

# Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WHEN in our last issue we commended Lala Lajpat Rai's statement on the A. I. C. C. decisions to the attention of all Indians, little did we think that this would be his last public declaration and that India would be deprived of a leader of his sincerity, sacrifice, and eminence by his tragic demise at a critical juncture of her political history. Lala Lajpat Rai's name will ever be associated with the antiquated and tyrannical Regulation III of 1818 as he was the first Indian politician to bear its brunt when in 1907 he was deported from his province as a dangerous citizen. Quoting some disconnected words from a speech of Mr. Gokhale's the *Times of India* has mischievously tried to make out that his deportation had the tacit support of Gokhale. It is a mean trick the paper has played, for Mr. Gokhale for whom Lalaji entertained the highest regard to the day of his death had condemned it in unmeasured terms. The storm of indignation roused throughout the country by this act sufficed to make the bureaucracy regard Lalaji ever since as its sworn adversary. His visit to America in 1913 became in another guise his second deportation since he was not allowed to return to his native country during the course of the Great War. He utilised this period in explaining

India's political ambitions and India's culture to the public of the United States. Although the Indian Liberals never for a moment agreed with any of the items of Non-Cooperation which he endorsed from the Congress platform as its President at the special sitting of the body at Calcutta in 1920 they have always regarded him as a stubborn champion of Indian nationalism and a sincere worker for the uplift of his countrymen in all spheres of the nation's life. His politics were undoubtedly Radical ; but it is grotesque to suggest, as has been recently done, that he was an apostle of anarchy. His performance in "Unhappy India" in refuting the calumnies of Miss Mayo will always be remembered as one of the most cogent and best documented retorts clearing up India's reputation and explaining her social and political condition. His work in the Assembly displayed his characteristic virtues of sincerity and courage and on all questions of vital importance to the nation he showed a willingness to make common cause with other parties and other communities in spite of his sworn advocacy of the Hindu cause. Apart from his political activities, he was also a noted social reformer. As a staunch Arya Samajist he had always advocated a return to the pristine purity of the Aryan culture and had fought many a battle in the cause of the depressed classes, of raising the age of marriage and of the physical, moral and spiritual regeneration of the Hindu, or as he termed the Aryan, section of the population. With the latter end in view he helped to found the D. A. V. College in his province, the principal object of which is to enable the *alumni* to revive the ancient glories of India without deprecating the best elements of Western culture. His latest donation of a lakh of rupees to found a hospital for women has shown to all Indians his deep interest in social amelioration. This donation was one more proof of his capacity for financial sacrifice in public causes, for it is an open secret that as a practising lawyer he used to devote a part of his income to the maintenance of some well-known educational institutions in Lahore. That popularity-hunting was not the guiding star of his actions was clearly proved when at the time of the Surat imbroglio, with characteristic self-abnegation he did not allow his name to be put forward for the presidentship of the Congress as a rival to Dr. Rash Bihary Ghose. The Servants of People Society founded by him which has been doing valuable work for the uplift of the depressed classes will be a standing monument to his patriotism and constructive genius. His death will remain inseparably associated with the Simon Commission, for the brutal treatment he received at the hands of the Lahore Police on the day of the arrival of the Simon Commission there is said to have hastened his end.

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**All Parties' Maharashtra Conference.**

DURING the time that has elapsed since the publication of the Nehru Report, it has become clear that it commands a large measure of general support in the country. That its treatment of the communal problem has not been endorsed with equal unanimity is a fact of which great capital is being made in interested quarters. Nobody intends to belittle the importance of that problem or to under-rate the difficulties in the path of its solution: at the same time there can be no doubt that it is after all a question of secondary importance. This point was dealt with forcefully in Mr. N. C. Kelkar's presidential address to the All-Parties' Maharashtra Provincial Conference held at Poona on Sunday last. He pointed out that the main problem to which everything else was subsidiary was the grant of full responsible government and dominion status to this country, about which hardly any difference was noticeable among the more important sections of political opinion. The distribution of seats in the future legislatures, the formation of constituencies, the franchise qualifications, etc., though questions of great importance, were, according to Mr. Kelkar, questions which must take a secondary place by the side of the fundamental idea upon which the structure of the Nehru constitution was based. Mr. Kelkar elucidated this point by remarking that though the Hindus were keen on the abolition of communal electorates and some Mahomedans equally keen the other way, it is doubtful whether the former would be willing to forego Swaraj even if it did not bring with it the abolition of separate electorates. Similarly, he asked, will not keen Mahomedan communalists accept Swaraj even though its grant meant the establishment of joint electorates? There is much force in Mr. Kelkar's contention that agreement even on such difficult points would be much less elusive if the Government gave a pledge, as was done in the case of South Africa, "to concede to us in the form of a Parliamentary Act a scheme of honest and full responsible Government." In the absence of such an undertaking, there is no inducement to the different political parties to come to an agreement. But where even the will to share the responsibility of constitution-making with the people vitally concerned is itself lacking, it is too much to expect that such a pledge will at all be forthcoming. That however is no reason to give up all attempts to agree upon a common formula; on the contrary it should spur us to greater and more resolute activity to that end. It may be mentioned that the Nehru Report is supported by a large number of local bodies in Madras presidency.

**Andhra Provincial Conference.**

THE Nehru Report is gaining fresh support every day. The Andhra Provincial Conference which met on Saturday last under the presidency of Mr. C. Doraswamy Iyengar, M. L. A. passed a resolution giving its support to the Report. This is significant. Madras is at present one of the strongholds of those who are in favour of complete independence for India. The Andhras however while affirming the goal of Independence, do not forget the importance of political unity today. The president of the Conference rightly observed that there was no need for the present controversy between Pandit Nehru and Mr. Sreenivasa Iyengar. The Report of the Nehru Committee clearly stated that there was no obligation on the part of any Congressman to give up his ideal of Independence. What it said was only that all the parties in the land agreed that they could walk together till the goal of Dominion Status was attained and when that was attained, they could separate, if they so choose. The acceptance of Dominion Status as the im-

mediate goal is in no way inconsistent with the adoption of Independence as the ultimate goal. Instead of realising this fact and marching abreast of each other as far as possible, it is suicidal to start quarrelling about the destination at the outset of the journey. By the time these quarrels are settled, the enemy would march right into the camp. It seems that this fact is not fully realised by those who are talking about Independence particularly in Madras. Instead of thinking out how to co-operate with the other parties in the land, they seem to be indulging in a wicked pleasure by emphasising their own difference from those parties. That is certainly not the way to Independence—not even to Dominion Status. Indeed, that only succeeds in obstructing the path to national unity and progress.

**Ceylon Reforms.**

THE Ceylon Legislative Council, in the midst of its deliberations over the Donoughmore Ultimatum about Ceylon Reforms. Report has received a sort of ultimatum from the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the recommendations of the Report must be accepted in toto and that no piecemeal amendments would be allowed. In the event of non-acceptance he has threatened to order the next elections on the basis of the present constitution and to scrap the new scheme altogether. This can hardly be described as anything else than a display of petulance at the desire expressed by the Ceylonese for a greater constitutional advance than is possible under the scheme adumbrated in the Report. Personally we think that the scheme has many good features about it and is worth giving a trial in spite of some items in it which invite an occasional deadlock. In spite of this however we must allow the Ceylonese legislators to have their say in the matter and the scheme in our opinion ought to be modified in accordance with their rational demands arrived at after mature deliberation. If this is not thought possible then a joint conference must be arranged to convince them of their errors and induce them to accept the Report. Instead of this a process of guillotining their discussions has been resorted to by the British Cabinet of which the Secretary for the Colonies is merely a spokesman. The threat, apart from being discourteous and unseemly is sure to be ineffective as we are confident that the Ceylon Legislative Council will not consent to pocket their resolutions meekly at the bidding of the Secretary of State. The least that the Council ought to do is to proceed with their deliberations and arrive at their joint demand in a cool and calculating way. We do not know what objection there can be to hear the demands of the elected representatives of the Colony as it does not commit the British Government to accept them in their entirety nor does it preclude further discussion. If self-government has any meaning Mr. Amery ought to retrace his steps.

**Boycott.**

HOWEVER much those interested in advertising to the world the success of the Simon Commission might try to belittle the strength of the movement for the boycott of the Simon Commission, the fact is that the boycott shows no signs of crumbling to pieces. The latest indication in this behalf is the action of the Coorg Legislative Council in expressing its want of confidence in the Commission. Exact information as to the numbers voting for and against the resolution is not available, but the resolution appears to have been pretty largely supported. The conduct of some C. P. officials under the control of the Ministers in declining to appear before the Hartog Committee to give evidence about the progress of education in the province is also significant.

The Committee's work has never attracted much public attention; and the C. P. Ministers deserve to be thanked for making the Committee feel the strength of public feeling on the subject. The *Pioneer*, which has recently given evidence of an admirable capacity for a correct appreciation of the Indian situation, has the following remarks to offer on this point:—

"The Central Provinces incident provides also another illustration of the virility of the boycott of the Simon Commission and should help to disillusion those who apparently imagine that the boycott is in process of collapse. If the evidence the Simon Commission is at present collecting in other provinces is entirely inadequate and incomplete owing to the absence of the great majority of the most influential political leaders from its proceedings, it is obvious from the attitude adopted towards the Hartog Committee that the Commission's position with regard to the Central Provinces will be farcical unless there is some radical change in the present state of affairs."

Attention may in this connection be also drawn to another resolution passed by the Coorg Legislative Council. In this it has recorded its opinion that the province was fit for the grant of full responsible government and asked that it be treated as a major province.

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It will be remembered that on November 4 the Chief of Miraj gave a public promise to inquire into the recent revision settlement of some parts of his State in association with Mr. Pundalik, the accredited representative of the ryots. He has not taken long to go back upon this promise and prove that after all those who were disinclined to place any reliance on his words knew their man better than those who showed their readiness to take his promise at its face value. The promise above referred to did not prevent him from receiving a deputation of some local people who had no representative character whatever and no authority to speak on behalf of the ryots and coming to some patched-up understanding with it. This was followed by the ryots' representative being told that there was no need of an inquiry. No wonder that the Chief's conduct has been deeply resented by the agriculturists an exceptionally large number of whom have flocked into Miraj and are practising Satyagraha in front of the palace. The conduct of the Satyagrahis has so far been perfectly peaceful, which reflects great credit upon them and their leaders. The Satyagraha has been going on for about a week now and nobody knows when it may come to an end. Meanwhile, the usual bureaucratic and high-handed methods for breaking the Satyagraha are being set in operation against the leaders, and orders under section 144 Cr. P. C. have been served upon them, apparently prohibiting them from coming within the precincts of the palace. Far from chilling the ardour of the Satyagrahis, these arbitrary orders have confirmed them in their resolve to secure justice from the Chief and there is no sign that the crowd of about 5000 agriculturists who have been waiting in front of his palace all these days and nights in the hope of pricking his conscience will go back to their respective occupations without the Chief promising an inquiry with the intention, of course, of keeping the promise. The situation is no doubt difficult; but the way out of the difficulty is not by calling out armed police to the Chief's help, but by redressing the agriculturists' just grievances. If the Chief believes that armed police will bring him peace, he is woefully mistaken. He cannot be said to have read the recent history of British India aright

if he still entertains that belief. We hope that he will yet be prevailed upon to see his way to stick to the promise he has already given.

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WITH regard to Mr. Sakasura's evidence it is difficult to admit the truth of the idyllic condition of Japanese workers in Japan. He could not give a satisfactory reply to Mr. Joshi's contention that the existence of anti-labour legislation and the demand of the Japanese delegate to the International Labour Conference for an international enquiry into the textile labour conditions proved that labour conditions were far from being ideal. It is clear however from his evidence that the efficiency of Indian workers could be raised appreciably if suitable reforms are introduced. One of the most important suggestions made by Mr. Joshi in the matter of balance-sheets was that the commissions on the purchase of cotton as well as stores should be shown separately. A proper judgment on the system of commissions is difficult to arrive at, if commissions are disguised or suppressed by a mixing up of such items with others. Considering that the commission agency system has been adversely criticized before the Tariff Board it is the duty of the Mill-owners to allay suspicion by a straightforward presentation of this item. Sir Joseph Kay had to admit the principal gravamen of the charge against the standardisation scheme that the labour leaders or unions were not consulted before its adoption. After a good deal of parrying he had to admit that the Mill-owners' Association had not made efforts to find out whether the spinners' wage was a decent living wage. It is worth noting that the loss of the market of the Near East countries was due to the inability of Indian mills to supply finer goods,

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SPEAKING at a recent gathering of Pulayas in Ernakulam, the Dewan of Cochin said that Depressed Classes vigorous measures were being taken in Cochin, by the State to help their community.

For instance, the number of Pulaya children under instruction had risen in one single year by about 50%, from 8000 to 12000. And speaking at the same meeting, the Assistant Protector of the Depressed Classes in the State said that a scheme was maturing by which it was intended to divide the community into a number of groups and to start in each group not less than 15 to 20 co-operative societies. If the two major evils of poverty and ignorance are removed the others are all bound to disappear in the course of time. The State also contemplates the development of cottage industries like basket-making, spinning and weaving, etc. There is also a proposal to assign about 200 acres of land to the Pulayas for cultivation. These are all steps that are bound to lead the community to prosperity. But the problem is so urgent and large that no measures of amelioration can be too good or too early. The Hindu community especially in Malabar has been criminally oppressive towards these unfortunates in the past. And today no amount of help that it gives can be said to suffice and to wipe out the sins of its past conduct. It ought not to imagine that since the Government does something to help them the community can therefore afford to keep quiet. The right course of conduct for it is to second the efforts of the Government in a larger measure both by work and by gifts of money earmarked for the improvement of the position of the Depressed Classes.

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### THE NEED FOR UNITY.

SINCE the Nehru Report was published there has been hardly a dissentient voice amongst Indian public men belonging to the various political parties with the exception of a large portion of Muslims who believe that their rights have received a scant recognition in the Report and who feel particularly aggrieved by the proposed abolition of the special electorates. It is to be expected that when a section of society is long accustomed to special privileges it is very loth to relinquish them and the right of prescription acts as an obsession which prevents reason from exercising its normal function of a dispassionate review of an objective event. It is just such an obsession which has latterly clouded the Muslim vision and has made difficult the recognition of the merits of a joint electorate from a national point of view. It must be remembered that even in 1909 communal electorates were granted only in view of the small size of the Councils and that subsequently when large Councils were contemplated the Montford Report definitely stated: "We regard any system of communal electorates therefore as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle. The evils of any extension of the system are plain.....Much as we regret the necessity we are convinced the present system must be maintained until conditions alter.....But we can see no reason to set up communal representation for Muhammadans in any province where they form a majority of voters." Now we really believe that conditions have altered and the time has arrived when common citizenship can only be realized by means of joint electorates. We hope we shall not be regarded as impertinent if we advise our Muslim brethren to study the Nehru Report with less bias and with more open minds and we feel sure they will realize that a sincere effort has been made in it to solve the question of Muslim representation on equitable lines.

As we expected, Mr. Jinnah has acted as a great peace-maker and has appealed to Sir M. Shafi to close up the ranks and have a joint deliberation over the Nehru Report in the full session of the All-India Muslim League. There is absolutely no doubt that the Convention for considering the constitution ought to be postponed till the Muslim League has got an opportunity to consider the general principle underlying the Report. It is very appropriate that the League will hold its session at Calcutta where it will have facilities for an exchange of views with Congress leaders and attempting to arrive at an agreement. If as a result of Mr. Jinnah's appeal to the other section of the Muslim League, the two sections which for certain reasons have drifted apart will unite and make a common cause at the forthcoming session of the League we on our part shall rejoice. Our appeal to Muslims at this time is for an unprejudiced consideration of the Nehru Report by all sections of Muslims and for an earnest endeavour to endorse it with a view to consummate a united demand for an agreed constitution. We endorse

heartily Mr. Jinnah's appeal to the leaders of the Hindu community not to be carried away by stray pronouncements by individual Muslim leaders. The occasion is too serious for an indulgence in retorts and literary passages at arms which will only frustrate further efforts for a settlement.

As an earnest of its good will we welcome the resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League thanking the Nehru Committee for its efforts to meet the demands of the Muslims formulated at the League's Calcutta session of 1927 and commending the Nehru Report for consideration at the coming session. Mr. Jinnah in an interview declares himself as satisfied with the meeting of the Council which requires certain alterations and amendments in the Nehru Report. These when presented in proper form will certainly be considered by the All-Parties' Conference and, if acceptable, incorporated into the Report. In view of the approaching session of the League it is as well that the Council has not tried to anticipate its decisions. We are confident that the deliberations of that body, under the guidance of the Raja of Mahmudabad, will be conducted with due regard to the seriousness of the issues involved and in an atmosphere free from passion and prejudice. The fact that Mr. Chagla is hopeful about the prospects of a settlement of all issues is reassuring at the present time.

The evidence before the Statutory Commission has already in a short time revealed the depths to which communalism has reached and also the preposterous demands that are made in the name of the rights of the various communities. With the Muslims asking for a privileged treatment it will be difficult to resist the claims of other communal bodies; it was in this wise that the Sikh claims had to be admitted in the Punjab even by the Montford Reforms and the recent evidence given in Lahore by the Sikh representatives shows that they are attempting to perpetuate it on the strength of arguments similar to those brought forward by Muslims in favour of reservation. With reservation all round, the majority would be swamped by the minorities—a curious presage of the vaunted democracy. The only way to avoid this *contretemps* is to nip the principle of separate representation in the bud and to declare at once for a common electorate based on mere citizenship irrespective of caste and creed. The more one thinks about joint electorates, the clearer become the grounds in favour of that vital reform in the Indian constitution, which has been delayed from the beginning to safeguard the interests which were supposed to be threatened by majority rule and *par excellence* the Muslim interests. It will be so handsome if Muslims themselves show the graciousness to forego the special electorates which were at one time regarded as an inevitable necessity. The argument based on "settled facts" would not hold water when vital changes are contemplated; many settled facts have been unsettled in the history of many countries, especially since the advent of modern democracy. In view of the importance of a unanimity of views on the main points at issue in regard to the new constitution we would like to im-

press on the minds of the Muslim leaders the need for making a strenuous attempt to reconcile conflicting views and arrive at a workable compromise which at the same time shall be just and equitable.

### SOME UNIVERSITY PROBLEMS.

It was a remarkable address that Dr. C. V. Raman delivered to the new graduates of the Andhra University the other day. With the unerring instinct of an experienced educationist, he said, in the course of his address, that the aims of a school and of a University differ very widely. Though the school may sometimes be considered as a body which enables the student to pass certain examinations and get an appointment, it would be totally wrong to think that the University also is a degree-giving body and could be made use of in order to obtain employment. Yet this is the current view that the man in the street holds and probably, in view of what our universities were till very recently, he is justified in thinking so. A new wave, however, of educational idealism is passing over the land and the old ideas of higher education are being given the go-bye. Hereafter the university should be considered as a Republic of Learning. Its aim should be the advancement of knowledge and not the imparting of instruction. A student who has a degree to his credit should cease to mean one who has passively and laboriously stored up a good many items of information but should refer to a young man who has had the joy of coming into living contact with men who move in the serene world of scholarship and research.

This high ideal naturally implies that the existing state of higher education should rapidly be improved. On the one hand, the staff of the universities should be recruited from among abler men who have the power of thought and research in them. To quote Dr Raman, we need men "who have courage and vision and themselves know the true road to knowledge which is by personal study and research and investigation. One who does not know the road himself will only lead others astray." On the other hand, we need different methods of teaching. To gather a hundred students or more in a class to which learned professors come for two hours or so a week to lecture on set subjects—that is not conducive to real education. Neither the student nor the professor benefits thereby. The former is not introduced to a subject in the way suited to his temperament and capacity and the latter does not adopt the point of view of his students which can be obtained only by intimate and personal contact with them. The result is want of mutual understanding and sympathy. The student begins to aim only at passing an examination and takes to cramming. The real aim of university teaching however should be "to stimulate and guide the student on the right path, to help him to acquire habits of study and work and to encourage him to exercise an independent judgment on problems presented to him."

How important this attitude of mind is, for us in India, was emphasised by Dr. Bose in his Convocation Address to the Allahabad University. Viewing the question from a biological point of view, Dr. Bose said that an organism that does not adapt itself to the environments is bound to decay and perish. India alone cannot afford to stand by while the world is rushing past her. She has to shake off her lethargy and become active in the world of thought and action. Sir Jagadish said:

"For the survival of an organism, there is a very important factor, namely its power of adaptation to the ceaseless change of environment. No change has been

so abrupt and unsettling as that precipitated by the war. The essential cause of unrest all over the world is economic... It is tragic that our country with its great potential wealth and possibilities of industrial development should be in such a hopeless plight."

His exhortation was to the effect that our young men should take to research work in those fields which would lead to our industrial improvement. The complaint has long been that our education is too literary and unconnected with the actual life we live. This is responsible for the lack of interest displayed by our educated classes in economic matters. But a welcome change has recently come over the country and the old attitude is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. People are realising in increasing measure that universities should begin to pay more attention to science work which can be made materially useful to the people. In opening a few days ago the Science College of the Patna University, the Viceroy said.

"No university today, in a scientific age, is complete without its equipment for scientific research, as one of the many branches which go to make the whole tree of human knowledge... India with her great material resources to be developed, its industrial possibilities to be explored, its agricultural and engineering problems to be solved, offers wide scope to those whose talents lie in the direction of scientific research."

But the doubt is often expressed whether we have talent and facilities enough in the country to pursue industrial research properly. To have to go to Europe or America for purposes of study is a difficult affair from many points of view and so our progress can only be very slow. That this is a wrong notion, is testified to by no less a scientist than Dr. J. C. Bose. He said at the Allahabad Convocation,

"The Vice-Chancellor complains that on account of the widespread notion that higher work cannot be carried out in India, our students are obliged to go to Europe, America and Japan. This idea is wholly unfounded for I shall presently show that you have men in your department of science who with your good will to back them are fully competent to establish a tradition of which any university may well be proud. There are now several thousand Indian students in Europe and it has been computed that India pays in this way an annual tribute which exceeds a crore of rupees. Would it not be desirable that a part of it should be utilised in India?"

Granted the need for reorganisation of higher studies and for emphasis on economic research, the question naturally arises as to the ways and means of getting the funds needed. While we do not forget that the Government has a duty in this matter, we wish to draw the attention of the public to their own responsibility. Their attitude of apathy in the past may perhaps be said to be intelligible. The universities had no vital touch with the life around them. They existed in an artificial atmosphere, were themselves actuated by considerations not exactly academic and did not therefore care to get into contact with Indian life and conditions. Hence the pathetic phenomenon of the "discontented B. A." who feels, by virtue of his alien culture, that he is an alien at home and abroad, not fit for anything else than a clerical post, which does not always get him even a subsistence allowance. Conditions however are rapidly changing. Our educational centres are ceasing to be hot-house plants but are getting opened out to the Indian atmosphere. They are realising that their *locus standi* is in India and not in mid-air. And they will soon put on an Indian garb inheriting the spirit of Taxila and Nalanda. In a land where



Learning is personified and worshipped in the form of the goddess Saraswati, it would not take long for her philanthropic sons, to feel that Universities are among those that deserve their substantial encouragement in the greatest measure. Besides, the example of the West, particularly of America, shows how centres of learning are numerous there which are endowed and maintained entirely by the public. Thus both ancient practice and modern example encourage us to hope that our rich men will come forth in larger numbers to help the cause of scholarship and research and thus find a laudable use for their money

### INDIA'S POLITICAL AMBITION.

THE two words at present uppermost in the minds of thinking politicians are "Independence" and "Dominion Status" as the next step in India's political progress. The Nehru Committee has at least done this service, that it has served to concentrate public attention on a constitution for India. And though the principal political parties are agreed as to the main lines of the Report, disagreement has recently become noticeable among the more important leaders as regards India's goal. While their patriotism and sincerity are beyond cavil it is clear something more is necessary. A careful calculation of the risks and balancing of accounts are also equally essential. There are many who can and do indulge in tall talk; but do their actions accord with their professions? Mrs. Besant is right in saying that these inconsistencies between the professions and actions of our political leaders make the whole political life in this country farcical in the extreme. I do not intend to deny that foreign rule has also its own share in this result.

The most recent Congress declaration, viz. the A. I. C. C. resolution on the Nehru Report, tries to reconcile parties who have either Independence or Dominion Status as their goal. The attempt has however failed miserably. According to the Nehru Report, Dominion Status is to be our immediate objective; we do not know whether the Independence-wallas can say the same thing about their ideal. In politics one ought to worry more about the next step than about those to follow and in any case it is sheer waste of energy to try to think about or legislate for eternity or for all posterity, as those who stand for Independence seem to be doing. The fact is that India is a dependent nation with neither political nor fiscal autonomy, central or local, and she is under British domination. No amount of argument can shake this fact. If everything depended merely upon the declaration of a goal, we could have voted ourselves into "Independence" long ago. The real question is one of ways and means. The fact is Britain is in possession. How she secured ascendancy or how she maintains it at present are questions irrelevant to the issue. That Britain is selfish may or may not be true. Assuming that she is here predominantly for her own profit, what is the Indian position?

The only two ways of wresting more political power from Britain are open war and mutual assent. The first has only to be mentioned to be discarded as out of the question; and there can be no doubt we must fall back upon the second. Responsible government has been recognised even by Parliament to be India's goal, but it is no use disguising the fact that the declaration is unilateral and can be withdrawn if Parliament so chooses; or if it is unable to carry India with itself. The All-India Congress Committee admits that the Nehru Report provides a great step in advance. Why not then support it and strengthen the demand for Dominion Status?

The question whether Britain could be induced to vote itself out of its power over India's administration is doubtful in the extreme, but moral pressure can do a great deal to influence public opinion in England, and in the world outside. At any rate if India demands Dominion Status *at once* on an agreed programme India would be giving a great opportunity to Britain to put herself in the wrong not only with regard to India but also with the civilised world. At any rate India would be giving an opportunity to England, which, if she cares, she may use to retreat with dignity, to give with honour, and yet keep the Empire intact for all that it is worth. India, if she gets Dominion Status, would achieve 99.9 per cent of her political ambitions to realise her opportunities. But the demand for Independence is, as it were, a declaration of war. Why not give one more fair opportunity to get by good will what cannot at present be achieved otherwise?

The present is a great opportunity for the Congress to rally together all the thinking sections of India's people and concentrate with one voice on Dominion Status at its next session at Calcutta. It would be criminal not to do so. To cry for immediate independence is to court disaster. No man out of Bedlam could at all think it humanly possible. On Dominion Status all Indians could agree—Mahomedan and Hindu, Sikh and Parsee, the Brahmin and the Adi-Dravida, the Government and the people. It provides for a dignified understanding all round. The time for Independence is not yet, and if Dominion Status comes it may not be necessary either.

POLITICUS.

### REVIEWS.

#### INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE. BY F. W. TAUSSIG.  
(The Macmillan Co., New York.) 1927. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
pp. 425. 15s.

DR. TAUSSIG, as the author of well-known textbooks on Economics, does not need introduction to the students of Economics. He had previously brought out a volume of selections for use in university courses on international trade and tariff problems. The book, as indicated by its title, 'Selected Readings in International Trade and Tariff problems' consisted of extracts from authors whose names form landmarks in the history of economic thought, ranging from Adam Smith and Ricardo to Alfred Marshall, and included also some contributions of his own. Such a collection of extracts, though useful in its own way, could not have the unity and consistency of an exposition which comes from a single hand. The present volume repairs this deficiency and presents a consistent statement of the theory of international trade, a valuable addition to the literature on the subject. The author, however, restricts his attention to a discussion of the general theory and its practical verification, omitting the controversy about free trade and protection, referring to the tariff question only in a general way so far as it affects the theory.

Though the author disclaims originality, his contribution strikes a new line of treatment which may be profitably adopted by economic theorists. He devotes Part I to a statement of the general theory which is dealt with separately, its practical



verification being the subject of an independent examination in Part II. The result is to save the author from the vague generalisations in which an economic theorist is apt to indulge and has further enabled him to point out some common fallacies which can be discovered in contributions of other investigators in the field.

While Part I dealing with the general theory may be criticised as needlessly elaborate, admitting a more concise treatment, Part II constitutes the valuable portion of the book where the general theory has been subjected to rigorous scrutiny, the problems selected for verification being typical and representative. The selection ranges from the historical episode of 1871 when France had to find a big indemnity, Canada showing in its international trade the unique operation of a single influence, borrowing abroad on a large scale, Great Britain with its well-known phenomenon of the excess of imports to the United States of America which has been the experimenting ground for protectionist theories, with the interesting post-war development which brought about the change in its international loan account with other countries.

As the author points out, the aim of an economist investigating economic phenomena is not to attain a neat logical structure but an understanding of actualities; hence the necessity for verification. The physicist or biologist who believes that he has hit upon a generalisation which conforms to the regularities of the external world would use it merely as a working hypothesis. He proceeds to test it by observation and experiment. The economist must do the same for his hypotheses. He cannot experiment and so he has to rely mainly on observation.

Part III considers international trade under dislocated exchanges such as prevailed during the post-war period. Abnormal conditions accompanying such a period necessarily preclude definite conclusions being formulated. Incidentally the author examines critically the theory of the purchasing power parity sponsored by Professor Cassel, which has obtained vogue since, and which has encouraged considerable loose reasoning even among financial experts. While a rough sort of purchasing power parity between the quantity of paper issued, the advance in prices, and the rates of exchange may be conceded what is to be questioned is 'the doctrine of an exact relation, and especially that of a tendency to a long-run exact correspondence'. While it is a truism to assert that prices of international goods tend to fluctuate in close accord with the exchange quotations, the real problem lies in the movements of domestic prices and money incomes. Between these and exchange rates, there may be not only temporary discordances but permanent ones. The abnormal period in India which has followed the hurried fixing of the exchange rate at 1s. 6d. on the assumed adjustment of the domestic price level two years ago, and which does not show signs of termination yet by the unrest continuing in the industries, provides a complete illustration.

A chapter is devoted to the gold exchange system. The author considers this merely a case of 'pegging' which may be useful as a temporary expedient, and reaches the conclusion:

"I cannot but believe that those who propose gold exchange standards, stabilised exchanges, currencies managed by discount rates, often fail to face the long-run problems. For a time, for a considerable time, arrangements of this character will serve. They may be highly useful in putting an end to violently dislocated exchanges, to sharply fluctuating prices (especially of international goods), to demoralizing uncertainties all round. It is their validity as goals of definitive monetary settlement that seems to me open to question"

P. B. JUNNARKAR.

### CO-EDUCATION.

THE MIXED SCHOOL. By B. A. HOWARD.  
(University of London Press). 1928. 8 x 5 1/4.  
pp. 248. 6S.

CO-EDUCATION as a scientific experiment is of pretty recent origin although co-education seems to have existed as far back as the classical times. The fundamental point underlying this is the recognition of the principle that boys and girls should be educated on an equal footing and given sufficient scope for free intercourse and association with each other. In America this has now become the established method and is fast becoming popular in England and on the Continent. In villages the world over this is largely practised for the sake of convenience and economy. But it is now becoming increasingly evident that co-education as a definite method has come to stay.

"The Mixed School" by B. A. Howard is a valuable contribution to the study of this system as it contains a detailed discussion of the numerous aspects of co-education. He traces it from its earliest conception and traces its gradual evolution in England as well as in other countries. Pestalozzi was one of the earliest men to stress the theory of co-education and also combine it with practice. Still the few private experimental schools on these lines, although producing brilliant results, hardly touched the fringes of the whole problem. It was when co-education came to be introduced in State Schools that it became an established factor. At first there were only "dual" schools where although the boys and girls belonged to the same institution, all intercourse between them was discouraged and suppressed. But this unnatural barrier gradually broke down, giving place to the modern co-educational school due partly to the natural line of evolution, partly to the necessity for economy and partly to the steady raising of the woman's status in life. In America education from the very beginning has been on these lines, as American Civilization, being in a hurry, had no time for duplicating educational systems and institutions.

The aim of the co-educational school is the securing of freedom from sex obsession for boys and girls by "unkindly robbing each of the glamour of the half light and the delicately whispered confidence," making "the attractive unknown become the known." Co-education establishes a more dignified ideal of friendship for it serves to destroy the unreal glamour and the sex tension. The argument that this tends to lessen the chances of marriage has been overthrown by marriage statistics relating to mixed schools. It has been proved that the primary instinct in man and woman is not crushed but finely cultivated. They may choose their mates less hastily but do so certainly more wisely. From the social point of view too co-education is highly desirable.

Not only the domestic but the civic and the national life is composed of men and women working together; hence they must be taught how to co-operate and jointly serve society and the state. Realisation of each other's point of view and its relative importance also establishes a spirit of tolerance and interdependence.

Broadly speaking, the main part of the curriculum is often common to both. Only in vocational parts their needs might sometimes differ. The present tendency in all institutions is towards offering a large choice of subjects for boys and girls alike so that ample provision is made for individual needs.

The two chapters on sex differences are of great interest and value and approach the questions from a variety of points. But the general conclusion is that the differences, whether intellectual or emotional, far from justifying segregation, emphasise the necessity for closer comradeship as these differences benefit and enrich both the sexes. Only so far as physical differences are concerned, separate games like gymnastics are recommended in order to guard against an excessive strain on the girl.

The guiding and governing factor of co-education throughout is the harmonious blending together of the great variability of the two sexes; and therefore it seeks to create conditions in which a boy's and girl's personality can develop itself. It does not countenance the foolish ambition of eliminating sex-differences and "Equating the girl to the boy."

KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY.

### UPBRINGING OF THE CHILD.

**THE CHILD AND THE HOME.** By B. LIBER.  
(Vanguard Press, New York.) 1927. 7¼ × 4½.  
pp. 248. \$0. 50.

DR. B. LIBER has a rare combination of being a Physician and an Educator of high merit, and his devotion to the study of the Child has resulted in this most interesting work which has already run into several editions. Since the great War a great many Educators in Europe and America are devoting themselves to the study of the Child; but these studies consist mainly in collecting psychological facts relating to the education of the Child as a whole. But Dr. Liber's theme consists in the study of the Child in its home environments, and as such this is an admirable contribution to the daily growing literature on "The Child." Dr. Liber advises us to leave the child strictly alone and never to treat him as a toy or an animal or a slave. He has given several instances which show vividly how the Child is either neglected or too much interfered with, so far as its individual liberty is concerned. He warns us that a Child can never be expected to grow into a bold and upright citizen by bringing him up in the time-worn methods of discipline and punishments, and advocates strongly that the Child be allowed to grow up *rationaly*. The author gives the most rational hints on this subject.

Dr. Liber divides the book into six chapters. The first one treats of fundamental errors of child upbringing. He complains that the child always lacks (1) freedom, (2) truth and (3) respect for his own individuality. The author has given apt instances to show that people who protest against despotic rulers are themselves worst tyrants in their own homes. Parents pretend to teach the child to be truthful; but as a matter of fact they are themselves telling heaps of lies to the innocent children: "Sit quiet or else the Police will arrest you"; "Do this or God

will punish you" and so forth. The Child however knows by experience that all these or similar threats are nothing but lies. Another method with which the parents educate their children at home is by such "don'ts" as, "don't talk, don't run, don't jump, don't whistle, don't sing, etc." The Sultan's orders are always pocketed by the intelligent Child with the result that it ceases to have any confidence in its parents.

In Chapter II, Dr. Liber gives some practical, and in our opinion, sound advice to parents. He warns us against the infliction of frequent punishments on the child as they generally have a contrary effect to the one desired. Such punishments also engender lying, which must be avoided at all costs.

In Chapter III, the author gives several instances from actual life which portray a graphic picture of how the child is brought up on wrong lines. We would quote a few:—

"The father has dropped a matchbox and orders the child to pick it up. The latter obeys. A few minutes later the child drops the matchbox and the father beats him severely."

"The father and the little boy are in the omnibus.

The Child:—"What is that, Daddy?"

"That is a statue?"

"What is a statue?"

"A statue is a statue!"

"His father brought Jimmie a set of Building Blocks. But every time the Child begins to play, his father comes and meddles with them.

"Oh Daddy! Just a minute, I want to show you something."

One day Jimmie said to his father; "Here, Dad, I will give you my Blocks so that you can play with them, and you buy me another set."

This is another fine instance:

"The parents and all the adults are supposed to be infallible. They never break anything.....One little boy who was just as neglectful or as careful as nature has made him has discovered that the grown-ups including his old old grandma make mistakes almost as frequently as he does. And he has found a way of expressing his scorn for the imaginary precision. Whenever an adult in the house breaks or spills something, he sings "I am not the only one, I am glad I am not the only one, and so forth for about five minutes. He has a special tune for his song."

Chapter IV, in our opinion, is very important. The author, himself a great authority on sexual subjects, gives a frank talk to the parents as to how prudery could be avoided. He maintains that education regarding sex can be boldly and safely imparted to the young ones without any reserve whatever. While parents fondly believe that their child is absolutely innocent, so far as sex matters are concerned, it will be found that it actually knows about these matters quite as much as its parents! In this connection the author rightly suggests that the parents should take their children into confidence and no longer keep them in ignorance. Every mother would be assailed with questions like these:—"Mother where did the baby come from?" Instead of telling lies, the proper course for her would be to give tactful, but truthful, explanations.

Chapter V deals with health problems, food, etc. If a child does not drink milk do not force him to drink it, but replace it by some other food. Many parents take advantage of the weak muscles of the child and force several things down his throat, which is brutal! Dr. Liber advises mothers not to hurry the child to the school at the cost of slow eating and good chew-

ing. Slow eating and good chewing are more important than going to school.

Finally, Chapter VI gives important replies to several queries regarding the child, from which we quote one typical instance:—

"Question:—What should be done with a child who does not confide in his parents.

Answer:—This lack of confidence is usually due to the lack of friendliness. But in some cases children, no matter how they are treated, will have their secrets. If the child is physically and mentally normal this is not a misfortune. It should be allowed to have a private corner in its soul which should be respected by the parents."

This book is evidently meant for parents and teachers, who may find themselves depicted boldly but truly, perhaps not a little to their annoyance too at times. But facts must be faced and as such we recommend the book strongly to all those who have anything to do with the up-bringing of the child. This book has been already translated in German, French and Rumanian, and it deserves to be translated in all the more important Indian languages, and distributed broad-cast. The treatment is masterly and the method and style simple and attractive.

S. B. HUDLIKAR.

#### WILL KHADDAR PROGRAMME PAY ?

**THE ECONOMICS OF KHADDAR.** By RICHARD B. GREGG. (S. Ganesan, Madras.) 1928-7½ × 4¾. pp. 226. Re. 1-8.

MR. GREGG, presumably an American, claims that he has had seven years of practical experience in cotton mills in America and has studied the Khaddar programme in India for nearly two years and a half and discusses the question in his little book whether the Khaddar programme would 'pay' in rupees and annas.

Mr. Gregg carries the reader through twelve chapters which are well arranged, some of which deal with the technique of production and costs, but for the general reader his conclusions are sufficient and his chapters on the question of competition of mills, the problem of unemployment and an examination of the Khaddar movement are of great interest to the student of Social Economics.

In p. 45, Mr. Gregg admits that mill machinery is certainly more efficient than the charkha and hand-loom. 'If the efficiency of the charkha would be improved two and a half times it would stand even with the mill spindle, and if the efficiency of the hand loom could be increased ten-fold, it, too, would be on an even footing with the 'mill loom.' But Mr. Gregg says that the enormous number of unemployed people in India makes the idea of 'labour saving' entirely irrelevant and that as millions of people are idle almost every day of their lives, even hand spinning is better than nothing. To this claim the critic may agree, but one is unable to follow Mr. Gregg further.

The mill industry is well-organised not only in production but also for purposes of marketing. And even the advantages of co-operative stores have in some cases been assimilated by big retail stores which are run on a large scale by joint stock companies. It is an extremely difficult task to organise efficiently either for purposes of production or marketing the many millions of agriculturists or idlers in India. Mr. Gregg is on very weak ground from the point of view of the economic theorist when he calls to his aid the sentiments of people, patriotism and all that, and calls upon them to pay a higher price for Khaddar. This certainly is not economics.

His analogy of protectionism does not make his defence any the more wise economically.

His outcry against capitalism is something with which we can sympathise. But capitalism is something inevitable, and the acquisitive nature of human beings will always give greater opportunities for activity to the strong as against the weak. This may be morally indefensible, but the Economist is not concerned with what should be but what is. The Economist is not essentially a moralist.

All that can be said in favour of the Khaddar movement is this: that as a secondary part-time occupation for the great agricultural population and for the women in urban areas, it may give some work and keep them engaged. To prove that per se it is more economical to the individual producer or consumer at the present time or within any reasonable time is a very difficult task. But in spite of all that Mr. Gregg has done a distinct service in making a valiant attempt to bring together in a small compass all that can be said in favour of Khaddar avoiding as far as possible the language of the orator or of the priest.

S. V. AYYAR.

#### PRINCIPLES OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION.

**INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION.** By R. H. LEE. (Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., London.) 1928. 7¼ × 5. pp. 232.

IN this small book, Mr. Lee has explained the principles of industrial production in simple style, eschewing technical details and academic discussions and he has done it admirably. One of the chapters describes the general characteristics of factories in a manner which would make this intricate subject comprehensible even to a lay reader. In view of the socialist attacks on capital, the author has done well in emphasizing that there is no connection between wages and profits so as to make the two antagonistic; as losses are not shared by workers, there is no grace in abusing the capitalist. The author emphasizes the truth which has been gaining ground latterly that high wages and high profits are not incompatible and both can be made compatible with low prices. The several bonus systems intended to benefit more industrious workers are explained very lucidly in connection with the discussion of wages. While approving of short hours of work the author gives a warning that it is very likely that the cost of the final product might be so high as to handicap the nation that adopts the reform in the world competition; such was the case, for instance, with British engineering products. With regard to trade unionism the author admits that the doctrines and methods adopted by it are becoming too unaccommodating and sometimes tyrannical. Considering all things Mr. Lee thinks that trade-unionism is essentially selfish at its core. Now that the exploitation of labour for the inordinate benefit of the employer has ceased in Great Britain the author advises the trade unions to be more sober and rational.

Discussing management, and the roll of employers the author shows how the bogey of the ill-informed social agitator, viz. a special class of employers, does not exist; the ownership is distributed throughout the community. Details of factory organization are given to impress on the reader the importance of scientific management which continually tends to improved efficiency. These small bits of information given in the book about small details are very enlivening, being at the same time educative. In a general review of modern industry the author emphasizes the view that neither capital nor

labour invented the factory system; capital helps to keep it up by providing factories and equipment for the sake of profit. Without the factory system the present industrial populations would cease to live and which without it would have to emigrate or suffer extermination. The book gives an amount of varied information about production to a reader who is a layman. To school boys the book will be a veritable boon.

V. N. G.

### THE GURKHAS.

**THE GURKHAS: THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS AND COUNTRY.** By W. BROOK NORTHEY AND C. J. MORRIS. (The Bodley Head) 1928. 8¾ × 5¾. pp. 282. 18s.

IT is not possible to speak of "The Gurkhas" in superlatives. Still, it must be said that it is a well-meaning attempt—on the whole sketchy—at removing the ignorance generally prevailing about the Himalayan Cradle-land. The book—so well got-up—conveniently divides itself into two portions, the historical and ethnological. To Major Brook Northey and Captain Morris belongs the credit of having rescued as much connected history of Nepal as they could, from a wilderness of legends and forgotten writings. On its literary side, there is need for revision of such loose forms as are occasionally met with. For instance, "His powers of persuasion were successful in gaining the support of many of the petty chieftains who were further seduced by promises of reward and increased authority and power."

Prof. Turner who is responsible for the ethnological portion gives us a faithful insight into the customs and manners of the Nepalese, who like their neighbours the Indians, constitute a museum of ancient relics. Most things about them are incurably antiquated, though in certain respects, it will do the Indian infinite good to take a few leaves out of their book.

"Though from a European point of view, they appear to be lacking in what may be regarded as almost the essentials of comfort, houses in Nepal are clean and well kept."

"Unhampered by trammels of caste, the Gurkha women of the hill-districts enjoy greater freedom than is allowed to their sisters in the Indian plains and they are accordingly able to take an interest in life and what is going on around them in a manner approximating to that of the women of Europe."

By way of sharp contrast to the born other-worldly lotus-eater in India,

"The game he (The Gurkha) delights in the most during his childhood is that of playing at soldiers and little groups of children can often be seen drilling each other or taking part in mimic battles."

"A Hindu widow cannot remarry according to the strict tenets of the faith. Should she however contract an unofficial alliance with a Brahman, the children of such alliance would be termed Jaisi and the second class of Brahmans has come about in this way."

"According to the custom, which prevails, marriage could take place at any time after the age of seven and it was considered advisable for the girl to be married before the age of thirteen. In modern days, however, public opinion against child marriages is growing in Nepal... and nowadays the age at which most Nepalese are married is much more normal, being usually between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one."

In all other matters, particularly those relating to caste, we are alike and possess in common "an inherent aversion to change, the principal hindrance to progress all over the East."

The Government of Nepal is unmixed autocracy of the Prime Minister who is an Oriental replica of the Italian Mussolini. The sovereign of this country is for all practical purposes defunct. There is nothing in the book to suggest that there exist popular checks, constitutional or otherwise, over the absolute authority of the *de facto* ruler, nor even the remotest inclination on his part to associate the people in the administration. One swallow of a Sir Chandra Shumsher Jang Bahadur however does not make for a sustained summer in the state. It lies with him who has deservedly become the idol of his subjects, by abolishing slavery in his land, to initiate a responsible form of Ministry in order to ensure continuity of the existing paternal rule.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

### SHORT NOTICES.

**THE WEST.** By K. KUNHI KANNAN. (S. Ganesan, Madras.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 355. Rs. 2-8.

EASTERN criticisms of the West have become frequent of late. "The West" by Mr. Kunhi Kannan is one of the fairest one can come across. He succeeds on the whole in striking a balance between the good and evil of western civilisation. He makes some points in favour of the West which are not usually made by the eastern critic of western civilisation. For instance, he is struck by "the intellectual appeal of most of the buildings with architectural pretensions in the West" as well as by "the sense of discipline, of the due subordination of detail to the main theme" which he places in contrast to the "over-elaboration of detail in Hindu architecture." It is in his contrasts of Eastern and Western civilisation that he is most interesting. In fact this sense of contrast seems to obsess the author and prevents him from drawing any definite lessons as to how these two forms of civilisation can influence each other. For he recognizes that each has virtues which the other would do well to have. But he will not recognize the need for interaction because "there is no thought of the politically dominant civilisation allowing the reverse process in its own home." He is against fusion because that would imply "that the qualities of the two civilisations are not mutually exclusive." Then East must be always East, and West must always be West, and all thought of the evolution of a world-civilisation must be given up. For this mutual influence does not mean that either the West or the East would have to give up its individuality. It is possible for individuals as well as for peoples to learn and adopt liberally from other individuals and peoples and still preserve the core of their personality. Otherwise, there would be no meaning in education or in history.

M. RUTHNASWAMY.

**SONS OF AFRICA.** By GEORGINA A. GOLLOCK (Student Christian Movement.) 1928. 7¾ × 5. pp. 247. 5s.

THIS book is a series of biographical sketches of prominent Africans. The author has added a remarkable book to the Christian literature on Africa. This book reveals how slowly and steadfastly the Christian missionaries have been working for the upliftment of the negro race in Africa. The lives of some of the Africans as narrated in this book are a standing monument to the humanitarian work of the Christian missionaries. Sir Apolo Kagwa, the Prime Minister of Uganda, who died in 1927, was a paga boy and through the civilising influences of the missionaries attained the highest position in his country. But the most illuminating story is the

career of Bishop Crowther who was originally a slave but eventually became the first African Bishop and was an adviser to Queen Victoria on African affairs.

It is a sympathetic study of Africans and will be read with interest and admiration for the work of Christian missionaries.

S. A. WAIZ.

**BODHI DHARMA.** By T. L. VASWANI. (Ganesh & Co., Madras.) 1928.

INDIAN readers do not require an introduction to Sadhu Vaswani. His books have given inspiration to a good many of our countrymen for some years past. And the present volume is one such. In his easy and highly spirited style Mr. Vaswani details to us the message of Buddha and engages about an hour of our attention to our great spiritual benefit. We are sure that his readers will be very grateful to him for the present booklet.

S. P. S.

**MYSTIC EXPERIENCES.** By BHAGAVAN DAS. (Theosophical Society, Benares.) 1928. pp. 134.

THIS is a reprint of the tales written by the author in 1900 for the *Theosophical Review* of London. It deals with a certain portion of that great Sanskrit work of Valmiki called *Yogavasishtha*. In this abbreviated form in English the book is sure to reach many readers who are not well versed in Sanskrit. They would thus have an opportunity of studying the way of virtue and of happiness laid down in the Hindu sacred books. Babu Bhagavan Das is doing a great service to the Hindus in trying to explain to them such obscure subjects in clear language.

K. V. S. NAIR.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### MR. SASTRI IN RHODESIA.

*During Mr. Sastri's visit early in October last to Southern Rhodesia, a reception was given in his honour at which Mr. J. McClery, Mayor of Salisbury, presided. He was also presented with an address of welcome by the Rhodesian British Indian Association.*

In the course of his reply, Mr. Sastri addressed himself to the members of the European community present. "The Mayor," he said, "has referred to the noble line of administration adopted in Southern Rhodesia. He used the words: 'Equal opportunities for all!' Well, I knew that before. The great man whose name this Province bears laid it down, and I am happy to think that in the hands of his successors that policy has remained intact. It is not always easy. The temptations to depart from even-handed justice where many races come together are great. You are able to say that upon the whole those noble words, 'Equal rights for all civilised persons south of the Zambesi' have been maintained.

"In the Union of South Africa," said Mr. Sastri, "there are very special circumstances which seem almost to depart from these principles of equality of opportunity. You have not to travel far to come upon regions where the avowed policy of public administration is the precise opposite to this. It is, therefore, doubly noble that Southern Rhodesia should observe its high character and reputation. I do not wish to flatter Rhodesia, but I know that influences from another part are continually coming to this Colony which might interfere with this happy state of affairs. After all, to have been called to be the custodians of high principles is a very high privilege under Providence."

Proceeding, Mr. Sastri said that the high mission of the British Empire was to bring the facilities and opportunities

of life more and more within the reach of those who had hitherto not enjoyed them. It had repeatedly been declared that this mission was to raise peoples and nations found at the bottom as high as their equipment and capacity permitted. In other Empires and political organisations this principle was not always borne in mind. But, without having been embodied, for instance, in an Act of Parliament, the genius of the British Constitution had been such that to people who had come within its range could say, after a certain period, that they were allowed either to stagnate or to go backward. Within the British Commonwealth the movement had always been forward. "And that," said Mr. Sastri, "is why, despite a good many quarrels and causes for deep complaint, India remains on the whole loyal to her connection with the British Commonwealth. It would take a great deal to produce in the public consciousness of India a desire to cut herself adrift from this great organisation."

This institution of political benevolence, declared Mr. Sastri, giving full opportunities for development to other communities and making them as prosperous as they could become, was one which no Britisher could afford to forget if he would be true to the character of British institutions. "To every one of you," he added, "has come this great opportunity in this fair Dominion under responsible institutions to maintain that character of the British Commonwealth. May you never, through distraction of any kind, betray this trust."

Unfortunately, said Mr. Sastri, this view was not taken in some parts of the British Commonwealth, where the idea still persisted that the interests of the white population required that another community should be kept down, deprived of opportunities of economic welfare, denied educational facilities, or, in some way or another branded as inferior people. He believed, however, that the British Empire had advanced beyond that stage, and if in any corner of Southern Rhodesia there were people who still thought in the old, narrow way, Mr. Sastri hoped that their number would steadily diminish.

He dealt with the position of India in the Empire, and among the nations of the world. India, said Mr. Sastri, had a population of some 300,000,000 people, but mere numbers did not carry very far. What he wished to emphasise was that India had inherited a civilisation and culture of thousands of years, far older than that of many nations now prominent in human affairs. Before its growth was arrested in the Middle Ages, India had been established in the front rank of civilised nations for the arts and sciences of peace. Hitherto India had been regarded as a subject race, whose people might be drawn upon wherever cheap labour was required and whose traders might be treated roughly. At Imperial Conferences and other assemblies where India was recognised, her representatives, unfortunately, did not yet receive that fullness of respect to which they were entitled. Mr. Sastri said that he made no complaint. He merely wished to bring forward the fact so that, if so inclined, his audience might revise their mental outlook on these matters. "England," he said, "has been slow, painfully slow, to reward Indians and to bestow upon India the position of a self-governing people which, for instance, you enjoy."

"The youngest country, the smallest population, gets Responsible Government after a little trouble. We, because we are of another colour and our loyalty is not always believed, are kept out of the enjoyment of this political self-sufficiency, with the result that in the Councils of this Empire the smallest self-governing Dominion is heard more respectfully than India."

There was a general tendency to say: "Let us wait until India gets self-government, and then we will listen to her." "In spite of non-cooperation and other foolishness about which you read in the newspapers," said Mr. Sastri, "I beg you remember this—that we are positive that we shall reach Dominion Status within the British Commonwealth as surely as the sun rises in the East."

One little matter which Britishers forgot, proceeded Mr. Sastri, was that when they felt pride in the Empire, other



people coming into it experienced similar sentiments. But, he asked, were they more likely to feel that pride if they were allowed equal facilities or if they were subjected to degradation and lack of opportunities? Little things like racial feeling, official prestige, etc., came in to prevent them from realising the common bond.

"I urge everyone of you to remember", concluded Mr. Sastri, "that your position is to qualify the British Empire in the only way in which it can be qualified—by extending its facilities, opportunities, and its occasion for pride, to all who dwell with you under the Union Jack as your fellow-subjects."

#### THE PREMIER'S GREETING.

The Premier, the Hon. H. U. Moffat, welcomed Mr. Sastri on behalf of the Government and the people of Rhodesia. One of the greatest of Mr. Sastri's achievements, he said, was that which he had accomplished in regard to the position of British Indians in the Union. A few years ago that position was bad and fraught with the gravest possibilities. The problem then seemed almost insoluble. Through Mr. Sastri's efforts, a good understanding had been reached, and although today the position was not so happy as in Rhodesia, at any rate it had visibly improved.

Mr. Sastri's address had reminded them of their responsibility, and after hearing it, Mr. Moffat, as Premier of Rhodesia, realised more than ever these responsibilities and the policy laid down by the late Sir Charles Coghlan of "equal justice to all."

"It has greatly influenced us in carrying out the Government and in laying down the policy of this country," said the Premier. "It is gratifying to us to hear to-night that the British Indians have no real grievances in this country, with the exception of the small differences referred to. If at any time they have grievances they should go to the officials."

In conclusion, declared Mr. Moffat, "I should like to say that I should support the policy laid down by Sir Charles Coghlan, and of the Government, to carry on that policy enshrined in the dictum of our great founder 'Equal rights for every civilised man.'—*The Rhodesian Herald*."

#### TOPIC OF THE WEEK.

THE existing municipal franchise in Fiji has for some time past been the subject of much dissatisfaction on the part of Municipal Franchise in Fiji. Indians settled there. As a result of their representations a Committee was appointed by the Fijian Government to go into the matter and it was expected that the Committee would be able to suggest a solution which would satisfy Indians. But it was dominated by Europeans who were in a majority on it and no agreement amongst its members was possible. The payment of a municipal rate generally entitles a man to the right to vote at municipal elections; but under the franchise regulations in force in Fiji it is not enough for him to be a mere rate-payer. Since 1915 another test is being applied which has the effect of disfranchising a large number of our countrymen. This requires that none but those "who can read, write and speak the English language" can be registered as voters. The reason for the introduction of this additional franchise qualification was stated to be the unsatisfactory condition of the Suva Municipality; moreover "it was found that in the absence of any educational qualification for electors the Municipal Council had fallen into the hands of the illiterate classes of Fijians, Polynesians, East Indians and half-castes and that prominent citizens would not

offer themselves for election." Indian members of the Committee took strong objection to this statement as being groundless; and would have proved its groundlessness to the hilt but for the fact that the relevant information for which they had asked was not forthcoming. But whatever the reason, the requirement that voters must be able to read, write and speak, not their own mother-tongue, which might perhaps have been understandable, but the English language, cannot but work as a great hardship in the case of a large majority of our countrymen there, with the result that Indian interests would have to go unrepresented in the municipalities in Fiji, as seems to have happened since 1915. The absence of Indian representatives on the Suva Municipality haled, we are told, to the disgraceful neglect of roads, lighting arrangements, etc. in Indian areas, and even measures of discrimination seem to have been adopted on racial grounds in the matter of public baths and libraries. Though the Education Rate is regularly collected from the Indians in Levuka, Indian children seem to be debarred from admission into the public school there. The Suva municipality behaved better; it discontinued the collection of that tax because Indian children were not admitted to public schools within its area. It is to be hoped that some way will be found by which such an injustice to our countrymen will be removed.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE LIFE OF GENERAL LORD RAWLINSON OF TRENT. Ed. by FREDERICK MAURICE. (Cassell.) 1928. 9 x 6. pp. 373.
- MEMORANDUM ON RESIGNATION, AUGUST 1914. By JOHN VISCOUNT MORLEY. (Macmillan.) 1928. 8½ x 5½. pp. 39. 3s. 6d.
- PSYCHOLOGICAL CARE OF INFANT AND CHILD. By JOHN B. WATSON. (Allen and Unwin.) 1928. 7½ x 4½. pp. 159. 5s.
- WORKERS' CONTROL IN THE RUSSIAN MINING INDUSTRY. By JOHN STRACHEY. (The New Leader.) 1928. 7 x 4½. pp. 48. 6d.
- WAGES AND LABOR'S SHARE IN THE VALUE ADDED BY MANUFACTURE. (American Federation of Labor, Washington.) 1928. 7 x 5. pp. 224. 50 Cents.
- HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN BIHAR. By RAI BAHADUR BHAGVATI SAHAY. (The United Press, Bhagalpur.) 1928. 8½ x 5. pp. 400. Rs. 4.
- MY LIFE. By GEORGE LANSBURY. (Oxford University Press) 1928. 8½ x 5½. pp. 293. 10s. 6d.
- RUSSIA IN UPHEAVAL. By EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS (Fisher Unwin.) 1919. 8 x 5½. pp. 354.
- LECTURES AND ADDRESSES BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE. By ANTHONY X. SOARES. (Macmillan, Bombay). 1928. 7½ x 4½. pp. 160. 3s.
- OLD RHODESIAN DAYS. By HUGH MARSHALL HOLE. (Macmillan.) 1928. 8½ x 5½. pp. 140. 10s. 6d.
- PROPHET MUHAMMAD. By AHMAD SHAFI. & HIS TEACHINGS. By MOULANA YAKUB HASAN. (Natesan, Madras.) 1928. 6½ x 4. pp. 133. As. 12.

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