to be above party. Besides, Mr. Jadhav should have realised that the Corporation is different from the Council, where the Minister is supposed to lead his party and is within his rights in strengthening it. If on the present occasion he wrote to Government nominees and Government servants on the Corporation, his action constitutes serious and undue interference with their discretion and cannot be too strongly condemned. If he wrote to elected non-officials, it would be less blameworthy, though decency, if nothing else, should have dictated complete silence on his part. Some of his friends in the Corporation tried to attribute all the fuss on the subject to Brahman-non-Brahman feeling. We think the charge is too ridiculous to be taken seriously. The mover of the motion was not a Brahman, but a Parsi, and according to the late Home Member to the Bombay Government, Sir Maurice Hayward, a non-Brahman, and being in the Assembly, no competitor for Mr. Jadhav's post. We are sure to hear of this matter again during the next legislative session. In the meanwhile, the public will await with interest the Government's reply to the Corporation's resolution.

## THE RISING TIDE OF COMMUNALISM.

IT is nothing short of tragedy that some of the best Nationalists in India should be discussing whether or not to accept political offices and such power as the present constitution places in popular hands, when the very foundations of nationalism are being threatened, as they were never before, by the rising tide of communalism and when the communal fanatics have made up their minds to capture the power and exploit it for their own narrow purpose. The urgent problem of to-day is not whether Dyarchy should be accepted or not, but whether all good and true Indians should combine together, and if possible, with Government, press into service every legitimate means and save nationalism from being smothered under an avalanche of communalism.

### THE THREATENING TIDE.

We shall not pause to survey in detail the strides that communalism has made during the last few years; we shall only refer to certain happenings of the last few weeks which serve as a sure index of the communal flood. In Southern India, the Non-Brahman Party had attempted to rope in and retain in its fold the Muslims and the Depressed classes, but both these have of late broken off from the party. The Muslims of Madras are organising themselves into a separate Muslim Party. The depressed classes under Mr. M. C. Raja have demanded separate communal electorates. At the Non-Brahman Conference held a couple of weeks ago in Bombay, while the President and Chairman of the Reception Committee gave an admirable lead in keeping out all anti-Brahman rancour and hostility, there was an influential section of Non-Brahmans from the moffusil who went the length of contemplating an entente with the Muslims in order the more successfully to indulge in their vendetta against the Brahmins. It reflects great credit on the organisers of the Conference that these hot-heads were not allowed to have their way.

But the Brahman and Non-Brahman trouble is as nothing compared with the Hindu Muslim trouble in North India from the Punjab to East Bengal. If Dr. Moonje's address to the Punjab Hindu Conference was deplorable, the speeches at the Khilafat Conference at Delhi were wild beyond measure. Let alone the Ali brothers; even Hakim Ajmal Khan has joined the cry that Islam was in danger and spoke of the "onslaught of Hindu enmity" and so far forgot himself as to threaten that "one could not stop at the defensive, but would have to cross the boundary line into aggression" and contemplate "a grave fight if the Hindus still did not take warning and change their attitude and methods." Here is a public and deliberate defence of and incitement to, aggression, the consequences of which were anticipated in the Calcutta riots. The contagion of Calcutta has spread to East Bengal from where are reported cases of the desecration of Hindu temples whilst there is hardly a whisper of

mosques being desecrated! The temper of the Muslims is indicated by the failure of the meeting of prominent Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs called together by the Governor of Bengal to come to an agreement regarding the Sikh religious procession, which was to have been held in early April, but which, at the instance of the Government in the then disturbed condition of Calcutta, the Sikhs consented to postpone to the 9th of May. Commenting on the failure, the *Statesman*, an Anglo-Indian paper, said that "Mahomedans are apparently standing out for the total cessation of music at all times in the neighbourhood of mosques. The Hindus are prepared to guarantee complete cessation at prayer time, but do not see their way to give wider guarantees which in the city, where the mosques are not confined to specially Mahomedan quarters, would impose intolerable obligations. There the matter stands. The sympathy of the disinterested observer will not be with the Mahomedans, who in the time of excitement are apparently endeavouring to drive hard an unusual bargain." The *Mussalman* of Calcutta corroborated the *Statesman's* description of the Mahomedan leaders' attitude at the meeting and the resolutions of the Jamait defend it.

The desperate nature of the present situation is indicated by the change in the attitude of Mahatma Gandhi towards the question. He was the most emphatic in postulating that there could be no Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity. Time was when he would rush to the scene of communal trouble, and with the help of his invincible Satyagraha, compose animosities, settle disputes and get the communities to fall round each others' necks. If only the Government stood out and allowed him a free hand, he would go to Malabar and Kohat; he fasted for twenty-one days and brought about the historic Unity Conference at Delhi. But to-day he turns a deaf ear to the appeals of Mr. Sen-Gupta and the *Statesman* to go to Calcutta and bring peace. This apostle of non-violence now confesses that an amicable settlement is possible only when the Hindus and Muslims are tired of fighting. He even goes the length of advising other popular leaders to leave things alone and retire like himself. Mr. Gandhi's change is perhaps the most revealing and impressive index of the seriousness of the communal antagonisms. These may be "part of the invariable growing pains of the consolidation of nationalism," as Lord Olivier points out. But they need careful handling, lest the "growing pains" should prove too much and should kill nationalism altogether.

### BACK TO COMMON CITIZENSHIP.

It is impossible to sustain the theory that the Calcutta revolt was the work of the *goondas* or desperate characters that infest every great city. It cannot be a mere coincidence that Muslim priests and politicians make it a point of honour with them to prevent Hindu processions with music to pass

mosques even when the faithful are not at prayers ; that Muslim politicians threaten aggression and the *goondas* indulge in sacrilege and butchery. As Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew diagnosed, the communal trouble is mainly political, and inspired, or at least connived at, by politicians.

Continuous efforts were made by non-official bodies, particularly the Congress, to settle the points at issue between the communities. The last such was the Unity Conference at Delhi which was the most representative and influential. But all these have failed to bring peace. The root-cause of the failure is, in our opinion, their fundamentally wrong basis, that Muslims had claims to superior and special citizenship, which was to be sustained and preserved by a special communal electorate. With a view to purchase peace and unity, the vital principles of common citizenship were sacrificed. It was like tolerating and regulating vice instead of suppressing it. It is now clear that both principle and peace have been sacrificed. If peace is impossible in any event, it is worth while to save the principle at least. *Communal electorates must go and that as early as possible.* Minorities and backward communities may be provided for by reservation of seats in the legislatures and by widening the franchise.

The tragic events of the last few weeks and the ominous portents of the future must have brought home to every well-wisher of India the dangers of communalism and the urgent need to combat it. Somebody must take the initiative, rally all the nationalist forces in the country and fight communalism with all the ardour of the crusaders. No political party can today be called truly *national* which does not give the first place to this subject. Such a party must include other items in its programme which directly bear on this question. Education, particularly compulsory elementary education, must be made almost the first charge on the State, on a par with the charges on defence and internal security ; education is essential even for the security of person and property. Again, education of all communities in common schools must be promoted and sectarian schools resisted. A widening of the franchise so as to include a larger number of rural classes, who are comparatively free from the communal canker, will also be an insurance for peace and security. There is reason to believe that economic causes also play a part in these antagonisms. When economic cleavages coincide with communal divisions, the economic conflicts become violent and appear communal. These must be investigated and suitable remedies applied.

What are the chances of such a programme gathering strength in the country? The Hindus in Northern India, the Sikhs, and the Indian Christians, have already declared themselves against communal electorates. The Non-Brahmans desired and secured reservation of seats in the legislatures. Even such reservation has now become superfluous and they are not likely to refuse to join hands in turning down communal electorates. Even now

there is a pretty large section of them who are nationalists.

Among the non-official Europeans there are a number of them, particularly the missionaries, who would unhesitatingly join the nationalists. Even the European merchants must have realised how adversely communal differences in India affect their business and their daily life. It is good business, if nothing higher to them, to see the end of communal disturbances. But the mere promotion of repressive legislation is no insurance against them. The Europeans must take a hand in fashioning the permanent remedy. They must themselves relinquish their special electorates, make common cause with the Indian nationalists, and pull their full weight in fighting communalism. Only recently the Europeans freely consented to part with many of their cherished special rights and privileges and we are not aware that they have cause to regret the step they have taken. They should now go a step further in building up a common citizenship in India. Their British instincts and traditions, their business interests and past experience must tell them that that is the right course.

The Muslims as a body will stand out. Even among them there are a few who take a nationalist view. For instance only last week, Mr. M. H. Kidwai, M. L. A., in his presidential address to the Postal Conference in Lucknow, is reported to have "vehemently advocated the submerging of invidious distinctions of colour, class and status in one human brotherhood and strongly condemned the Government for its failure to treat all citizens and services alike." There are others who see what is right but are unable to follow it. Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hussain in his Presidential address to the U.P. Muslim Local Boards Conference, declared "that separate communal representation is the very bane of democracy, it is an outlawry upon the people's prerogative:" but in the next breath, he succumbed to the communal fetish and said that in the present circumstances of the country more communalism was necessary. The Muslims must be helped to hold fast to their own better judgment.

#### ACCEPTANCE OF OFFICE.

Viewed from the standpoint of Nationalism vs. Communalism, the acceptance by *nationalists* of high offices even under dyarchy becomes urgent and essential. For these places carry in India an amount of influence which is not paralleled elsewhere and this influence may be used for national or communal purposes. If the Nationalists will not fill them, the Communalists will.

The Swarajists may argue that their policy of non-acceptance of office keeps out the communalist as well as the nationalist. Provided, of course, they secure an absolute majority in the Councils. Three years ago when the Congress prestige was much higher than it is today—*pace* the Responsivist defection,—and when the Congress was committed to one single slogan, the Swarajists could secure a majority only in two provinces. Today the chances are even

less. While the Responsivist contends against the Swarajist on the question of "office or no office", the communalist will have an easy walk over. And the Government will be driven willy-nilly into his arms. If only, therefore, to keep out the communalist, the nationalist Swarajist must make common cause with all other nationalists, capture offices of power and influence, and utilise them to promote nationalism.

#### APPEAL TO GOVERNMENT.

The success of nationalism will, however, depend a great deal on the attitude of Government. All previous non-official efforts could settle nothing, as the Government was not represented in them. If the Government set their face firmly against communalism as something incompatible with their avowed policy of promoting democratic institutions in India, and join hands with the Indian Nationalists in fighting it, the Muslims and other Communalists will soon see the wisdom of a change in their attitude. Lord Birkenhead declined to sympathise with the special claims of the Anglo-Indians and they are now proud of being Indians. We invite Government to take a hand in settling this dispute, because it was the Government that gave this wrong turn to Indian politics, that invented the caste hierarchy of the European, the Muslim, the Hindu and the rest, which vitiates current Indian politics. It was the Government under Lord Minto that first gave official sanction, despite the protest of Lord Morley, to the communal separatism of the Muslims. Secondly, the communities have failed to settle the dispute themselves, and the matter is serious enough for Government to intervene. There is no occasion for Government to take sides with the Hindus or the Muslims, or non-Brahmans and Brahmins; they have simply to declare that as communalism is incompatible with democratic institutions which they are pledged to foster and promote, they will stand no more of it, and that they will not share with smaller entities the undivided loyalty that is due to the State. In these days when Nationalisms themselves are considered too narrow and successful efforts are being made to widen them into Internationalism, it is not too much to ask the Government of India openly and with all its power and influence to resist all attempts to drive India back to the much narrower and more violent communalisms of the middle ages. Lord Irwin can have no more humanitarian and statesmanlike task to commence his Indian career with than to help in the solution of the communal problem in India on right lines. His admirable attitude in the Kenya negotiations inspires us with hope that our plea will make a direct appeal to him: and in this connection we can only associate ourselves with the similar appeal made elsewhere in this issue by Dr. Zacharias.

#### AN APPEAL TO LORD IRWIN.

INTOXICATED as she is with the deadly wine of Communalism, India today has reached so critical

a stage, that one may perhaps no longer be alone in believing that nothing but drastic remedies will do. There are indeed not lacking those who would challenge, on behalf of their 7 crores of fellow-Moslems, the 22 crores of Hindus to a mortal combat with no quarter asked or given; there are on the Hindu side increasing numbers of people who think that the Moslem must be "taught the lesson" that butchering is not a monopoly of his; indeed, Mr. Gandhi himself appears to have come to this counsel of despair after the complete bankruptcy of his *ahimsa* policy: viz. that it is a good thing for both parties to cut each others' throats for a while, until sanity returns.

But clearly, such policies are not remedies at all, but would merely serve to intensify the evil. The devil of Communalism cannot be dislodged by calling to one's aid the demons of bloodlust, race-hatred, religious fanaticism and hoodiganism: and even if it could, our last state would be worse than our first. Nor, I am afraid, would a "raging, tearing propaganda" in the country, as Dr. Kitchlew proposes, promise any satisfactory result today. Mere talk, mere appeal to the sweet reasonableness of the people, would in the inflamed state of the country today have no effect. We have had in the past plenty of Hindu-Moslem Unity Conferences, both national and local; the negative result of them all, even when inspired by the unrivalled prestige possessed by Mr. Gandhi at the time, must convince even the most reluctant that mere persuasiveness is no longer sufficient.

But if neither force nor persuasion can bring us back to inter-communal peace, what will? The answer seems to me to lie in the recognition that the maintenance of order and of the rule of law can not be left to the private enterprise of the citizens. True enough, in this country we have grown impatient of governmental paternalism maintaining "law and order"—and not infrequently maintaining it ruthlessly—without any reference to the private citizen at all. The reaction against such attitude has been natural: but the attempt at treating the Government as non-existent has in its turn been so colossal a failure, as surely to compel all of us to reconsider our position and to concede with such good grace as we can put upon it, that the Government of the country is a factor that not only must be recognised as a big factor, but also as a legitimate factor, and that therefore it is our duty and our right to call it in, where necessary.

The big British "General Strike", happily just ended, illustrates well I think the point I would make. Its ending has been called "the victory"—not of the strikers, nor of the strike-breakers, nor yet of Government, but—"of commonsense". The British commonsense in both camps allied itself to a Government determined to maintain the rule of law, and the result has been that this nearest thing to civil war that has happened in Britain for many a long day has been successfully overcome: but this result would have been quite impossible of achieve-

ment, if the Government of Great Britain had remained neutral and passive.

So also with us here in India, where I am afraid we are by no means secure against the possibility of an eventual spreading of the inter-communal war from Calcutta to every other part of the country too. The Government at present still remains in its usual attitude of "religious neutrality:" but its "holding of the balance" produces nothing better than ever more exceptional powers and ordinances. This symptomatic treatment of the disease, which eats out the very vitals of the nation, is bound to fail now, as it has failed before. No doubt a largely alien Government must be sorely tempted, now as in the past, to entrench itself behind the communal enmities of the very people who clamour for a chance of superseding it. Yet the gravity of the situation into which India is rapidly drifting is such, that no Government, which—taken at the very lowest—has so large an interest in preventing a reign of civil commotion, which would necessarily be fatal to foreign as well as domestic investors, could afford to take such a risk merely in the hopes of being able the better to remain rulers, by allowing our divisions to take their fatal course.

Government therefore it seems to me must ally itself with the broad mass of commonsense, which still exists in this country; latently perhaps, but ready to rally round a Government determined and unafraid to give a lead. And the lead is gleefully this: that we must, all of us, retrace our steps and have done with communalism in the public affairs of the country. Nothing less will effect a permanent cure, but the resolute cutting out of the whole canker of communalism. Let Government take its courage into both hands and appeal to the commonsense of our people of whatever community; let them boldly announce, that the first reform of the Reforms will consist in a proposal to eliminate henceforth—at least in the lower chambers—communal electorates and in substituting straightforward territorial constituencies instead: and I venture to prophecy that, if the Government showed that it meant business and would refuse to be overawed by the clamour of communal firebrands, the bulk of our people, including the non-Hindus, would gladly respond and back the resolute man who would deliver us from this nightmare-existence into which our public affairs are plunging headlong.

Once this new policy was boldly put forward and put into execution, resistance, I repeat, would vanish: for resistance only too often hitherto has been indulged in or, rather, threatened, because it felt certain of receiving no check from Government, if not actually positive support. But even so, I do not advocate any humiliating surrender. Pledges could be entered into, hostages given. As one of the most promising of these it seems to me that small upper chambers, both central and provincial, ought to be instituted, designed to act as a safeguard of the rights of minorities. If, say, the Brahmans, non-Brahmans, non-caste Hindus, Sunni Moslems, non-

Sunni Moslems, Christians\* and "other religions",† each elected a *panchayat*, these upper chambers would consist of 35 members, so distributed as to make tyranny of any one section impossible. With the power of veto, such a chamber would be most effective in rendering impossible the victimisation of legitimate minority interests at the hands of lower chambers elected on a population basis. If, say, legitimate Moslem interests had there been flouted, they would be able to rally to themselves at least 4/7ths of the upper chamber; in fact, no minority need ever fear of being overwhelmed by mere numbers.

These are details, though important ones: but the great and first need is a definitive and *authoritative* break with Communalism. Lord Irwin is a new man; said by those who know him best to be a man of deep religion; a man of principles, not an opportunist; a knight, not a huckster; in short, a real man. But if he is, then, here is the opportunity for him.

I appeal to His Excellency to do here in India, what his old friend and colleague in England is doing: **a big thing in a big way.**

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS,

#### LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT IN MAURITIUS.

THE economic life of the little island of Mauritius, comprising an area of 710 square miles, depends almost wholly on one agricultural industry, the sugar industry. The island supports a population of 376,485 of which the Indians number 264,537, thus constituting nearly 70 per cent. of the total. The history of emigration of Indian labour to Mauritius is a fairly long history, stretching as far back as 1834. From 1834 to 1909 Indian labour went to Mauritius harnessed with an indenture. The abuses and cruelties, which are inseparable from the indenture system, led to numerous enquiries and protracted correspondence. In 1874 as the result of an enquiry by a commission, a new Labour Ordinance was passed for the better protection of labourers under indenture. The Committee on Emigration from India to Crown Colonies and Protectorates, 1909-10, recommended the stoppage of further emigration of Indian labour to Mauritius. In the opinion of the Committee, "Indian immigration may be said to have been the means of averting an industrial collapse at the time of negro emancipation, and of greatly mitigating the effect of various calamities with which the Island has been visited in more recent times. The Indian immigrants and their descendants now form nearly two-thirds of the total population, and are a valuable element of the community, orderly, prosperous, hardworking and contented. It seems to us that indentured immigration has now done its work in this Colony. The population has risen to a density of 559 to the square mile; poverty is increasing; the demand for fresh

\* Here two might be Protestants, two Catholics, and the fifth member elected by these four.

† I suggest one Sikh, one Jain, one Buddhist, one Parsee, one Jew.

Immigrants has ceased for the last two years and it does not appear likely that further artificial additions to the population would be to the real advantage of the Colony or of the immigrants" (Report, Cd. 5192, pp. 100-101). The recommendation of the Committee was accepted and no further immigration was permitted between 1909 and 1923. In the meantime the indentured labour system was abolished and the Labour Ordinance of Mauritius was radically amended in 1922.

The Governor of Mauritius wanted to reopen the question of resumption of emigration in July 1912. He represented that in recent years there had been a considerable extension of the area cultivated in small holdings and that further extension of such holdings was anticipated owing to improved methods of cultivation of cane and greater banking facilities. The Indian labourer on becoming a peasant proprietor had little or no time to work on the large estates, making the supply of the labour force of the Island intermittent and scarce. The Government of India, however, found themselves unable to accept the proposal of the Governor of Mauritius, the wages offered being considered unsatisfactory and also because they were not convinced that additional labour from India was necessary for Mauritius. In November 1915, the Governor of Mauritius again adverted to the question of resumption of emigration. The Government of India replied to the representation stating that circumstances had not materially changed to warrant a reconsideration of the decision arrived at two years ago and as the procedure for emigration after the abolition of the indenture system was then under consideration, time was not ripe for reopening the question of emigration to Mauritius. The representation of 1915 was followed by another in April 1921 stating that there was an urgent demand for Indian labour in the Island both for private employers and Government work. The representation again referred to the prosperity of the Indian community resulting in a shortage of labourers for the estates and Government works. It "cheerfully conceded that much of the existing wealth (of Mauritius) has been due to the assistance given by Indian immigrants and their descendants." The representation further stated that the planters had provided a sum of 100 lakhs by imposing a tax on the sugar industry for the development of the Island, but work was held up owing to shortage of labour. After some correspondence, the Government of Mauritius sent a Deputation headed by Mr. A. Walter to meet the Standing Emigration Committee at Delhi in January 1923. The recommendation of the Standing Emigration Committee formulated after a full discussion with the Mauritius Deputation was submitted to both Chambers of the Indian Legislature and a Government notification was issued on March 22, 1923, permitting emigration to Mauritius for a period of one year. The number of emigrants was limited to 1500 of adult male labourers. The conditions for repatriation at the expense of the Government of Mauritius were laid down; inability to obtain a wage sufficient to provide the cost of living for a man, his wife and three children, and also a reasonable margin for savings, sickness and old age, being sufficient ground, subject to the satisfaction of the Agent to the Government of India, for such

repatriation at any time within the period of two years from the date of introduction to the Colony.

During the debate in the Assembly on the draft notification, the Government gave an assurance to the House that as circumstances might dictate, an enquiry will precede before fresh emigration was permitted. At the end of a year of emigration, the Government of Mauritius wanted to extend the period by another year. In compliance with the assurance given and with the approval of the Government of Mauritius, the Government of India sent an officer, Kunwar Maharaj Singh, to Mauritius to conduct an enquiry into the effect of further immigration on the general and economic condition of Indians already domiciled in the Colony.

Apart from any other considerations, Mr. Singh found that the employers themselves were by no means unanimous on the question of importing fresh labour from India, while Mauritius Indians were strongly opposed to it. Indeed, while Mr. A. Walter, the Commissioner of Census, thinks that "the labour difficulty in Mauritius has become so serious that, it can be stated without fear of contradiction to dominate all other considerations at the present time." (Mauritius Almanac, 1925-26, pp. A. 45), the Director of Agriculture holds a contrary view and observes "There is little doubt that sufficient labour exists in the Colony to meet actual needs. The apparent shortage is due to the wave of abnormal prosperity which has passed over the Island and which has rendered the labouring classes unwilling to work" (Ditto p. A. 76). Mr. Singh says, "The heads of the Public Works, Railway and Medical and Health Departments assured me that they experienced no real difficulty in securing labourers for Government works." (Report on Mauritius, p. 35). Giving evidence before the Standing Emigration Committee, Mr. Walter said that "the Colony has not yet introduced Workmen's Compensation Act. He also stated that there are no trade-unions and that strikes are illegal in certain circumstances, but the law has never been enforced and the Colonial Government may have no objection to its repeal, if desired. Mr. Singh is emphatically of opinion that the further despatch of unskilled labour from India to Mauritius is unnecessary and undesirable either in the immediate or the near future." The result of recent resumption of emigration has been a failure and it is to be hoped that unless circumstances undergo a radical change, the experiment will not be repeated in the near future. Though subject to no legal disabilities, the position of Indians in Mauritius is by no means what it ought to be. Their educational backwardness and negligible influence in the legislature of the Colony are deplorable. Though the apathy of the Mauritius Indians is responsible to a certain extent for this condition of affairs the Government cannot wholly escape blame. If the Indians form 70% of the population and own large properties (46 per cent. of the area under cane), it is not quite intelligible why in the legislature they should be represented by two nominated members from their community. As pointed out by Mr. Singh, emigration offers an opportunity for insisting on preliminary reforms. But even if the question of resumption of emigration is never opened again, the necessity of reforms will not be the less insistent and it may be hoped that these will be carried out by the Government of Mauritius not as bribe to get more Indian labour, but because they are just and necessary.\*

J. B. SEN.

\* The Mauritius Almanac, 1925-26, compiled by A. Walter, Census Commissioner of Mauritius, Port Louis, 1925.  
Report by Kunwar Maharaj Singh on his Deputation to Mauritius. Government of India Press, Delhi, 1925.

## REVIEWS.

**THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE. ITS CONSTITUTION, PROCEDURE, AND WORK.** By ALEXANDER P. FACHIRL (Oxford University Press.) 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. 342. 15s.

THE peaceful settlement of disputes among States as a means of avoiding war is a subject which has engaged the attention of publicists for many centuries. Among the devices which have been thought of for effecting such settlement, a prominent place must be given to the idea of a permanent international court. Various schemes have been put forward during the last six centuries for the organisation of an international tribunal. Some writers; have advocated the creation of arbitral tribunals while others have favoured the establishment of a tribunal in the nature of a regular court of justice. The idea of a court of justice in the full extent of its connotation in municipal law is incapable of application in the domain of international law. The jurisdiction of a court does not ordinarily depend upon the submission or agreement of the parties. A private individual complaining of a breach of law by another private person has the right to drag his opponent into a court having jurisdiction over the subject matter. This is due to the fact that both the parties are subjects of a common sovereign who has got the power to impose upon them the compulsory submission of disputes to the established courts. Again, the decree of a municipal court can be enforced by the authority of the State which has brought the court into existence. It is obvious that both in regard to the question of compulsory jurisdiction and in regard to the question of sanction for the enforcement of its decrees, an international court of justice stands on quite a different footing from a municipal court.

The desire, however, for the establishment of a permanent tribunal for the settlement of international disputes grew in strength and found expression in the Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907. The tribunal which was created in 1901 as the result of the Hague Conference of 1899 was only a permanent court of arbitration. The court was to be composed of judges appointed for a term of six years by the consenting States, each of which was entitled to choose not more than four persons as members of this tribunal. Out of the panel of arbitrators thus nominated, each disputing State was to choose two arbitrators and an umpire was to be chosen by the four arbitrators. The states which were parties to the dispute had also to enter into a special agreement defining the matter in dispute and the powers of the arbitrators. This tribunal lacked some of the essential features of a permanent court of justice. Every time that a dispute arose between two states which were willing to refer the matter to arbitration by the tribunal, they had to enter into a special agreement, choose the arbitrators and constitute a court. The procedure

involved expense and delay and owing to the usual tendency of arbitrators to split the difference and bring about a reconciliation between the parties, the tribunal was not capable of developing a continuous body of international jurisprudence. It was pointed out by one jurist that the Hague Convention of 1899 gave not a permanent court but only a phantom of a court, an impalpable spectre or, to speak more precisely, a secretariat and a list. The Hague Conference of 1907 agreed as to the desirability of establishing a court which would be permanent and free and easy of access, but the proposals did not materialize owing to difficulties in regard to the composition of the court.

When the great war came to an end, there was a general feeling throughout the world in favour of the creation of a permanent court of international justice. By article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Council was required to formulate and submit to the members of the League plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice. The court was to be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submitted to it. The court might also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly. It is unnecessary to refer to the steps taken by the Council for the formulation of a scheme by a committee of experts. After a careful examination of the subject by the committee of jurists, by the Council and by itself, the Assembly adopted the statute of the permanent court of international justice and the court was formally opened at the Hague in January 1922.

Various questions of a difficult character, upon which it had not been possible in previous conferences to come to a satisfactory agreement were, successfully solved. The most important questions, which had to be tackled related, to the organisation of the court and its jurisdiction. The difficulties in regard to the jurisdiction of the court arose out of the conflict between the principle of the equality of States as subjects of international law and the principle of giving due weight to the predominant position of the great powers, without whose aid and cooperation no scheme for the establishment of a court could possibly be worked. The Great Powers wished to have a preponderance of representation in the court commensurately with their position. The smaller powers insisted upon their equality of status and their rights of sovereignty and independence. As happily put by Mr. Fachiri, the problem was how to reconcile respect for international law in the abstract with recognition of international realities. The problem was solved by a joint election of the judges by the Council and Assembly of the League. The great powers being permanently represented in the Council, they were able to secure a preponderant voice. As the Assembly consisted of all the Powers, great and small, the smaller States were also able to secure some representation.

The question of jurisdiction cannot be said to have been solved in an ideal manner or in accord-



ance with the wishes of those who wished to extend the jurisdiction of the court to all classes of international disputes. Whether the court was to be invested with compulsory jurisdiction or not gave rise to much controversy. Compulsory jurisdiction, in the strict sense of the term, was of course unsuitable to sovereign States. What was meant by compulsory jurisdiction in connection with this controversy was jurisdiction conferred once for all by a general agreement between the States to submit their disputes to the court. The issue was whether the jurisdiction of the court should be capable of being invoked as the result of a previous general convention between the states concerned or upon a special agreement *ad hoc* after a dispute had arisen. In the former view, a State which has been a party to a general agreement for the reference of disputes to the court could, without its own consent, be subsequently arraigned by the other party to the agreement. In the latter view, the court could only acquire jurisdiction by virtue of the express consent of the parties to the particular dispute after it had arisen. While theoretical approval was accorded to the principle of compulsory jurisdiction, it was felt that the time was not yet ripe for its acceptance in practice and that the adoption of the principle must wait till the world acquired confidence in the court from actual experience of its work. The scheme passed by the Assembly provides for the jurisdiction of the court in all cases which the parties refer to it and in all matters specially provided for in treaties and conventions in force. The members of the League of Nations and the States which, though not members, are mentioned in the annexe to the Covenant may, either when signing or ratifying the Protocol of the statute or at a later date declare that they recognise as compulsory *ipso facto* without special agreement in relation to any other member or State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning (a) the interpretation of a treaty, (b) any question of international law, (c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of international obligation and (d) the nature or the extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of international obligations. The only persons who can appear as parties before the court are States or members of the League of Nations. It is of course competent to a State to identify itself with a private person if he is its own national or a national of a country subject to its protectorate or subject to its administration under mandate.

A very interesting question arises here as to whether it would be competent for the court to entertain a dispute between Great Britain and one of the British Dominions. As the self-governing Dominions and India are members of the League, the court would apparently have jurisdiction if the disputes were submitted to it by mutual agreement. In practice, we may take it that the Imperial Government will never agree to a dispute between itself and one of its Dominions being referred to the court for

decision. Under article 13 of the Covenant, the members of the League agree to submit the subject matter of a dispute to arbitration or judicial settlement only when they recognise that a dispute, which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, is *suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement*. It is open to the Imperial Government to contend that they do not recognise the case as one suitable for arbitration or judicial settlement. Under Art. 15 of the Covenant of the League, if a dispute between members is likely to lead to a rupture and it is not submitted to arbitration or judicial settlement, the parties are bound to submit the matter to the Council. If, however, one of the parties claims that the dispute arises out of a matter, which, by international law, is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party and this plea is upheld by the Council, it can make no proposals for settlement. If a dispute arises between any two of the British Dominions which are members of the League and if the matter was claimed by one of the parties to be within its domestic jurisdiction, the Council can take no action. (See paragraph 8 of article 15 of the Covenant). Many of the treaties or conventions for referring disputes to the Court contain reservations as to matters affecting the honour or the vital interests of the parties.

Under Article 14 of the Covenant, the court is also empowered to give advisory opinions upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or the Assembly. The exercise of the power of giving advisory opinions is looked upon with disfavour by some jurists on the ground that it is inconsistent with the judicial character of the court. But the giving of advisory opinions by supreme courts is well established in America, Canada and Great Britain. Some of the most valuable work of the court has consisted in the advisory opinions given by it.

Mr. Fachiri's book will serve the purposes not merely of the student of politics, who takes an interest in the work of the League of Nations, but also the needs of the lawyer who may wish to practise before the court. It gives a full account of the organisation and jurisdiction of the court and the procedure it has prescribed. It includes all the important documents like the Covenant of the League or Nations, the Statute of the Permanent Court and an account of the decisions hitherto rendered by the court. A perusal of these decisions will convince any one of the high degree of learning, care and impartiality which have been displayed by the members of the court in deciding cases placed before them. In so far as these traits continue to distinguish the work of the court, it is bound to grow in influence and rise in the estimation of the public. It has only to be added that the establishment of the permanent court has not superseded the arbitration tribunal established under the Hague Conference of 1899, and whether one tribunal or the other is resorted to would to a considerable extent depend upon the nature of the dispute, whether raises issues of a more or less legal character or involves considerations of political expediency.

P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER.

**THE CHAITANYA MOVEMENT.** By MELVILLE

T. KENNEDY. (Association Press, Calcutta.)  
1925. 7¼ × 4¾. pp. 270.

BY writing this volume Mr. Kennedy has done a great service to all those who desire to read an authentic account of the Chaitanya movement. The author is fully alive to the difficulties of his task, viz., a critical estimate of a foreign religion and appears to have done his best to study the movement with the eye of a dispassionate and discerning critic.

The first Chapter introduces the reader to the tradition and the religious and social background of the Chaitanya movement in Bengal. But the curious reader, who would know more about the Vaishnavite tradition than what he finds in the book under review, must go to books like Dr. Bhandarkar's *Vaishnavism &c.* which are full of information in respect of important religious systems in our country.

The system of Vaishnavism has a long tradition extending over a period of more than 2,000 years. About the 5th century B. C., it appeared as a religious reform founded on theistic principles. Its votaries were dominated by a single-minded love and devotion to God. Soon after the beginning of the Christian era, it incorporated into itself another element in the shape of the marvellous deeds of Krishna and of his amorous dalliances with Radha. In this form it continued its existence till the 8th century A. D. when it came into collision with the spiritual monism of Sri Sankaracharya. These two systems soon became hostile to each other. The hostility came to a head in the 11th century when Ramanuja, in the South, endeavoured to propagate this ancient Bhāgavat religion. He was followed in the North by Nimbāraka, who appears to have given an undue prominence to the Radha element in the cult. In the 13th century the teachings of this school were preached by Rāmananda. He was followed by Kabir in the 15th century. About the same time Chaitanya Dev brought about a revival of the Radha-Krishna cult in Bengal. Then, again, in the Deccan Namdev and Tukārām cultivated a sober type of Krishna-worship and preached pure love of God and laid stress on personal purification of heart and of morals as necessary to salvation.

Chaitanya then does not found a new religious movement. He is simply one of those eminent torch-bearers of the Bhakti school, who have appeared from time to time in this land of spiritual culture as uplifters "of the child, the woman, the out-castes and the dumb speechless creatures of God." In fact it may be laid down almost as a historical generalisation that those religious reformers are born in times of moral and spiritual decay, when the society as a whole suffers from the disease of arrogant punditism, which values logical subtlety more than inward God-realisation, and when the masses begin to substitute degenerate rituals and objectionable religious practices for pure devotion of heart. There is no wonder, therefore, that Chaitanya or Lord Gauranga, as he was popularly called, saw the light of the day in 1485 A. D. in the midst of critical and sceptical surroundings in Nudia—the intellectual centre of Bengal—where the seeds of spiritual fervour were lying dormant for centuries on account of the political domination of the Mahomedans.

Chapters II and III deal with the salient features of the life of Chaitanya. The author has endeavoured to set forth with sympathy and understanding the great qualities of heart and spirit which characterized the life of Gauranga. As a child he possessed all the advantages and disadvantages which his

birth and position gave him. In those days of stern orthodoxy, it was really heroic on the part of the boy Chaitanya to have mingled with all sorts of people. His career as a student was marked by brilliance and within a short period he established his reputation as the first and foremost thinker of Nudia. His visit to Gaya was the turning point in his life. When only 22 years of age, Chaitanya came face to face with Ishwarpuri, his Guru,—and felt through him the first warmth of love and devotion to Sri Krishna. The trenchant, agnostic and almost unbelieving pandit was transformed into the tender-hearted, loving, serving, humble and silent devotee of God. The onrush of spiritual zeal could not be contained in his heart, and he would wander along the banks of the Ganges, washing the clothes of the untouchables, carrying the burdens of the poor and the aged of all castes.

The unbelievers of those days like that of today saw nothing but madness in the manifestations of the pure and loving devotion of Chaitanya, which involved in it the confusion of all castes and of the ancient time-worn rules. But Chaitanya, unmindful of scoffing and persecution, endeavoured to fulfil his life's mission, viz. to carry the divine message to the very doors of the ignorant. The favourite method of his work was Sankirtan—the participation of divine grace through jointly praising God. The power of this instrument was so great that Chaitanya Dev was able to conquer even the most reluctant adversary like the Kazi of Nudia. His loving devotion made a tremendous appeal to the hearts of the common people. Even to this day we come across humble people of Bengal, singing songs, the burden of which is, "come and see the God Man who does not believe in caste." The last seventeen years of his life were spent at Puri in the company of a chosen band of disciples. As the days rolled on, the force of his mystic moods became too much for his nervous system, and then were visible signs of his approaching departure. His passing away from this earth is shrouded in mystery. Some thought that it was the result of a fever brought on by a wound received in an ecstatic mood; others believed that he threw himself into the waves of the ocean, while under the influence of divine illumination. Whatever the fact, the year 1533 saw the closing of the final chapter of one who will forever remain a finger-post on the onward road of humanity towards God-realization.

Chapters V, VI and VII give an interesting account of the history, teaching and literature of the Chaitanya Movement, and Chapters VIII and IX describe the sect as it is today. These chapters clearly show that the movement has gone the way of all kindred movements all the world over. As a rule with the disappearance of the founder, these movements lose their initial religious fervour and give rise to a number of warring subsects. Finally the sect becomes degenerate and mechanical.

In the Xth chapter an attempt is made to estimate the religious value of the Chaitanya movement in relation to Christianity. This chapter is really thought-provoking, and as the reader moves through its pages, several interesting questions like the meaning of *śila*; spiritual manifestations as the sign of hysteria, or, again, is religious love carnal at its basis arise, which compel him to pause and ponder. The author seems to be at great pains to make it clear to his readers that he is not actuated by any partizan desire to prove the superiority of his own religion. But the perusal of the chapter makes us suspect that he has not succeeded in writing this chapter in an absolutely dispassionate spirit. In this connection we would draw the attention of the reader to the author's lament on p. 257

that the God-given powers of Bhakti, so richly poured into this movement, were not dedicated to Christ, as if there was nothing in the Hindu religion, which deserves the conservation of the noble qualities of the heart!

K. H. KELKAR.

### SHORT NOTICE.

**THE INDIAN YEAR BOOK, 1926.** (The Times Press, Bombay.) 1926. 7½ × 5. pp. 883. Rs. 7-8.

THIS is a handy reference volume which will be found serviceable by every public worker. The historical chapter gives in brief outline information not merely about India's past, but brings the reader quite up-to-date. The short summary of the 1919 Reforms given in the volume is fairly exhaustive and should meet the needs of everybody not needing detailed knowledge about them. Information about conditions in the provinces, as also their finances, is given which considerably adds to the utility of the book. One, however, regrets to find that the section dealing with public bodies is not as full as it might well be as it leaves out the names of several important associations not only in the mofussil, but also in the City of Bombay.

### MISCELLANEA.

#### MR. SASTRI ON CONGRESS UNITY.

In reply to Mrs. Naidu's invitation to attend the all-parties' conference at Sabarmati, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri addressed her a letter which runs as follows:—

Dear Mrs. Naidu: To my grief, I cannot accept the invitation to attend the meeting of men of all parties called at Sabarmati. It was exceedingly kind of you to include me in the list of those invited. May I send you a short statement of views? I have not attended any of these all-India meetings for some time, and it is possible that I look at these matters under discussion from a somewhat detached standpoint.

#### EXTRAVAGANCE OF SWADESHI FAITH.

First, as to the wearing of *Khaddar*. The fall believers in the efficacy of *Khaddar* are admittedly few in number. The great majority of the Congressmen, I understand, wear it casually and unwillingly, partly out of reverence to Gandhiji and partly out of constrained loyalty to the compromise agreed upon by their various leaders. Among the Liberals and Independents, the doctrine of *Khaddar* is regarded as an extravagance of the old Swadeshi faith, unwarranted by theory or experience and unfitted by its apparent irrelevance to the programme of the Congress to be erected into a condition precedent for admission to that body.

#### VIOLENCE TO LIBERTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

While the prescription of a badge of a particular material or colour could not be reasonably objected to, the requirement that a Congressman's entire dress should be made of a certain stuff, produced in a certain way, must act as a bar of exclusion against many sincere patriots well-deserving of a place in the premier political organisation of the country, but who have been taught to believe that a sartorial regulation based upon inadequate data and unproven assumptions does violence to the fundamental liberty of the individual. Many persons, for whom I entertain respect, are inclined to submit to it as the innocent fad of a great man which it is not necessary for them to examine or understand. I confess I am unable to take this view. It strikes me, even after these many months of thought, as an illegitimate imposition in an organisation purporting to comprehend all progressive politicians.

#### ENSUING GENERAL ELECTIONS.

The second difficulty I feel is in connection with the next general election. Would the Liberals and the Independents, who might now come in, be allowed to stand as candidates even against the Swarajists and the Responsivists? So far, these two sections have come to a mutual understanding and we are entitled, as I understand the situation, to call themselves regular official candidates of the Indian National Congress. The Liberal and Independent candidates, wherever they stand, would naturally be denounced as disloyal Congressmen. What would, then, become of the comprehensive unity which it is the sole aim of the Sabarmati meeting to attain? People in Britain would be the last in the world to be deceived by a reconciliation of which almost the first visible fruit was the exchange between contending Congress factions of the terms "usurper" and "traitor." The Sabarmati meeting would, therefore, have to effect a compromise on this question of election, a difficult enough task where only two factions are concerned, but nearly impossible when a third comes in with an undefinable claim.

#### ACCEPTANCE OF OFFICE.

Acceptance of office is with us a door to the honourable service of the public. We do not accept the judgment recently pronounced by an influential leader that we value it only for the power and pelf it brings; while others would value it on higher and more patriotic grounds. From the year 1918, we have stood for working the Reforms for what they are worth. In fact, our severance from the Congress was for this express purpose. It would be asking too much of us to expect that we should acquiesce in a compromise which regarded acceptance of office as a step to be explained and apologised for, or to depend for sanction on the arbitrary decision of two or three eminent individuals.

#### CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

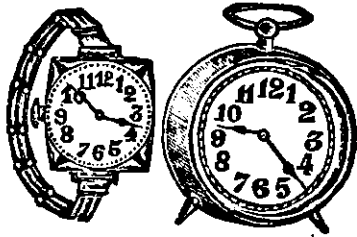
The question of civil disobedience is neither so easy nor so simple in my judgment as it appears to most speakers and writers on the problem. I am willing, however, for the moment to repress my misgivings for the sake of general harmony and place full faith in the all but universal admission that the country is not fit for any drastic measures of the kind and will not be fit for many years yet. But the three difficulties I have raised above are serious and while I commend them to your attention, I sincerely regret that I am disabled from taking part as I should in the discussion. I am desirous, like others, of a common understanding among political parties and of a reunion under the wings of the National Congress. But I wish that our reconciliation should be based on simple and intelligible agreements and, being a man of peace, I am not attracted to the idea of re-entering the Congress as a disaffected minority with the prospect of conducting an internecine struggle of indefinite duration for the purpose of becoming the majority.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GENERAL SIR O'MOORE CREAGH. With an Introduction and Notes by Major General Sir Charles E. Callwell. (Hutchinson & Co., London.) 9½ × 6. pp. 303. 24s.
- GERMAN COLONIZATION—PAST AND FUTURE: THE TRUTH ABOUT THE GERMAN COLONIES. With an Introduction by William Harbutt Dawson. By Dr. HEIRICH SCHNEE. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.) 1926. 9 × 6. pp. 176. 5s.
- BRITISH INCOME AND PROPERTY. THE APPLICATION OF OFFICIAL STATISTICS TO ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. By SIR JOSIAH STAMP. (P. S. King and Sons, Ltd., London.) 1923. 8 × 5½. pp. 543. 15s.
- POPULATION PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. By LOUIS I. DUBLIN. (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston & New York. For the Polak Foundation for Economic Research.) 1926. 8½ × 5½. pp. 318. \$4.00

**Free! Time Piece Free!**

**22 Kt. gold plate case gold  
gilt Dial wrist watch.**



**Guaranteed 5 years.**

Well Finish durability, and accuracy swiss mechanism. Jerk and damp proof. Beautiful shapes in all sizes. Price Per Watch and Timepiece **Rs. 6-8. only**

Write to:—

**NATIONAL WATCH HOUSE.**  
Post Box No. 536.  
PARK TOWN, MADRAS.

## VALUABLE BOOKS ON ZOROASTRIANISM.

- |   | Rs. A. |
|---|--------|
| 1. <b>Rastakhiz.</b> By Syed Mirzadeh Ishqi<br>A fine operatta translated from Persian<br>by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala. ...   | 0 8    |
| 2. <b>Zoroaster.</b> The Great Teacher. By<br>Bernard H. Springett. ...   | 1 4    |
| 3. <b>Babylonian Religion:</b> A short account<br>of Chaldean Magic, Babylonian Myths,<br>and Assyrian Theology, pointing to their<br>influence on the ideas of the Jews.—By<br>William Loftus Hare. ...  | 0 7    |
| 4. <b>The Divine Songs Of Zarathushtra.</b> By<br>D. J. Irani—This book contains a transla-<br>tion of the chief hymns of the Zoroastrian<br>religion, which are still used to-day in<br>every parsee household. It is the first<br>translation made for the ordinary reader<br>in a compendious form and throws a new<br>light on the importance of the teachings<br>of Zarathushtra in the religious history<br>of the world...Cloth and Gold ... | 4 1    |
| 5. <b>The Message Of Zoroaster.</b> By A. S.<br>Wadia. (... Why do you hold Fire<br>Sacred?—The Philosophy of Zoroaster—<br>The Ethics of Zoroaster) Cloth & Gold ...   | 2 1    |
| 6. <b>Zoroastrian Ethics.</b> By M. A. Buch<br>(Wrapper) ...  | 2 0    |
| Do (Cloth and Gold)...  | 3 0    |
| 7. <b>Zoroastrianism In The Light Of<br/>Theosophy</b> —(Being a collection of select-<br>ed articles from the Theosophical litera-<br>ture) compiled by Nasarvanji F.<br>Bilimoria ...   | 3 0    |

**The Theosophical Publishing House,**  
**Adyar Madras**

**THE INDIAN BOOK SHOP**  
**NEW INDIA OFFICE.**

George Town, Madras

## WANTED.

Candidates for Telegraph and Station-Master's  
Classes. Particulars and Railway fare certificate  
on 2 annas stamp. Imperial Telegraph School,  
DELHI.

THE

## Progress of Education.

**A Journal devoted to the Cause of Education**

( Published six times a year. )

Royal 8 vo. pp. 64.

Subscriptions Rs. 6 per year, Postage Extra.

*Editorial Committee.*

- Prof. V. B. NAIK, M. A. ( Fergusson College ).  
" M. R. PARANJPE, M. A., B. Sc. ( New Poona  
College ).  
" N. G. DAMLE, M. A. ( Fergusson College ).  
" N. G. NARALKAR, M. A., L. T. ( New Poona  
College ).

Contains articles on educational subjects,  
educational news, notes on current topics, notices  
and reviews of educational publications, extracts  
from contemporary journals, pedagogical discussion  
on school-craft, notes on lessons &c.

The rates of advertisements are as under:—

	One issue	Three issues	Yearly
Full page	Rs. 12	30	50
Half page	7	18	30
Quarter page,,	5	10	18

Contract rates for advertisements will be settled  
by correspondence or personal interview.

Apply to:—*The Manager 'The Progress of Education*  
C/o.—*Arya Bhushan Press,*  
POONA CITY.

## Prof. V. G. Kale's Books.

- |  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| 1. <b>Indian Economics</b> —5th Edition revised<br>and enlarged. In two volumes Demi<br>8 vo. pp. 1000 ... | Rs. A.<br>10- 0-0 |
| 2. <b>Gokhale and Economic Reforms</b> ...   | 2- 0-0            |
| 3. <b>Indian Administration</b> (5th Edition<br>revised and enlarged) ...                                  | 4- 0-0            |
| 4. <b>Indian Industrial and Economic Prob-<br/>lems.</b> ...   | 2- 0-0            |
| 5. <b>India's War Finance and Post-War<br/>Problems.</b> ...   | 2- 0-0            |
| 6. <b>Currency Reforms in India</b> ...  | 1- 0-0            |
| 7. <b>The Reforms Explained</b> ...  | 1- 0-0            |
| 8. <b>Dawn of Modern Finance in India</b> ...  | 2- 0-0            |
- (N. B.—The above prices do not include postage,  
which will be extra.)

For copies apply to:—

**The Manager, Aryabhushan Press,**

**BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY.**