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EDITOR : S. G. VAZE.—OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

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Topics of the Week.

Pressure on Government or by Government ?

MAHATMA GANDHI, in explaining to an English correspondent (the well-known Friend, Horace G. Alexander) why he advised the Congress not to send representatives to the Round Table Conference, assumes an attitude of intransigence and hauteur which we must confess had seemed to us to be utterly alien to his nature. He says in effect : Congressmen could go to the Conference only provided that Government would declare beforehand their determination to ignore all non-Congress parties and to support all that the Congress party would urge. It would appear that Mahatma Gandhi decided to smash up the Conference proposal and to declare independence and start a campaign of mass resistance because Lord Irwin would not promise to give ear only to what he and his followers would claim, rejecting out of hand the pleadings of the other parties if they ventured to make any in the august presence of the Congress leaders.

AS we have said above, we detect in this a tone which is very different from that of meekness and humility which we have learnt to associate with the Mahatma. But, what, after all, does his explanation amount to? To this, that he would attend a Round Table Conference on condition that Government would give an undertaking that no voice but his would be raised there, or if raised, promptly sup-

pressed. The Mahatma evidently thinks that Government can give such an undertaking; supposing it can, may we not ask, what is a Round Table Conference meant for then? Such a Conference presupposes freedom to all parties to put forward their differing views and an anxiety on their part to listen to all such views with respect and if possible to reconcile them. If all other parties are to be ignored and the Congress party alone is to be recognised as the accredited spokesman of the country and if, further, a pledge is to be given by Government that they will adopt the views of the Congress, whatever they are, as their own views, one would have thought that there was no need in these circumstances for a Conference either in London or Delhi, unless the Mahatma feels that Jinnah and Sapru and Malaviya must be humiliated in the sight of the world by being invited to the Conference only to be told of the compact between him and the Viceroy that they are to be held of no account. Does the exaltation of the Congress that the Mahatma seeks require such public scourging of the leaders of other parties in the streets of London?

* * *

AND what had the Congress to urge, may one ask? Not independence at that time, but only dominion status. Not full dominion status either because Mahatma Gandhi himself in his articles had given away the show before he met the Viceroy. For he had been writing that he would be content if dominion status arrived later. And is he so sure after all that he really wanted it sooner than the leaders of some other parties at any rate? His articles in fact gave one the impression that he would wait longer for it than some others. Anyway there was at the time no substantial difference between the Congress and other progressive parties in the country. Why did he ask of the Viceroy then that he should silence the other parties? Why does he say, "The Viceroy knows, the world knows, that the parties that are supposed to represent Indian opinion do not agree and are not likely to agree just yet"? It could not be the question of dominion status on which there was such an irreconcilable conflict of opinion. It was obviously the question of communal disharmony that the Mahatma has in mind. What proposal had the Congress on this subject to which he desired the Viceroy to pledge his support, putting all other proposals unceremoniously out of court? Has the Mahatma

any proposal at all? Why does he keep it then from the world at large? And is really even his great influence unequal to doing the trick?

* * *

BUT if even he cannot bring the communal differences to a satisfactory adjustment, are we even then entitled to invoke the aid of the Viceroy in this matter? For does not the Mahatma say, in fact if not in form, "Left to ourselves, we can never cease quarrelling. Even in face of what may be the greatest national crisis, we must run at each other's throat. If you make us sit round a table to compose our differences we will only make asses of ourselves. You must therefore interpose your authority and compel all other parties to submit to the views which the Congress will put forward. That way only does unity lie. It is true this is unity by coercion; it is not so good as unity by persuasion, but this is all that is possible in the present circumstances of the country."

* * *

ARE we really so helpless in the matter of restoring communal amity? Is it the Government's part at the Round Table Conference to do so? We had thought that by the presentation of a united front to Government, we were to bring pressure to bear upon them to surrender more power than they otherwise would. But if Government are to be appealed to in this abject way for peace amongst all communities, will they not exact the price of it in agreeing to a very slight and inconsiderable advance in the constitution? The Mahatma will have then to prefer one of two things: small reforms with outside aid in composing differences, or big reforms with self-help. The latter no doubt is an adventure, for to go to the Conference in London without healing the breach in the country is to stultify ourselves. The Mahatma may after all be right to stay away from the Conference, for it is better to stay away than to go into it without sufficient diplomatic preparation. If our sectional fanaticism gets the better of our nationalism, the Liberals and other participants in the Conference will look foolish and the Mahatma may prove to be wise. But we cannot just settle down like the Mahatma to the pessimistic belief that we cannot settle our own differences, and we prefer the ways of self-reliance to those of a helpless dependence upon our "satanic" enemy such as is favoured by the Mahatma.

* * *

An Insult to Indian Universities.

MEDICAL opinion on the appointment of a Commissioner of Medical Qualifications would be gauged by the series of resolutions passed at the meeting of the Medical Profession of Bombay held a few days ago. The resolution protests against the proposed appointment on the ground that it is derogatory to the dignity of Indian Universities; another resolution assured the Bombay University of the full support of the medical profession in its stand against the encroachment on its independence by the imposition of such an officer; a third one urged the creation of an All India Medical Council with adequate safeguards to advance Indian interests so as to enable the Indian Medical Profession to preserve its independence and respect amongst the civilized nations of the world. The meeting also protested against the unreasonable attitude taken up by the British General Medical Council during the last few years regarding Indian Universities' qualifications. Presiding over the meeting, Sir N. Choksy explained how the British Medical Council on the introduction of the Reforms Act suddenly awoke to the fact that Indian medical standards had deteriorated in a

year or two and how it prevailed upon the Secretary of State to send visitors to inspect Indian medical institutions and examinations with a view to pass a judgment on them. Reviewing the various grounds of intervention by the Medical Council, Sir N. Choksy said that they affected only an infinitesimal number of Indians who may hereafter settle in practice in Great Britain, the object being to "protect the British public against inefficient Indian practitioners." With regard to this he asked whether the President of the British Medical Council imagined that thousands of Indians were waiting at the Ballard Pier to board the first boat available to go and settle as practitioners in Great Britain. He further emphasized that the Council did not possess any powers to place upon its register all Indian practitioners in India and denied its right to place galling restrictions on the admission of duly qualified Indians into institutions meant for post-graduate study. In his opinion it behoved the Government of India to protect the honour, the rights and privileges of its own alumni in Indian Universities and to see that their avenues of self-improvement in Great Britain are not seriously curtailed. He concluded by deprecating the infliction of a Commissioner of Medical Qualifications in order to bring within the sphere of the Medical Council all medical education in India; his motto was: "Hands off Indian medical education".

* * *

A Review of Trade and Industries.

ACUTE depression in industries was the theme of the presidential address which Mr. Faizulla Ganjee delivered at the annual meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce. Referring to the Textile industry Mr. Ganjee expressed the hope that additional protection would be afforded to it to enable it to tide over the present difficulties. We doubt whether he is right in referring all the evils in the financial world to the 18d. ratio and the contraction of currency which is its inevitable concomitant; to us it appears that the 18d. ratio has been made too much of a scapegoat on which to put all the sins of the industrialists. With regard to the various committees and commissions latterly appointed by the Government he rightly complains that the majority of their reports are quietly pigeon-holed, and no action is taken on their major recommendations when it does not suit the Government to do so; he advises them in future to shake off their *laissez faire* in relation to trade and industries and to give the latter a full measure of protection. In this connection he welcomed the announcement of the Government's intention to appoint Trade Commissioners at Durban, Hamburg, New York and other places for developing Indian trade; his suggestion however is that these Commissioners should be non-official Indians who have been in active touch with the trade and industries of the country, and who are well acquainted with local commercial practices. Mr. Ganjee expressed regret that the Conference convened to arrive at a friendly settlement on the question of the development of an Indian mercantile marine between Indian and European interests had miscarried and impressed on the Government the imperative need of prompt action in adopting the principle of the Coastal Reservation Bill, which he emphasized had the unanimous approval of the commercial community and the public in India. We think, in the light of such dismal wails about trade depression, that it is incumbent on the Government to make a scrutiny of the causes which have brought it about and devise measures to counteract them.

* * *

Safeguarding white prestige!

THE Kenya papers to hand by the last mail report a case in which there has apparently been a miscarriage of justice. A young European lad, Cottor by name, mistook, according to the defence story, a lorry by moon-light for a rhinoceros on the road and fired four shots from a distance of twenty-five yards. As a result of which Gurja Singh, the lorry driver, was wounded and he subsequently died. Cottor was charged with rash and negligent act not amounting to homicide, but the white judge and jury discharged him as not guilty, only censuring him for driving past the lorry without investigating the damage he had made. The judge is reported to have added that steps should be taken to prevent little-more-than children from driving lorries and from handling fire-arms. It is inconceivable that Cottor mistook by bright moonlight a lorry loaded with hides and skins and carrying passengers on the top for a rhino, not seen the passengers jump off from the lorry into the bush and not heard the groans of the wounded Indian when he passed the lorry. Even more amazing is the utter indifference with which Cottor passed the lorry, and not stopped to see the damage he might have done, if only to the lorry. It is impossible to take the incident as an isolated one and not connect it with another case reported a few weeks ago in which the Magistrate of Nairobi fined, at the instance of a European Major, an Indian lorry driver the disproportionate sum of 200/- for exceeding the speed limit within the precincts of Nairobi. The pith of the case was that the gallant Major, on his own admission, wished to overtake the lorry, which, according to him again, was exceeding the speed limit! If the Major kept within the limit himself, there would have been no occasion to cut the distance between the car and the lorry: the lorry would have disappeared ahead of the car. Obviously the Major was also exceeding the speed limit in order to overtake and pass the lorry. But the Indian was fined the sum of 200/- while the Major had not a friendly censure or even a humble request to sin no more against the speed laws. It is well-known in Kenya that a European resents a non-European driving a car in front of him; he expects the latter to step aside, and, with bowed head and folded hands, make way for his white majesty! These incidents indicate a mentality among some Europeans in Kenya which is very unhealthy and dangerous. The life and honour of non-Europeans are held cheap.

Bombay Milk Supply.

THE Bombay Corporation is still beating about the bush in trying to tackle the problem of a sufficient supply of cheap milk for the city by passing a resolution to request Government to undertake special legislation by prohibiting the slaughter of all animals under eight years other than goat or sheep, on the recommendation of their Market and Gardens Committee. Apart from the fact that the question should not have been raised at this time when there is an amount of political tension between Hindus and Muslims on political issues, such a method is hardly the proper one for achieving the object in view. The Municipal Commissioner rightly appealed to members to consider the question from an economic point of view, instead of importing their religious biases into the discussion. The vital question is as he explained that of finding a suitable place to keep the buffaloes when they go dry, so that they may not be sent to the slaughter-house. This can be done by establishing dairy farms outside Bombay in areas where suitable grazing facilities could be afforded and the vast expense of maintaining unprofitable heads of cattle in the city would be indeed

avoided. The Commissioner further explained that the Imperial Cattle Expert as well Dr. H. Mann had reported that to adopt the age-limit of 8 for cows and buffaloes would frustrate the object which the Corporation had in view and that the only remedy was to remove the cattle to healthy places outside city limits and to reorganize the dairy industry on sound commercial lines. We also believe that it would be futile to appeal to milkmen to keep idle and uneconomic cattle for months together till such time as they became productive again. Under these circumstances it would be a wiser move for the Corporation to adopt the suggestion of the Commissioner to refer the question again to a special committee. This committee should seriously examine the grounds for the contention of Muslim members that such legislation would increase the cost of living for Muslims by raising the cost of meat and also consider whether it was correct to state that such legislation would wound the religious feelings of Muslims.

Children's Aid Society.

THE report of the Children's Aid Society for 1929 shows a marked progress of an organization very vital to the needs of society in respect of juvenile delinquents. During the year plans for the establishment of the Junior Reformatory School were completed and the institution has begun to function from January 1st, 1930. In 1929 687 Children were admitted as against 588 in the preceding year at the Umarchadi Home; it is to be noted that the proportion of destitute children has risen from 27 per cent to 41 per cent. It is curious that recent disturbances in the city had proved a tempting opportunity for juvenile hooliganism and an expression of the gang spirit and as many as 21 boys were charged with rioting. Commenting on the 10 per cent of cases of recommitments the report observes that this is due to impossible housing conditions, extreme poverty and lack of compulsory education. It is a sad revelation that no institution exists in India for mentally defective children; the result is that the retention of such cases in the home is harmful to the normal children living in close association with them. The Committee of the Society express their grateful thanks to the Superintendent of the Sir J. J. Hospital and the officers working under him for the valuable services rendered to the home through their out-patient department and to the Red Cross Association for the gift of comforts and medical requisites. In pursuance of the decisions a small Conference convened at Umarchadi, several meetings were arranged during the year to enable the supervision workers, to study certain aspects of the problem of juvenile delinquency, and papers were read on subjects allied to the problem. It is very creditable to the public spirit of Bombay that the Society has secured the services of 24 honorary supervision workers doing very arduous and difficult work. The Committee plead for a larger number of institutions as certified schools for accommodating new cases. The useful work of the Society is retarded by the poor support of the public, the subscriptions for the year amounting to hardly Rs. 1000 if we leave aside the receipts from three new patrons and we hope that the Committee's appeal to public-spirited citizens for more generous support will meet with a ready response; as Miss Davis the Secretary says: "the situation in which our activities are reduplicating and our subscriptions lessening cannot be maintained". In the report the Hon. Mr. Hotson pays a deserving tribute to the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of Miss Davis who has been the life and soul of the Children's Home.

Articles.

THE CRISIS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

THE South African Indian Congress has sent an S. O.S. to India for urgent help to face and tide over the crisis that seems to have come upon the Indians in the Transvaal. The Union Government have, it seems, appointed a Select Committee of Parliament to consider the question of securing a more effective operation of the Gold Law of 1909 and of the law of 1919. The issues involved are neither simple nor direct, and it will be therefore useful to trace briefly the history of the present crisis.

It may be remembered that under the Transvaal Gold Law of 1908 Indians are prohibited from owning fixed property and from occupying shops or other premises in certain townships situated in what is called the gold-bearing area, which, for all practical purposes, includes all the industrial towns in the Transvaal. Besides this general prohibition by law, there are other similar prohibitions with respect to private townships. Private companies acquire land, and lay out roads, mark out building sites and arrange for municipal services and sell to the public either sites for buildings or ready-made buildings, even like some of the co-operative housing societies in India. When the sites or buildings are sold to the public, a clause is inserted in the sale-deeds prohibiting the occupation of the buildings by non-Europeans, other than as servants. There are many such private townships in the Transvaal. Thus both by law and by private arrangement, Indians are prohibited from either owning or occupying some of the best centres of trade and residence in the Transvaal.

Indians in the Transvaal are mostly Gujarati traders, both Hindu and Muslim. To them the prohibitions regarding ownership and occupation of trading centres is a galling hardship. But for many years past these laws and restrictive agreements were observed more in the breach than in the observance, due to laxity, indifference and forbearance. And hundreds of Indians are occupying premises, strictly speaking, in violation of the law and of private contract, but not without the knowledge and acquiescence of the authorities concerned and have built up vested interests. Some Indians have gone further and circumvented the law against ownership of land by the formation of joint stock companies, which of course have no particular nationality.

In consequence of an outcry against the evasion of these prohibitions and in accordance with the recommendations of a Select Committee, the Government of General Smuts in 1919 passed a law (37 of 1919) which condoned the illegal occupation of all those who were in occupation of premises on the 1st of May of that year, and, as it were, legalised their position. As for ownership of land by joint stock companies of Indian share-holders, that law provided that a majority of shares in a joint stock company should be owned by Europeans. At least 51 per cent.

of the capital must be owned by European shareholders.

In the latter part of 1928 some anti-Asiatics in the Transvaal invoked the musty old laws and agreements prohibiting the occupation by Indians of trading areas and obtained decisions from the Courts. Unfortunately for the Indian traders, the bulk of them, who received protection under Act 37 of 1919, have lost it for one reason or another. The law protected only those who or whose successors in title continued the business occupation either in the same premises or in premises in the same township. That was the definition, in substance, of "vested interests" given by Mahatma Gandhi himself and that was incorporated in the Act. There were those at the time who thought that Mr. Gandhi's definition was too narrow, but the Government felt they were meeting the requirements of the case if they accepted it. Now, it appears that either because the occupiers shifted to other townships or because they went bankrupt and restarted their business or for other reasons, a great many of them have forfeited the protection given by Act 37 of 1919.

Recently the Supreme Court gave judgment in a case in which they held that the provisions of the Gold Law of 1908 which restricted the ownership and occupation of land in the Transvaal by Indians did not apply to townships which were created and developed before that law was passed. That is to say, Indians were free to acquire fixed property in townships created before 1908. This decision has upset anti-Indians in the Transvaal; they have raised a hue and cry and demand that the intention of the law to prohibit Indians acquiring land in the Transvaal should be made absolutely effective and the Gold Law of 1908 amended to stop the loophole disclosed by the Supreme Court.

There is also an outcry against Indians buying fixed property and registering it in the names of European friends. It is difficult to say to what extent this system prevails. It must be noted, however, that it is full of risks. There is no security that the European will not one day claim the property as his own.

It is obvious from the cable of the South African Indian Congress that the principal object of the Government in appointing the Select Committee is to tighten up the law against Indians owning and occupying premises in the Transvaal. But that is not exactly the purpose Indians had in view when they asked for the intervention of Parliament. They wanted the *impasse* created in Johannesburg and other towns over Indian licenses to be resolved and the licensing laws to be liberalised.

The licensing laws of the Transvaal require that an applicant for a trade license should, in the first instance, obtain from the municipal authority a certificate approving of his proposed business before taking out a license to carry on the business. Municipalities are given large powers of discretion in refusing certificates, from which there is no appeal to the judicial courts, except within very narrow limits. In spite of protests from the judicial

courts, this power has often been used by the municipalities to discriminate against Asiatics as such. Recently, when, as mentioned in an earlier paragraph, some anti-Asiatics in Johannesburg obtained judicial decision declaring the occupation of certain premises by Indian traders illegal under the Gold Law, the question was raised in the Municipal Council of Johannesburg whether the municipal authorities were within the law in granting certificates to such Indian traders. It was decided, on legal advice, that it was open to objection. As a result, several hundreds of Indian traders were refused certificates. But in view of the hardship involved in throwing out of business those hundreds of traders who had built up large business and vested interests, the Municipality and the Government acquiesced in these Indians carrying on their trade without licenses, pending a reconsideration of the entire position after the last general elections. When they asked for relief by way of Select Committee or otherwise, the Indian traders wished to secure their right to trade, notwithstanding the illegality of their occupation of their trading premises. They further wished that when the Licensing laws are examined, they would be liberalised in the sense that the absolute discretion now left to the Municipalities would be eliminated and the grant of licenses would be regulated by law, and that appeals would lie to higher judicial courts over the decisions of licensing bodies.

Thus though both the Europeans and Indians have asked for a Select Committee, they have done so for different purposes: the Indians to liberalise the licensing laws and the Europeans to tighten the old Law against Indians. On the merits of the case, the Europeans will naturally argue that it was the unvarying policy of the Transvaal to restrict as much as possible the ownership and occupation of fixed property by Indians, and in consequence, of trading; that Indians who set up business in contravention of the laws knew the risks they were taking; they have, therefore, no reason to complain if they are caught; that the Government had in 1919 condoned the illegalities of the time, and that if the illegalities are repeated, Indians have no right to expect periodical condonations; and that in asking for the amendment of the law, they are asking for nothing more than that the letter of the law should be brought into complete accord with the intention of the law, and that evasion of the law should be made impossible. On the other hand, Indians will naturally contend that, though they were technically guilty of illegalities, the Government and the European public have, by long acquiescence, forfeited their right to call those illegalities into question, particularly after Indians had been allowed to invest large sums of money in building up businesses; that the Supreme Court was justified in refusing to allow, unless specially provided for, retrospective effect being given to restrictive laws; that the Gold Law of 1908 permitted, as the Court now decided, the acquisition of fixed property by Indians in townships created and developed before that law was passed, and that it would be very unfair to deprive

them of the rights so conferred; that it is unfair to give Municipalities and Licensing bodies, on which Indians are not represented but their European trade rivals are, to exercise unrestricted discretion in the grant of trading licenses; and that it is no credit to the Government of South Africa that it should debar an aggrieved Indian from seeking redress in the judicial courts of the land, and that it is unfair to permit the Municipalities to refuse certificates to Indian traders on the ground that they violated the Gold Law of 1908, which the Government itself never cared to enforce seriously.

Above all Indians take their stand on the Cape Town Agreement, which was meant to usher in a new attitude towards Indians who form part of the permanent South African population. It is meant to supersede the old Transvaal spirit of repression and to put in its place the policy of uplift: to endeavour to see that in the matter of "educational and other facilities" Indians were not allowed to lag behind other members of the South African community. The illegalities which the Indian traders have been guilty of are more in the nature of misdemeanours; which are instigated all over the world by harsh, repressive laws, discriminating against particular classes of people. Honour, public policy and the moral conscience of the awakened world require that the Government of South Africa should make it possible and profitable for its permanent Indian citizens to live within the law; that it should cast away the old Transvaal spirit and act up to the more enlightened spirit in which the Cape Town Agreement was conceived.

P. KODANDA RAO.

A STRIKE FOR LEADERSHIP.

THE present strike on the G. I. P. Railway declared by the Railwaymen's Union is of more than passing importance not only to the railway workers in India but to the trade unionists and the general public as well and it would be a fatal mistake on our part to ignore either its genesis or its significance, in spite of our deep sympathies with those who are dragged into the strike and of our anxiety to bring them out of their distress. Mr. Ginwala, who is now a comrade-in-arms of Mr. Ruikar but who was fighting with the latter till only two months ago, is making hectic efforts to show that, as Mr. Ruikar and he are not Communists, the present strike is an honest one intended only for the redress of the workers' grievances. I wish I could endorse his statement in full. In so far as the demands of the strikers go, I at once concede that they are genuine, of long standing and worthy of being fought out in a strike when other remedies have failed. But I cannot accept his theory that when the grievances are genuine, a strike declared for their redress should *necessarily and always* be genuine. It is a fallacy to take that view. In Mr. Ginwala, however, such fallacies are a normal feature. Our movement has in him a generous-hearted gentleman of good impulse whose head unfortunately fails some time to reach the requisite level of clear thinking and

understanding and whose emotional heart goads him into actions which do not stand the test of reason and logic. In spite of my knowledge that he is not a Communist, I cannot accept him as a safe guide in a crisis such as this. As for Mr. Ruikar, I have yet to know where exactly he stands. He may not be a Communist; he is surely something which makes his actions, unlike those of a Communist, illogical and incapable of proper understanding. I must, therefore, leave aside both Mr. Ginwala and Mr. Ruikar if I have to analyse the genesis and the purpose of the present strike and reach definite conclusions.

To understand the present strike in its proper perspective I must take the reader, as briefly as possible, through the history of the Railwaymen's demands. On the 12th of September 1928 the General Council of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation formulated, on behalf of all the railway employees in India, what are now known as the "General Common Demands" and decided to interview the Railway Member of the Government of India and the Railway Board to discuss them. The interview could not take place till the 4th of May 1929 owing largely to the protracted illness of Mr. N. M. Joshi who became President of the Federation in December 1928. On the 3rd of May 1929 Mr. Giri, the General Secretary, prepared an amplified statement of the General Common Demands and on the next day, a deputation of the Federation on which the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union was represented along with the G. I. P. Railway Staff Union, waited upon the Hon'ble Sir George Rainy, the Railway Member, and the Railway Board. The reply of Sir George to the deputationists was characterised as "unsatisfactory, highly insulting and provocative" by the General Council of the Federation in its meeting held at Nagpur on the 29th of September 1929. The General Council therefore called upon the railwaymen in India and the affiliated unions "to prepare themselves for direct action", appointed a Propaganda Committee with Mr. Ruikar as Secretary, and gave an ultimatum to the Government of India and the Railway Board that failure to grant the demands within three months would compel the railwaymen "to declare a general strike on all the railways in India". It may be emphasised here that Mr. Ruikar and his Union agreed to take, when necessary and after making full preparation, joint action under the lead of the Federation. On the 2nd of December of last year the Railwaymen's Federation held its sixth annual Convention at Nagpur under the presidentship of Mr. N. M. Joshi and it resolved that, while it might reaffirm the resolution on the reply of Sir George Rainy passed by the General Council in September last, it should take a second deputation to the Railway Member "to further negotiate to obtain better consideration" of the railwaymen's grievances. This resolution makes it clear that a strike was not to be declared before giving one more opportunity to Government to reconsider their decision; and it may be noted that the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union which was effectively represented at the Nagpur Convention, was a party to this resolution,

Between May and September of last year, however, the discontent amongst the G. I. P. Workers became acute and Mr. S. C. Joshi's Staff Union had to move in the matter. At its full delegates' conference held in Bombay towards the end of June, it was resolved that if the workers' demands were not granted within three months a strike on the G. I. P. line should be declared in co-operation with the two sister unions, viz, the Railwaymen's Union and Mr. Ginwala's newly created Railway Kamgar Union which has subsequently merged into the former. Letters were addressed to the two unions and replies conveying willingness on their part received. Again on the 16th of September the Executive of the Staff Union passed a resolution recommending the other two Unions, to convene, under the auspices of the three Unions, a joint delegates' Conference to take joint action. The General Secretary of the Railwaymen's Union in his two letters received before the expiry of the first week of October, gave his hearty support to the idea of holding a joint conference and promised to place the Staff Union's letter before the general Conference of his Union in November. A meeting of the Railwaymen's Union's Executive held on the 20th of October however resolved that while it decided to prepare the workers for direct action in accordance with the September programme of the General Council of the Federation, it disapproved of the suggestion of the Staff Union to hold a joint conference of the three Unions as it was considered to be inconsistent with the programme. I fail to understand wherein the inconsistency lay. The General Council had already asked the affiliated unions "to prepare themselves for direct action" and the Staff Union did nothing else but to ask its sister Union—both owing allegiance to the Federation on the same lines to meet together to consider proposals for joint preparation. The rejection, however, of the offer of the Staff Union did not, as subsequent events showed, rule out the idea of a strike from the mind of the Railwaymen's Union. On the 22nd of December it decided to declare a one-day strike on the G. I. P. Railway on the 4th February and on the 28th of January 1930 the Manmad Conference of its delegates empowered its Committee to prolong the strike, if necessary. I have also reason to believe that the Railwaymen's Federation was kept absolutely in the dark about the move of the Union and it was not even consulted in the matter, although it swore by the programme of the Federation in rejecting the offer of the Staff Union.

What is it then that prompted the Railwaymen's Union (i) to reject the offer of co-operation of the Staff Union when only a fortnight before this decision was taken, its General Secretary had enthusiastically supported it; (ii) to declare a strike under its own auspices without any consultation with, and giving an opportunity to, the other Union to join it; and (iii) to keep the Railwaymen's Federation in the dark about its move and to declare a strike without consulting it? Will the following passage give the reader any hint in solving these questions? :—

"The strikers must be better prepared for, coordinated, the wide masses attracted and direct leadership under—

taken by the Left Wing. Under no circumstances vacillating leaders and reformist or Right Wing bureaucrats should be elected or tolerated in the strike committees. The strikes must not be only widened in scope but also deepened in content.

'The general strike is an extremely powerful weapon which the trade union movement must not shrink from using' states correctly the Trade Union Resolution of the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party of last year. However, in the propaganda for, and the preparation, of the general strike, the Left Wing should formulate clear-cut demands and thoroughly explain to the masses that the general strike is a political strike, a revolutionary mass struggle. The leadership of the general strike must be entirely in the hands of the militant workers and the Left Wing and no reformist leaders (from Joshi to J. Nehru) should be admitted in the leadership of the strike.' (Italics mine.)

Let the reader judge. Is not the Staff Union a so-called reformist organisation and its Secretary, Mr. S. C. Joshi, a feeble reformist? Is not the Railwaymen's Federation at present controlled by Mr. Giri, another wretched reformist and was not Mr. N. M. Joshi, the arch reformist, its President till the other day? Will it not be a grave inconsistency to take these reformist organisations and their reformist officials into confidence and share with them the responsibility of initiation and conduct of a strike and at the same time to accept and carry out the contents of the above passage? It is no sin to do the latter as human knowledge is after all the accumulated stock of the ideas and ideals originated in different quarters of the globe and the growth of that knowledge depends largely upon the aggregate experience of society.

Lest I should be accused of fastening upon a stray passage quoted above on the Railwaymen's Union, I hasten to mention that the passage is extracted from a series of four editorial articles of the "Railwayman", the official organ of the Union. They were published under the caption "Tasks of the Left Wing Trade Unions in India" on the 6th, 13th, 20th and 27th of November and the Editor of the "Railwayman" is no other than the General Secretary of the Railwaymen's Union. It will thus be seen that to enable the reader to answer for himself the questions I have set forth above, I have not foisted upon the Union any other document than its own. And nobody can possibly be surprised if in declaring the present strike the Union is influenced by these articles.

The question still remains: Since the series of articles began only from the 6th of November and the extracted passage appeared in the article of the 27th, is it not only fair to infer that the Executive of the Railwaymen's Union in its Nagpur meeting of the 20th of October must have arrived, independently of those articles, at the decision of rejecting the co-operation of the Staff Union? Let Mr. B. T. Randive, an ex-editor of the "Railwayman", an official of the Railwaymen's Union and who represented it at the Nagpur Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, answer. When challenged by Mr. Chaman Lal in the Executive meeting of the Congress to deny that the series of articles headed "Tasks of the Left Wing Trade Unions in India" was an exact re-

production, without acknowledgment, from the "Pan-Pacific Monthly", an official organ of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (a known Moscow organisation), Mr. Randive boldly declared that it was a reproduction. The said article appeared in the August issue of the "Pan-Pacific Monthly" which reached India between the end of the second and the beginning of the third week of October. The article is nothing else but an "estimate" by the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Trade Unions (R. I. T. U.) of the tasks of the Left Wing Trade Unions of India and appeared under the same heading as that of the "Railwayman". The "estimate" pointed out the serious mistakes committed by the Girni Kamgar Union and other Left Wingers in cooperating with the Right Wingers and accepting a committee in the 1928 textile strike in Bombay and warned them against such mistakes in future. In publishing it the Editor of the "Pan-Pacific Monthly" stated that the "estimate will undoubtedly deeply influence future struggles".

As a further proof of the attitude of the Railwaymen's Union, I may only point out that the "Railwayman" of November 6 roundly declared that if the sponsors of the idea of holding a joint conference really felt the necessity of joint action they should merge their "petty" unions in the Railwaymen's Union "and then" present a united front to the Railway Administration, that the real unity in the G. I. P. Railway was only possible by having one big Railwaymen's Union and that it did not want any patched up unity.

With such overwhelming evidence, documentary and otherwise, can it be seriously doubted that this strike is being fought for the purpose of securing the Trade Union leadership on the G. I. P. Railway? Indeed, the game seems to be: "From Textile to Transport".

R. R. BAKHALE.

THE LATE MR. G. M. CHIPLUNKAR.

IN the recent extremely lamentable death of the late Mr. Gopal Mahadeo Chiplunkar of the Indian Women's University, Poona, the cause of the Indian women's education in India especially in the western part of India, has heavily suffered. Prof. Chiplunkar was an enthusiastic colleague and trusted co-worker of Prof. Dhondo Keshao Karve since the very beginning of the Indian Women's University in which he lectured on Sociology, his favourite and special subject. He also joined Prof. Karve's Hindu Widow's Home at Poona as a life-member and worked as such till his death. He was appointed first Principal of the Normal School of women teachers at Hingne-Budruk attached to the Women's University and did this work quite successfully for a number of years.

While working as a lecturer and Principal, an idea struck him that if the work of the new and the infant University was really to be made successful it was absolutely necessary to start feeder institutions joined to the University. Prof. Chiplunkar

was not a mere dreamer and an idealist, but was a man of action. He at once began to organise in that direction. His efforts resulted in the appointment of a Committee, which decided to start a High School for girls in the city of Poona, affiliated to the Indian Women's University. This task was considered to be extremely difficult, because it was thought that no sufficient funds would be available to make even a small beginning. It was also feared that no parents would come forward to send their girls to such a school even if it were started. Everybody thought that Prof. Chiplunkar was out to do an impossible task. When the school was actually started there were present only three girls, and even they were lent for the occasion by their parents. From these humble beginnings this school has now risen to its very prosperous position today.

Prof. Chiplunkar was not merely a teacher but was also a scholar and a writer. He wrote very frequently to the various papers and magazines in Marathi especially on the subject of women's education and emancipation. He was an original thinker and he always tried to give convincing reasons in support of his arguments. He was also very fond of delivering lectures on his favourite subjects. Not contented with what he was already doing in the cause of women, Prof. Chiplunkar devoted his little leisure towards preparing a work in English in support of his views on female education. Slowly he began to write chapter after chapter under the heading "Scientific Basis of Women's Education". A famous firm of booksellers and publishers undertook to publish the book. Only a few months before his death Prof. Chiplunkar was busy with correcting the "proof" of his work, which very unfortunately cost him his life. A distinguished and an educated Maharani of a native state has written a foreword to this book. So also an English, lady of distinction, who is both a writer and a worker in the field of women's movement in England, has written a valuable introduction to this book. Let us hope the publishers of this very important work will soon make this book available to those who, like its distinguished author, take great interest in the cause of women's education.

T. R. GADRE.

Our European Letter.

A SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT.

A SIGNIFICANT diplomatic development at Geneva deserves close attention. There were sixteen States maintaining permanent delegations here accredited to the Secretary-General of the League or the Director of the International Labour Office or both at the time of the Tenth Assembly, and since then more have appeared, the latest to take this step being the Government of the Chinese Republic. Some notion of the development in this regard may be had from the fact that the representative of the Polish Government who in 1920 was only an observer had by 1929 evolved into an envoy extra-

ordinary and minister-plenipotentiary, attended by an adequate staff.

This development is regarded with misapprehension in some quarters. It is argued that constant personal contact among these diplomats, while it may have the advantage of reducing the proportions of certain problems, introduces at the same time a professional spirit into the activities of the League tending to obscure the method of "open covenants openly arrived at." This suspicion about reversion to pre-war methods is, however, hardly justifiable because there is a distinction between the old methods of plotting and scheming and the frequently prevalent practice of tactics. The League, after all, conceived realistically, is not a debating society to provide an opportunity for each nation to expound its particular point in all its subtleties with a view to creating an impression on all others, but an international agency for getting some business done. Considering the scale and complexity of international transactions, such facilities for the smooth functioning of the League's machinery as continuous intercourse between various national representatives permanently stationed at Geneva may bring about are undoubtedly desirable. A certain amount of mutual accommodation among officials bent on the same business is inevitable in any case; it is natural and is not to be regarded with suspicion. Not the least of the reasons for the creation of permanent delegations, moreover, is the high expense—specially those countries situated at a considerable distance from Geneva—nations have to meet if they were to send different delegations for the innumerable conferences taking place under the auspices of the League throughout the year.

This last consideration gives rise to the second objection against permanent delegations to the League, viz. that the more distant and smaller and poorer States by this means confide, in effect, to one and the same man subjects as widely different as the traffic in opium and dangerous drugs, the abolition of prohibitions on the export of hides, skins, and bones, the traffic in women and children, and the treatment of foreigners. It is sometimes argued, not without reason, that the same man cannot possibly be competent in all these matters equally, and, consequently, the permanent delegate is either reduced to a mere mouthpiece, rigidly following his Government's instructions on a given subject and unable to bring to bear that suppleness which is so necessary in international intercourse, or else the quality of legislation suffers. This again is a criticism less profound than it appears, for, as a matter of fact, except on questions of high policy, which would rarely fall into the province of the permanent delegate, settlements as such are not quite so technical. The really technical part of the business, usually prepared long in advance, is always the expert's task, and a good part of the work in these conferences calls for the ability of the pleader and skill in negotiation, which, most obviously, improve on account of experience. The more unified the experience the better it is from the national as well as international points of view.

The quickest to learn the value of these permanent delegations have been the smaller nations with little direct influence in settling matters of broad policy. Their unconcealed aim is by means of constant contact between their representatives and the League officials to obtain insight into what is happening in the departments in which they are interested, and incidentally to make themselves understood. Most nations have some of their nationals on the staff of the League and the Labour Office and friendly and even intimate relations spring up between these and the permanent delegations. The consequence, it is alleged, is to detract from the international standards ruling the League of Nations. These standards, however, will hold good in proportion to the impartiality and responsibility animating the League. Besides, permanent delegations are not the resort of the smaller powers alone, for of two of the permanent members of the Council one is preparing the way for the appointment of such a delegation, and the other utilises its consular agent as substitute. The remaining three have their high-placed officials to furnish them with every information they may need.

We cannot hope to exert an important influence on the League for some time to come, and until then we can make ourselves felt, and safeguard our national interests, only by paying adequate attention to details. In our present position only the cumulative method is open to us. The representatives of India at Geneva, whether British or Indian, have invariably fulfilled their various functions remarkably well, and no name stands higher here for technical competence, skill in negotiation, or authority than that of our High Commissioner in London, Sir Atul Chatterjee.

But the purpose of permanent delegations is not to supplant the services of such high officials but to aid them. Each nation wishes to acquire in its permanent delegation a body of experts upon the work of the League and Labour Office, so that whenever any complicated issue arises reliable advice may be available. These delegations are even now acting as channels of communication between the Secretary General of the League and their Government, and where they do not thus constitute themselves into intermediaries, it is usual to keep them informed of every development. The need for such a body of experts in our case cannot be minimised. I have frequently heard complaints from the Indian delegates to the Assembly that they come here knowing next to nothing of the technique of the League's work and their short sojourn in Geneva does not give them sufficient time to make use of their knowledge of it when it is obtained.

A second reason why a permanent delegation is worthy of our consideration is the absolutely inadequate representation India has so far received on the staff of the League and the Labour Office. The admissions take place according as vacancies occur and new places are created to suit emergencies, and it is an open secret that the selection of candidates is considerably determined by exigencies. A permanent representative usually looks into these matters and

continuously puts forward the claims of his nationals. The utility of international experience for Indians and the utility of Indians participating in international work cannot be exaggerated.

Finally, a permanent Indian delegation would be a centre to which every Indian, engaged in public affairs and visiting Europe, may look for bringing him into touch with the work of the League. The departmental activities of the Secretariat are not the only side to be acquainted with in this regard, and the importance of social amenities may not be ignored. There is such a thing as Geneva life—touching more than the League—apart from Geneva work. It is for this reason that some of our recent visitors like Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru have felt that the time to consider this question has come, and it is understood that the Secretary-General would welcome the step.

Geneva, January 28.

Reviews.

PRINCES AND PEOPLE.

INDIAN PRINCES UNDER BRITISH PROTECTION. By P. L. CHUDGAR. (Willams & Norgate.) 1929. 19cm. 240p. (Copies obtainable in India from Taraporevala @Rs. 4.)

THIS valuable contribution to the discussion of a subject, which was for a long time woefully neglected but which is now being pushed to the fore in Indian and Imperial politics, has for its main object the furnishing of the necessary background of knowledge to the British public, with whom the ultimate solution of the problems dealt with in this volume rests. The British public certainly needed to be provided with such a volume. The Princes of course have been pouring into its ear their grievances against the British Government so persistently that it has come to identify the States with the Princes. It does not realise that the subjects of the States have grievances of their own, which also it has solemnly undertaken to remedy. The book under review constitutes the first serious attempt to enlighten the British democracy, which, being elected on a universal suffrage, will be more ready to give its ear to the people than to the Princes, with the pledges of protection it has made to the subjects of the Indian States. And the attempt is very creditable and deserves to be rewarded with eminent success in achieving the object aimed at.

The first part of the book contains a portrayal of the conditions to be found in the Indian States as a whole. They supply the material on which British and Indian statesmanship has to work. To the Indian reader this part is apt to appear somewhat trite, as within the small compass in which all relevant matter had to be compressed if it is at all to be used by the Britishers the author obviously could not do more; but it is quite sufficient to educate the Britishers in the manifold miseries under which the subjects of States are groaning as a result of the autocratic rule of the Princes. The description given in this part has nowhere been challenged in any particular

but an attempt is being made to discount the wheel of it as "too sweeping in its denunciation" and so forth. The British public may well feel, on hearing for the first time of the true state of things in Indian States, that they are being treated to some peculiarly envenomed shafts of a bitterly hostile critic. For the facts themselves are so astounding. But we in India will find little difficulty in testifying to the truth of what the author says in his Foreword that "far from being an overstatement" he has "often understated the case." It would have been so easy to impart colour to the rather bald facts he has mentioned without doing violence to truth. But the author has avoided the temptation, and, though to persons who are strange to conditions prevailing in Indian States, the picture presented here may appear overdrawn, it is by no means so. There is no statement in the book but can be proved to be entirely correct, and several in respect to which Indian States subjects would feel that fuller value needs to be given to them than is probably meant by the author.

In the second part the author discusses the future of the States. Here the reader will find a full critique of the Butler Report. Indeed the author devotes more than 50 pages (one-fifth of the whole book) to such criticism, and this will be as useful to the Indian public as to the British. The author is of course well known to be a more favourable critic of the Butler Report than many another publicist, but he has given reasons, which cannot be lightly brushed aside, for his contentions. On the subject of the Princes' claim concerning direct relations with the Crown Mr. Chudgar maintains that the Butler Report takes substantially the same line as the Nehru Report. The Butler Report, although it admits the Princes' claim that their relations are direct with the Crown, insists that the Crown in this connection means "the Crown acting through the Secretary of State for India and the Governor General in Council who are responsible to the Parliament of Great Britain" (para. 18). Since the Report does not oust, but carefully retains, the jurisdiction of the Government of India as a whole, it virtually negatives the Princes' claim. Mr. Chudgar is right in this contention, but its validity is to a certain extent nullified by the Committee's recommendation in para. 67 that in future the Viceroy and not the Governor General in Council should be the Agent of the Crown in dealing with Indian States. It is true that the recommendation is not made as if it were required by the acknowledged rights of the Princes; it is rather made as a concession to them, just as, rejecting the Princes' claim for a share in the customs revenue, the Committee still suggests some relief to be given to them. The Committee's conclusions are not thus in all respects in consonance with its reasoning, which leaves the position rather obscure. It is thus best in this matter not to lull oneself into a sense of false security.

Mr. Chudgar contests hotly the Committee's "opinion" that the British Government cannot transfer its relations with the Princes without the latter's consent to a responsible government in British India and hopes that it would be possible

at the Round Table Conference to form some kind of federation. He does not seem to think however that is very likely and would thus re-echo the demand so powerfully made by the Rt. Hon'ble Sastri for the appointment of a Royal Commission for investigating the whole subject. Even if the Round Table Conference arrives at an agreement on this matter there are a number of smaller States which will be outside the federation and which will have to be dealt with separately. In any event therefore there is the need for a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole question. Mr. Chudgar's book is a thoroughly reliable guide to all dispassionate students of the States' problem.

A. V. PATVARDHAN.

REDEMPTION OF THE JEW.

FRONTIERS OF HOPE. By HORACE M. KALLEN. (Liveright, New York.) 1929. 21cm. 452p. \$3'00.

POST-WAR Europe as forged by the Allied statesmen was anything but a stable structure. On a searching examination, it disclosed many hot-beds of discontent, and even distemper, caused by the maladjustment of territory and population. In the name of self-determination, many a mushroom democracy had sprung into existence on the gains of spoliation. The sick man of Europe had upset all diplomatic calculations by miraculously becoming vigorous in health. Unstrung by the war, Russia had adopted the economic principles of the savage and thus ceased to be a factor in European politics. The hardest to be hit by the Peace of Versailles was the Jew. Throughout Christian times having lived under the shadow of sin as a Christ-killer and been hunted like a wild animal, the treaty grudgingly conceded to his people the nominal honours of a distinct nationality and the rights of mere residence in their homeland. Great Britain as the mandatory guardian of Jewish interests, issued the Balfour Declaration by which the High Commissioner of Palestine was empowered to encourage the exodus of the Jews to the Promised Land. In theory the Jew became a Child of Israel without possessing any sovereign rights. In practice whatever land was available for his occupation was confined within the limits of "Jerusalem the Drab" and the other unproductive country districts of Palestine, as Horace Kallen tells us in his graphic and impassioned recital of the Jewish tale of woes as set forth in the book under review. Swayed by Zionist dreams, the Jew came and found to his utter disillusionment that the laws relating to his acquisition of property were such that, while land changed Arab hands freely, he had to pay heavy penalties to the Government as a purchaser from the Arab landlord. This ruinous handicap notwithstanding, the Jew settled down on the communes started by him on the basis of the co-operatives and set about seriously Zionising himself on the strict lines of Judaic theology, with the result sectarian strife set in, and "their communes became resorts for drones and parasites, grafters and malingerers whom the working brethren fed and would not turn out... The dream be-

came a passion as the waking life became a pang: its pattern became a theme for fanatic vision. Details of it split them into sects."

There was however the sentimental consolation that at last the resolution passed by the International Zionist Congress held at Basle in 1897 had taken effect and that the Jews were for once free to raise a Kingdom of mystic Israel, undisturbed by anti-semitic wrath.

In Poland, the Jew fared the worst for defiling a land of inordinate Christian piety of the inquisitorial persuasion. This incubus of a republic was the outcome of a pant-up Jesuitical fanaticism on the one hand and the liberal donation of territory by the embittered Allies at the expense of Germany and Austria, on the other. Thus bolstered up, Poland spared neither German, nor Lithuanian and, least of all, the Jew, in her ruthless campaign of Polanization.

"The new Republic of Poland began its new life with a baptism of Jewish blood, that its new Government was initiated with acts of piracy and murder, that its rulers ravished East Galicia and Vilna and executed unspeakable pogroms against the Jews." Far worse than the Ukrainian, the Lithuanian and German Minorities, the blood of the Jew was sucked to its last drop, thus reducing him to such pauperism that he had to choose between resorting to the demoralising occupation of a middleman,—all legitimate avenues of industry being denied to him,—or emigration. But the Jew was determined to face the bitter music and with the generous help of the American Jews, he stood his ground and built up for his sustenance efficient co-operatives and thriving cottage industries in the teeth of repressive legislation. "Save for the vivid, irresponsible teutonophobe personality of the romantic Pilsduski, no single power or constellation of powers appeared concerned either with the honour of Poland before the law of nations or with the bitter fruits of established injustice in a national economy." Alongside of this struggle for existence, he also fought fierce sectarian battles so as constructively to put down the powers of obscurantism and illiteracy within his own social-politic, thus making it possible for the transformation of the slumland, reeking with spiritual and material dirt in which he lived, into a civilised habitation.

In Russia, until recent times, both the Orthodox Church and the Czarist powers combined to victimise the Jew as mercilessly as ever anti-semitism in other parts of Europe did. The curse of Bolshevism with all its devastating programme, however, brought blessings with it for the Jew. In a sense the Bolshevik blows shattered nothing essentially Russian but their own faith in a barbarous gospel. "Of course, time will come when it will lose its power. Nothing lasts for ever and why should communism be an exception? But how poignant, how never to be questioned is its present rôle!" In the first fury of Bolshevism, the Jew received severe injuries for not embracing its cult, but before he could adjust himself to the compulsory requirements of Communism it had spent itself. Under the false pretences of communism, which the Commissars proclaimed

with full Bolshevik gusto in order to prolong for ever the regency of their autocracy, they proceeded "to concentrate the Jews in a single area so that they might the more easily be endowed with "cultural and social autonomy" Thus it was, that the Jew realised his long-cherished dream of "an autonomous state" "and the focus of this area of concentration is Southern Ukraine, in the region of Kherson... of Course the event contravenes the faith of the Communist and is not according to the Communist plan. The Government recognises this, but is, as in respect to much of the residuum of peasant life, helpless. It must and wisely does accept the implications of the event and stresses co-operation more and more while paying continual formal reverence to communism."

At last, on the fortunes of the repatriated Israelites and the Russian Jews seems to hang the destiny of Zionism, opines Horace Kallen the brilliant playwright of the drama of Jewish incarceration. To read his "Frontiers of Hope" is a rare privilege.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

THE MUSIC OF LANGUAGE

LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION, BY MICHAEL

WEST. (Longmans, Madras.) 1929. 20cm. 177p.

'FOR I know no one either in the West or in the East, who has devoted so much energy to experimental work and research; no one indeed who has envisaged the problem in the same thorough and careful manner as Dr. West'. In such appreciative words does Mr. Findlay, an English Professor, write of Dr. West, an Indian educationalist! One who is interested in Indian education can easily admit the truth of the statement made by Mr. Findlay in his introduction to the new book by Dr. West, 'Language in Education.' Dr. West's 'Bilingualism' is certainly 'a creative book' while 'Language in Education' is 'of capital importance'.

The present book is eminently useful to teachers and full of thoughtful suggestions. We think it is more. Though, in a sense, an amplification of the theories and methods he advocates in 'Bilingualism', it is a call to other workers in the field of education to face squarely the evergrowing problems and to study child life intelligently, scientifically and systematically. Like Neistche the writer gives us a challenge, 'Here, now, is my way, where is thine?'

In the opening chapters of his book, Dr. West duly emphasises the language-aspect of education. In his opinion the cry, 'things before words' has been sufficiently diinned into our ears, with the result that we have become deaf to the music and poetry of language. 'Language is the stuff of which our selves are made; it is the most important of all formative influences in moulding not only the intellect but the character also'.

The present inefficiency in education is due, Dr. West points out, to our defective language teaching, particularly, the teaching of the mother-tongue. 'Defective language teaching causes a disease at the root of the mind itself. It disorganises the whole psychic

system of an individual and of a nation.' The tone and standard of education can never be raised until the teaching of the languages, particularly of the mother-tongue, is made efficient and effective. 'I believe that the real root of the evil in the language-situation in this country does not lie in the teaching of English; that English-teaching is indeed almost a trivial and unimportant matter, compared with the urgency of improving the teaching of the Vernaculars'. Dr. West is certainly right in emphasising India's neglect of the mother-tongue and the evils that have attended it; his diagnosis is correct but his statement, 'it is these cheap Pundits, the teachers of the mother-tongue, frittering away golden hours of youthful energy upon compound words', who are responsible for all this harm, is rather exaggerated and, therefore, open to criticism. We suffer not so much from lack of men as from lack of money. If at all there is 'misplaced economy' the blame lies with those who hold the strings of the purse! It is impossible, in a brief review like this, to treat in detail or even to take notice of the important contents of the book. Dr. West's ideas on the teaching of English are highly valuable, and his words, 'Every boy who begins to learn English shall, first and foremost and above all, learn to read the language' should be borne in mind by every teacher of English. He is against teaching English by the direct method, which, if at all it did some good, did it by accident. The writer suggests some methods, based on observation and experiments, which the teacher of a foreign language would follow with advantage. It is rather doubtful how far they would stand the test of practicability. His New Readers, the fruit of his research work, are now being used in many schools and the near future shall decide what advantages the teacher and the taught derive from their use.

In the concluding chapter of his book, Dr. West bitterly criticises the examination machinery, which has so fatally affected the theory as well as practice of education in India. To him, examination in India is 'a web of Penelope, which, while the reformers do it up, the examiners undo'. Everyone has to acknowledge that much of the education we get in school or in college is more or less 'examinative'. No biting sarcasm against this tyranny of examination can equal the remarks of Sir Michael Sadler, who, with a sly reference to India, says, "There is a country which has imported its examination system from England and finds that it gives its savour to life like chutney to cold meat. In one of her famous Universities I have seen the printed copies of examination papers locked against larceny in double cases of steel . . . and there are tales of printers sitting on the damp type of examination papers and finding the impression on their white dhoties."

It is very easy to cry, "down with examination" but would the new King Log prove a better ruler? Dr. West comes forth with a suggestion which, though thoroughly practical and worthy of trial, will, we fear,

in no great way help to make them less stereotyped and mechanical. The appointment of an Advisory Board, or rather a Board of Examinations Control might be a suitable instrument but would not cut at the root of the evil. A change, we think, is necessary, not so much in the method and manner of examinations, as in the *spirit* of those who examine. After all one has to admit that the soul of all improvements is the improvement of the soul.

We cannot conclude the review without heartily recommending the book to all who are interested in 'the travel and traffic of mind'.

N. V. KINKAR.

SHORT NOTICE

THE CURIOUS LOTTERY. By WALTER DURANTY. (Coward McCunn, New York.) 1929. 20cm. 237p. \$2.50.

THE grim Bolshevik stage has actors cut in its own inhuman pattern, who grind vast masses of helpless humanity in the pitiless mill of anarchy. There have been innumerable foreign witnesses of this gruesome drama ever since the fateful curtain rose on it. Such as were sentimental among them have, under the blinding influence of Bolshevik hypnotism, seen glorious visions of liberation at work. Only a few, like Walter Duranty have had self-possession enough to see Russia as she is, in all her torment. With admirable literary skill, Duranty describes Bolshevik regalia in its brutal setting. He conjures before our imagination an impressive array of Soviet officials, "red in tooth and claw". The minions of Soviet justice are the objects of his special concern in this book and he narrates stirring tales of the vagaries of a legal system designed to take "its toll of blood". In an atmosphere of "Russian theatre, thrill and colour," there hover the unscrupulous harpies of the secret constabulary known as the "Ogpu" round the judges. Like a nightmare other fearful elements, also enter into the scheme of the law court.

"Like a God from a machine in a Greek tragedy, behind the judges at their table stood Djerjinski, chief of the Cheka, most dreaded man in human history since Torquemada who ruled that other grim Inquisition, of Spain.

Krylenko, the public prosecutor, was the central figure, . . . the purest-souled zealot in Soviet Russia. Within Krylenko and behind Krylenko, class hatred and Bolshevik fanaticism.

Within Krylenko, the Ogpu and the preliminary examination and the Machine of Soviet Justice.

A man of fire, blood, and ice, Krylenko, worth writing about for any readers in any country, at any time".

An orgy of bloody justice celebrated in stories.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- STATUTORY GRAM-PANCHAYATS. Village Local Self-Government in British India. By M. K. MUNNISWAMY AIYAR. (Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta.) 1929. 19cm. 79p. Rs. 2.
- PROFITABLE INDUSTRY. By AN INDUSTRIAL EXPERT. (Industry Book Dept., Calcutta.) 19cm. 118p. Rs. 1-8.
- MONOGRAPH ON COMMON SALT. (Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Calcutta.) 1930. 25cm. 228p. Rs. 2.