

The Servant of India

EDITOR : P. KODANDA RAO—OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

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Topics of the Week.

Externment of Mr. Thakkar.

THE Resident Magistrate of Borsad served an order on Mr. A. V. Thakkar requiring him not to enter the Borsad Taluka for the next two months, and if he was there already, to take himself away at once. The reason for this extra-ordinary action of the Magistrate, was that it was made to appear to him that the presence of Mr. Thakkar in the Taluka was likely to cause the disturbance of public tranquillity! It appears that allegations have been freely made that the Police had used excessive force, to wit, used lathis on women who marched in processions on the 21st inst. at Borsad. With a view to investigating the truth in the allegations, and for no other purpose, Mr. Thakkar went to Borsad. Whereupon the learned and gallant Magistrate of the place apprehended a breach of the peace and a disturbance of public tranquillity, and persuaded himself that he was doing the right thing by externing Mr. Thakkar. Neither the magistrate nor the Government need be surprised if the public suspect that that his unwarranted action was intended to conceal some very rotten behaviour on the part of the Police. This action of the Magistrate is more damning to the Police than any charges that Mr. Thakkar might have made as the re-

sult of his enquiry. The Police and the magistracy in India are the worst enemies of Lord Irwin and the Labour Government in their attempt to conciliate the outraged people of India.

* * *

Indian merchants on the Present Situation.

IN his last Saturday's speech to the Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay, Mr. Hooseinbhoj Laljee, the retiring President, made some common-sense remarks about the present political situation in the country. So far as the Prime Minister's recent declaration of policy goes, Mr. Laljee, like Sir Samuel Hoare, would like to see the completed picture before expressing any final opinion about it. At the same time, he recognises that by that means the British Government "has tried to meet us to a large extent." Apparently he attaches importance to the fact that in settling the details the leaders of the people would be called into consultation. He urged his hearers to utilise this opportunity to the full and not to miss it—an advice of which the Congress ought to take due note. Mr. Laljee said with all the emphasis at his command that so far as the provincial governments were concerned, "important principles had been conceded." And if we stand united, he proceeded, "we are sure to have a square deal even so far as the Central Government is concerned." But are we going to stand united? There is much the Indian mercantile community can do to bring about a peaceful atmosphere. It is an open secret that the civil disobedience movement is largely financed by the Indian merchants of Bombay. If they regard the Premier's statement as a sincere attempt on the part of Great Britain to meet the national demand, while reserving final judgment till the completed picture is ready for their careful scrutiny, are they prepared to make it clear to the Congress organisation that they can no more expect their support? If they did so, the civil disobedience movement would be more crippled than it would be by a dozen Viceregal ordinances. It is thus in their power to facilitate the establishment of the "civil quiet" for which Mr. MacDonald appealed the other day and which is so very necessary for a calm and dispassionate consideration of the Benn-Irwin reform scheme. And if we welcome Mr. Laljee's speech, it is as an indication of the mercantile community's desire for the restoration of peaceful conditions in the country. We do hope the coming days will prove that our interpretation of Mr. Laljee's utterance is correct.

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The Churchills of Calcutta.

WITH pathetic tenacity and obstinacy the European Association of Calcutta is sticking to its diehard attitude towards India's constitutional progress. As a result of which it is getting more and more isolated, from the rest of the European community, not to speak of the derision of the Indian community. The Euro-

pean poll taken by the *Times of India* showed conclusively that the great bulk of Europeans in Western India were in favour of India attaining Swaraj with safeguards. The Viceroy, in his address to the European Association, Calcutta, in December last, told his assembled hosts that the peace they advocated was the peace of the desert; that the strong action that they urged on the Government would create a desert which they might call peace. In view of Lord Reading's speech at the Round Table Conference agreeing to responsibility in the Centre subject to safeguards, the representatives of the European community in India at the Conference fell into line with Lord Reading and gave their support to the Sapru scheme. Nothing moved, the rip van winkles of Calcutta took it on themselves to disown and repudiate their representatives. Promptly the Europeans in other parts of India, and in particular in Madras and Bombay, repudiated the diehards of Calcutta and stood by their representatives in London and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. While the rest of India with striking unanimity pleaded for general amnesty to political prisoners, it was again left to the Calcutta European Association to say 'noy' to it. Sharp came the snub from Madras. The Madras Branch of the European Association has not only considered the opinion of Calcutta Europeans inopportune and unwarranted, as the various Branches of the European Associations were not consulted in the matter and went on to say that hereafter it must insist on being previously consulted before statements committing the whole community were publicly made.

* * *

Women voters in Ceylon.

APROPOS the discussions in London regarding the extension of the franchise in India, it is interesting to note what has been happening next door, in Ceylon. It will be recalled that the new constitution introduced the adult franchise. It was, however, provided that persons qualified for the vote should apply for registration, and thus express a specific desire to be put on the electoral roll. This special procedure throws the onus of being enrolled on the citizen, and not on the Government. Even so, the results of registration of voters recently completed show that over a million and a half voters have registered themselves, and of them, 976,853 were men and 599,223 were women. Well over 25 per cent. of the total population is now included in the new electoral roll, which is seven times as large as the superseded roll. The Donoughmore Commission estimated that the men voters would be 1,200,000 and women 975,000; in all 2,175,000. The actual figures of enrollment come to nearly 75 per cent. of the maximum possible, which is indeed very creditable and speaks highly of the political consciousness among the Ceylonese.

But the most striking feature is the number of women registered voters. They are as many as two-thirds of the men voters. In one constituency the women voters outnumber the men! Balapitiya has the unique distinction that it has 21,628 women voters against 21,455 men voters! In several others the former are nearly as many as the latter.

* * *

Asian Women's Conference.

THE All-India Women's Educational Conference was followed in Lahore by the first session of the All-Asian Women's Conference which took place there last week. This Conference was more truly Asian than the Educational one held at Benares a few weeks ago, for it had a larger attendance of delegates from

various Asian countries. It elected Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as its President; but as she was still in jail and therefore unable to attend, several distinguished ladies officiated for her at the different meetings. The enforced absence of their President apparently served as a great handicap, for the Conference had to go without the inaugural address with which the President is usually expected to open such a Conference. The procedure adopted for the discussion of matters affecting women was somewhat novel. Three meetings were devoted to general speech-making on topics of interest to women such as polygamy, woman's social status, her property and inheritance rights, etc. This was followed by one meeting at which resolutions were passed. We do not know if this procedure was found by the organisers to be an improvement on the one usually adopted whereby speakers are expected to restrict themselves to the particular resolutions in their charge. Whatever that be, the speeches, coming as they did from ladies who knew their subject well, were very interesting. According to Mrs. Hamid Ali, the so-called ill treatment of Muslim women was a myth. In fact, she said, Muslim men still quaked in their shoes before women, as in western countries, and entrusted the management of their homes and lands to their women. She denied that Koran allowed polygamy which will come as a surprise to many. Lady Abdul Qadir said that Islam allowed women the right to choose their husbands, and to rescind their marriage on attaining age, if they had been married while minors and the right of inheritance. Things were of course different now and vigorous agitation was needed to enable women to come into their own. It is of course well known that Burmese women enjoy equal rights with men and were economically independent of their husbands. In Persia, the consent of a girl was a condition precedent to her marriage, and the evil of early marriage was also slowly disappearing, the present marriage age of girls varying between 18 and 20. This was also true of Afghanistan. Very informing speeches describing the evil effects of the consumption of liquor and opium on health were delivered among others by Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi and Rani Laxmibai Rajwade, who, it may not be generally known, is a distinguished medical graduate and a careful student of the different systems of medicine. Turning to the resolutions passed by the Conference, we find that it very rightly urged the introduction of free and compulsory education in all countries in Asia. It also asked for the prohibition and limitation of the production of alcohol, opium and other drugs and stressed the need of anti-alcohol propaganda amongst students. There is much preventible disease in most Asian countries and public health does not receive that attention from the Governments that it importance deserves. The Conference therefore did well in drawing pointed attention to this matter. What strikes us as a charter of women's rights demands the abolition of polygamy, equal rights for women in respect of the guardianship of children, and property, rights of divorce, and adult franchise. Another resolution urged the desirability of the establishment of full responsible government in all countries "in order that every individual and every nation may have the unfettered right of self-expression." This may appear as a counsel of perfection, but that is no reason why the Conference should not have put forward the demand.

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Bombay Industries.

THE report of the Director of Industries, Bombay Presidency for the year 1929-30, contains much that is interesting. This department has had a chequered history ever since its creation and the treat-

ment accorded to it by Government has always been step-motherly. A notable change seems to have come about in the attitude of Government during the year under review and two new important posts, those of the Industrial Chemist and the Industrial Engineer, have been created. All the staff of the Department pertains to the Hand-Weaving branch. The new posts created ensure that the technical help and advice to organised industries given by the Department will be of a really useful nature. It is, of course, obvious that it can only be in the early stages of an enterprise and that too in matters not too technical that the Department can function in this branch most beneficially. The Director records increasing calls for help and cases of useful assistance rendered. The most important work performed, however, seems to have been that of various investigations and of the propaganda and training work in the handloom industry. The report of the Tariff Board on the chemical industry is not yet published but the Industries Department has carried on its own investigation and it is distinctly encouraging to find the Director optimistic about the chances of the economic manufacture of chemicals in India. Another investigation, however, yielded disappointing results for it proved, what has all along been feared, that the hydro-electric power made available in recent years has not added to our supply of *cheap* power at all. The Director finds that hydro-electric power could not be made available to the small industrialists at a cost of less than 25 annas a unit. This is more than what a small oil-engine power would cost. It should further be noted that in cities like Surat electric power produced with the help of coal is being sold to small industrialists today at 25 annas a unit and in some cases at somewhat less. The Director also records the results of an investigation carried out to ascertain the effect of the increase in the duty on yarn on handloom weaving. But it cannot be said that any important facts have been newly discovered. It is, as a fact, impossible in a general downward trend of business to ascertain to what extent a particular factor has contributed towards the depression. In two other cases of cottage industries also, investigation yielded negative results. It was found that the match industry could not be economically organized as a cottage industry and that no means could be found of effectively helping the hand-made paper industry of Junnar.

The entire active propaganda and demonstration work of the Department is carried on in handloom weaving. This Presidency has lagged woefully behind other Indian provinces in this matter and it was only during the year under report that the first hand-weaving Institute in the Presidency was opened at Poona. Thus again, while the 1921 census records the fly-shuttle as being almost universal in some parts of the Madras Presidency, its knowledge and use is even now but slowly spreading in these parts. Everywhere, as recorded for example in this Report, notably in connection with the account of Dyeing Demonstrations, the local conditions and practices are susceptible of considerable improvement in a vast number of details. A large staff of peripatetic instructors and organizers should be capable of bringing about a material change in the economic condition of our artisan classes. With the meagre resources at his disposal the Director has been able to touch only a part of the entire problem, but such record of work as is available here proves conclusively that there are, in connection with the activities of this Department, numerous unexplored or only partially explored avenues of really profitable use of Government money.

* * *

Articles.

HOPES AND FEARS.

LORD IRWIN has done the right thing and done it gracefully and magnificently in releasing unconditionally Mahatma Gandhi and the other members of the Congress Working Committee, the Congress Cabinet, as it were. In doing so, he has demonstrated conclusively that he rose superior to his immediate bureaucratic environment and that he allowed no considerations of prestige or of unworthy doubts to stand in the way of doing the right thing. He realised what was universally pressed on him that every facility should be allowed to the imprisoned Congress leaders to foregather and consider as dispassionately as possible the Premier's Statement. It was open to him, as on the previous occasion when Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and M. R. Jayakar undertook to negotiate, to permit the prisoners to meet, but he set aside petty and niggardly considerations, and with high faith in the righteousness of his action and the character of the Congress leaders, set them free unconditionally. "I am content to trust those who will be affected by our decision to act in the same spirit as inspires it, and I am confident that they will recognise the importance of securing for these grave issues a calm and dispassionate examination."

It is up now to Mahatma Gandhi and his Congress colleagues to respond in an equally statesmanlike and generous manner. It is earnestly hoped that the Congress leaders will rise equal to the occasion and in the first place, call a truce to all anti-Government activities, suspend "hostilities" as it were, without prejudice to their resumption, should it become inevitable, and thereby secure general amnesty to all political prisoners. Government have already undertaken to call off their repressive measures if the Congress made it possible. With calm thus restored, the Congress leaders will be in a better position to give dispassionate consideration to the Premier's Statement.

The release of the Mahatma has been hailed with universal rejoicings. His first interview in which he said that he would suspend making any statement on the Premier's Statement until he met Messrs. Sastri, Sapru and Jayakar, raises hopes of peace and reconciliation. The heart trembles as it never did before as we contemplate the prospect. Will the Mahatma and the leaders of the Congress succumb to the pressure of those, who, because of the sufferings and humiliations they had gone through, and the bitterness that has entered into their soul, will urge that the humiliation of the British Government should be given priority over the restoration of peace; of those who see in the action of the Government a sign of defeat and demoralisation and will urge that the victory should be pushed home, and that a last knock-out blow should be given? Or will they be able to see in the gesture of Lord Irwin a sincere and earnest desire to put India on her feet, as it were, and to secure for the purpose the co-operation of all sections

of its peoples, and will they make the path of reconciliation and peace easy ?

* * *

Since writing the above, the daily papers have published the interviews that the Mahatma gave in Bombay, which must be considered very disappointing. The Mahatma has sought to put his prestige above the interests of the country and sought also to shirk the issue. Asked if, in view of the need for a calm consideration of the Premier's Statement, he would advise the calling off of civil disobedience, he evaded the issue by saying that the situation had gone beyond the control of the leaders, that they would not be able to dictate to the masses and that the rank and file of the Satyagrahi prisoners would be better able to deliver the goods and that therefore they should all be released and that the Government should call off the repressive measures, while the Congress work would go on as usual apparently with the no-tax campaign, among others !

The Mahatma drew a distinction between civil resisters who disobeyed the ordinary non-moral laws of the country in order to protest against the present system of government and those others, who formed the great majority of the 54,000 and odd political prisoners, who disobeyed the Ordinances, which were meant to interfere with the common law rights of citizens, which, according to him, include the right to persuade people by picketing to give up the drink habit and the consumption of foreign cloth, and the right to manufacture salt. The exercise of these common law rights must continue even if civil disobedience, as defined by him, was eventually called off. Whatever be the merits of his contentions, it is certainly open to India, under Swaraj, to take suitable action on them, and it is unnecessary to make the acceptance of them by the foreign Government as a precedent condition to getting rid of it. But the Mahatma must have the satisfaction of having dictated to the Government and made them eat the humble pie. To humiliate the Government is his pleasure, not to strive for power to effect the reforms that he advocates.

It is clear from his interview and the views expressed by Mr. Vithalbhai Patel and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that the Congress Working Committee will not bend its energies to securing peace and Swaraj. The outlook is gloomier than ever. The pathos of it lies in the fact that at the very time these irreconcilables were making their uncompromising statements, reports were published in India of the speeches in Parliament of the Labour Government, headed by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in which they put up impassioned pleas in favour of Swaraj for India. The Mahatma is showing himself more and more the De Valera of India.

BRITISH OPINION ON RESPONSIBILITY AT THE CENTRE.

THOUGH the work of the Round Table Conference stands suspended for the time being, it is interesting to know what the British Press thinks of Lord Reading's support of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's

proposals about the introduction of responsibility at the Centre and the Conservatives' non-committal attitude with regard to it. One obvious result of the endorsement by the Liberal Party of those proposals would be, as pointed out by the *Manchester Guardian*, that "Mr. MacDonald will have no difficulty, in the House of Commons at least, in carrying an India Act based upon it." The *News Chronicle*, of course, approves of Lord Reading's speech, which "amounts to the practical acceptance in the most formal manner by the Liberal delegation of the constitutional proposals by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the most powerful spokesman of moderate Indian opinion." In justifying the British Indian delegates' anxiety for responsibility at the Centre, the *Manchester Guardian* says:—"They want, above all, that India should feel free and be regarded as free by the world in general." This is not possible so long as the Central Executive takes its orders from Whitehall and hence they have always regarded responsibility at the centre as "the essential element in self-government. Neither the substitution of responsiveness for responsibility nor the mild dualism advocated in the Government of India Despatch has at all satisfied them." And it should be noted, what the paper points out, that "politically conscious India is unanimously in favour of a Central Executive responsible to an elected Legislature." At the same time it is comforting to learn that British opinion is also veering round to the view that "the new India Act will have to include responsibility at the centre." The paper is in error in describing Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as being "for five years Home Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council"; he was Law member, and that too not for the full term of five years; but that is by the way. It puts forward as an additional justification for Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's scheme the hope that he must be sure that "it will detach a sufficient number of Congress supporters from their present policy of intransigence to make it workable." We shall soon see if the hope is going to be realised.

The *New Leader's* verdict on Lord Reading's speech is that his proposals "still fall seriously short of the demands of the Indian delegates at the Conference, and very far short of the Indian National Congress minimum terms." After analysing his speech, the paper comes to the following conclusion:

This is very far from being "the substance of independence" which Mr. Gandhi insisted must be given if Dominion Status were to prove acceptable. Imagine the indignation which such limitations of self-government would have aroused in any Dominion if they had been required. Mr. Gandhi and the Nehrus (the three most representative minds in British India) have insisted upon Indian control of foreign policy, the Forces, and economic policy, and have urged that any disputed points regarding financial obligations should be submitted to impartial arbitration. There is no doubt that the Congress leaders would give guarantees, whilst the Indianisation of the Civil Services and Forces proceeded regarding the subjects which Lord Reading desires to reserve for British control, but that is very different from withholding them from Indian control entirely. It is possible that a compromise may be reached in London on the basis of Lord Reading's speech, but we should be optimists if we imagined it would be acceptable to India.

The paper is also dissatisfied with the Conference proposal for the limitation of the franchise to 25 per cent. of the adult population. An objection frequently levelled by some Labour men themselves against the grant of self-government to India is that "the workers and peasants would be left open to exploitation by Indian capitalists and landlords." And it is surprised that when the Labour party is in a position to give political power in their hands by

conferring the franchise on them, its representatives complacently concurred in a proposal "to withhold from 75 per cent. of the Indian people the ballot which could protect them from such exploitation." And this too in face of the Indian Labour representatives' unanimous demand at the Conference for adult suffrage—a demand which has been supported also by the Congress!

Coming to Sir Samuel Hoare's speech in which he took up a non-committal, though not a *non-possimus*, attitude towards Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's proposals, we find the *Times* article is at once a justification of that attitude and a plea for a more definite one on the part of the Conservatives. It admits that Sir Samuel Hoare's speech consisted for the most part of "doubts and questions" but "there was not a question in it which will not require an answer sooner or later, nor a doubt which has not been felt at one time or another by every member of the Conference." Few people in England give much thought to Indian affairs and Sir Samuel Hoare's "political associates" are no exception to this rule. Most of these, "if the truth were known, would willingly accept any broad solution on which the three party leaders were agreed." The Labour Government is then blamed for its failure "to think out such an agreement beforehand." This is followed by a suggestion which, if carried into effect, would result in hanging up the question of responsibility at the Centre for some time at any rate. The suggestion is that since all British parties are agreed about the grant of provincial autonomy it should immediately be given effect to and "that a Congress of self-governing Provinces and States should precede any final attempt to define the Federal Centre." It should be noted that no time-limit is laid down within which such a Congress is to be convened. But the paper is apparently uneasy that the Conservative party had no constructive suggestions to put forward, for it recognises "a manifest risk" in the Conservatives emerging "from the Conference with nothing more constructive in their record than a string of hesitations and queries." While there were points in the speeches of both Lord Reading and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to which the paper might take objection, it hastens to assure the world that "in broad outline, which in the nature of things could hardly be clear-cut at this stage, that interchange of views on Friday and Monday did beyond all question represent a common understanding which is as certain of fulfilment as the sunrise." Even so, it had not yet reconciled itself to the introduction of responsibility at the Centre in the sense that Ministers could be ousted by a hostile vote of the legislature. The paper does not lose the opportunity to remind "these visitors of ours" that they "cannot claim that they are wholly representative of the peoples behind them, and least of all that they are representative of the best organised and most irreconcilable of the Indian political parties." A struggle with "the Congress extremists" appears inevitable to the paper. It is in order to arm them "with some better weapon than a doubt and some better objective than a note of interrogation" that the Conservatives are asked to define their attitude more clearly.

The *Daily Telegraph*, true to its traditions, finds Sir Samuel Hoare's speech "unquestionably the most valuable that has, so far, been uttered in the Conference on that vital aspect of its enormous problem." The *Morning Post* praises the "statesmanship" and "frankness" of his speech. Indeed it regards his performance as all "the more welcome after the surrender, made by the Liberal delegation the day before." Nay, more. In view of what appears to it as the throwing overboard by the Liberal Party of Sir John Simon "as part of a political compact", it offers the Conservatives the dis-

astrous advice "to stand firm on the lines now laid down by Sir Samuel Hoare." While in Indian political circles that believe in progress by negotiation the opinion about Lord Reading's speech is universally satisfactory, the *Morning Post* has succeeded in unearthing "an Indian gentleman" who "remarked rather scornfully of Lord Reading's speech that if he spoke for British opinion, then the British value nothing but their moneybags." While the paper does not, of course, see eye to eye with this Indian who wants to hide his light under a bushel, it regards the interpretation he put upon the speech as "at least excusable" in view of Lord Reading placing "all his emphasis" on financial safeguards. Much capital has been made by this champion of Conservative die-hardism of the failure of the Hindus and Muslims to come to a settlement and the conclusion is deduced that "the objection to majority rule comes more from the minorities who live in India than from the British who govern it." But this is not all. "We may hope, if we are optimists, for an eventual reconciliation; but, in the meantime it is necessary for some impartial Power to hold the scales even between these two conflicting opposites. We remain in India, therefore, not merely for external defence, but for her internal peace. The religious and secular liberties of India can only be guaranteed by the presence of the British Raj."

In sharp contrast is the opinion expressed by the *Daily Herald* on the speech about which the *Morning Post* has gone into such ecstasies. According to the *Herald*, it was "the most mischievous contribution yet made to the Round Table Conference discussions."

For all that he described his attitude as non-committal, the speech was in effect a rejection of the whole idea of responsible government at the centre. A rejection based not on considerations of statesmanship, but on a series of legal quibblings which surely had their source in a more ingenious brain than Sir Samuel's.

From beginning to end there was not one constructive idea: not one glimmer of understanding of the grave realities of the situation.

The Italics are ours. Particular attention is invited to the italicised words. Who is meant, we wonder? Is it Sir John Simon? About Sir Samuel Hoare's offer of mere provincial autonomy unaccompanied by any responsibility at the Centre, the paper correctly describes the situation when it says that no Indian delegate could even look at it.

To offer India this would be to destroy the last shreds of confidence, to unite a whole nation in steadfast opposition to its Government, to start a new era of repression and resistance, to open the way to incalculable disasters.

We trust he is not voicing the considered opinion of the Conservative leaders. If he is, the utterance is even more disastrous than the recent speech of Mr. Churchill.

The *Spectator* lamented "the inability of Sir Samuel Hoare to see that the total absence of constructive enthusiasm in his speech was a bad psychological defect."

"Look Before You Leap" is how the *Morning Post* describes Lord Peel's speech, which hardly differed from Sir Samuel Hoare's, on the subject of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's proposals. "To promise more would be foolish and let us add that it would be undemocratic." The *Post's* explanation is that though the Indian delegates are "ornaments of their respective classes and communities," they were not elected by and cannot be said to represent the people of India. Lord Reading is again blamed for "weakly" giving in on the question of responsibility at the Centre, while "an equally eminent Liberal," Sir John Simon had been careful enough to leave responsibility of the central Government to the British Parliament undisturbed

and did not allow his report to be contaminated by any mention of the (to the Conservative die-hards) hateful phrase "Dominion Status."

The *Manchester Guardian* aptly described the Conservatives' angle of vision as reflected in Lord Peel's speech when it said his speech was

critical and non-committal, pertinently interrogative, but lacking in constructive suggestions; an attitude which may fairly be described as feeble rather than vicious, as neither particularly helping nor particularly hindering the work of the Conference. Lord Reading and Lord Lothian have had the courage and intelligence to find in the possibility of immediate All-India Federation a reason for supporting Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's proposals, far-reaching though they be. The Conservative delegation will not damn these proposals, unless with faint praise, and will not approve them. Lord Peel and Sir Samuel Hoare prefer to sit on the fence; and British Indian delegates, remembering Mr. Churchill, who is also a member of the Conservative party, should on the whole be well content to see them there

With regard to the need for guaranteeing financial supplies for the Army so long as it continues to be under British control, the *Spectator* states the fact that various expedients to that end had been suggested and singles out for reference the one under which Army expenditure would be a first charge on Indian revenues and would be non-votable. In this connection, "in order to satisfy Indian opinion" it suggests the desirability of the British Government "taking all possible steps to curtail military expenditure perhaps by appointing a Joint Committee representative of both Great Britain and India to consider the factors involved in internal and external security." This is a suggestion worthy of serious consideration; but the military *pundits* must be persuaded beforehand to accept and put into effect the results of such an inquiry. The paper takes occasion to remind the British people that they

have a unique opportunity at the present time of providing a Constitution for India that will satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the various sections of the Indian peoples to control their own destinies. The transformation in public opinion since the *Spectator* first wrote on Indian aspirations has been almost magical, and we have little doubt that the majority of the British electorate are now in favour of according full Dominion status to India with all its implications, as soon as a transitional period has elapsed. We believe that, if such a declaration were made, this Conference would return to India with every prospect of detaching a considerable number of Extremists to the cause of co-operation and peace.

The correspondence columns of British newspapers also contain some things of Indian interest. Mr. Basil P. Howell, London representative of *New India*, urges "a judicial investigation into the whole question of the application of the Ordinances and the method of arrest and conviction under them." What led him to make this suggestion was the magisterial excesses as disclosed in Mrs. Lukmani's case in Bombay, the Gandhi Csp incidents in the Madras presidency, prohibition to inquire into cases of Police excesses, etc., to all of which reference was made in the editorial columns of this journal at the time they occurred.

The *Manchester Guardian* of December 27 has a letter from a "journalist" which goes far to explode the myth of "incorruptible services," and states what is the common experience in India that "the police forces are veritable cesspools of graft and that a form of "racketeering" is rife. But he does not content himself with merely making the allegation but gives an instance or two within his own knowledge in its support.

I was working at night in Calcutta and I hired a rickshaw to take me home in the small hours at a charge of eight annas. One very bad night during the monsoon the rickshaw failed to appear. The vehicle and its humble puller and proprietor were eventually found round the corner in a side street. The explanation was that, having no money as *baksheesh* for the *parawallah* (native policeman) on duty, he had not been allowed to enter the compound. I then discovered that the policeman had been levying a nightly tax of one anna—that is, one-eighth of the poor creature's earnings.

On another occasion I was held up by a *parawallah* when half-way home along Chowringhee (the Piccadilly of Calcutta.) When he raised the mackintosh covering and saw a sahib inside—a sober one—his astonishment was complete. The rickshaw-wallah told me that an Indian would have been compelled to "pay up" or be arrested on some frivolous charge, and a drunken sahib (the only sort to be found in rickshaws at four in the morning) would probably have been relieved of his loose cash.

Taxis dare not leave the rank without paying a tribute of one anna. If they refuse to pay up they are "run in" on a trumped-up charge.

The European and Anglo-Indian (Eurasian) sergeants are not much better than the *parawallahs*. Unless you tip generously your car finds itself displaced from a theatre queue or otherwise impeded. It is *baksheesh*, *baksheesh* all the way.

I will say nothing of the senior police officials because I have not "come up against them." Other people have however, and there are plenty of stories in circulation that they could verify if they had the courage to do so.

If this sort of thing goes on in the cities, with Europeans as the victims, one can imagine the state of affairs in the mofussil.

It is hoped the Government will take some steps to improve the character of their police force.

D. V. A.

Reviews.

DANGERS OF OBEDIENCE.

THE DANGERS OF OBEDIENCE AND OTHER ESSAYS. By HAROLD J. LASKI. (Harper.) 1930. 22 cm. 293 p. 10/6.

THIS is a collection of Essays on different interesting topics by an author whose name needs no introduction to students of politics.

The first Essay which gives the name to the book is a strong plea for criticising all conventional institutions and customs, which, in course of time, tend to kill all progress. Traditional prejudice discourages adoption of all dynamic ideas, and is never happy unless life is following the beaten track only. Men are generally conservative and love stability; therefore, there is always a strong feeling against all innovation. No prophet has found his mission a bed of roses, for every prophet wants to change the established order. Human nature is so timid that men would rather bear tyranny and injustice than tolerate anything which disturbs the superficial calm of an established, though rotten, society. It is only when wrongs become unbearable that human nature revolts. And then the tyrant becomes so powerful that a struggle with it involves tremendous sacrifice and suffering.

The secret, therefore, lies in watching the government closely and criticising it whenever it goes wrong. Laziness or fear of going against vested interests, authority, or public opinion should not deter us from raising our voice. A careful vigilance on the

part of the average citizen only can keep a government in proper control. We should never excuse ourselves for being silent when our Government has done some injustice, for "silence is acquiescence; and a failure to protest against injustice only makes us the less vigilant against invasion of our freedom." Once the citizen contracts this habit, he is transformed "into an inert recipient of orders whom it is difficult to rouse from lethargy"; and a government is persuaded that "it has only to show a bold front to secure acceptance of any commands it chooses to impose."

Nor should modesty deter the individual from expressing his opinions freely, for he should remember that, after all, the orders against which he protests are simply the outcome of opinion of individuals like himself. And then, a thousand others may be feeling like him, and waiting for someone to take the lead in the expression of these views. If an opinion does not contain some solid truth, it will naturally die away: but if it does, the responsibility of hiding it is great! Nor should one think that the individual is powerless, for there have been instances of individuals who have defeated mighty states with no force at their command except that of the truth in them. Even today some of the most powerful states have to bow down before the will of some small group. The reason is, as Laski points out, that "acts of authority are always limited by their power to command the moral support of thinking men".

We should not tolerate any injustice even if the intentions of the state are sincere; for no sincerity can atone for injustice. The Spanish Inquisition, or Calvin's action in burning Servetus cannot be excused on the ground of their sincerity. Nor should we be afraid to question the opinion of the expert who has guided the government in a particular action, for an expert is generally so obsessed with the importance of his project that he tends to become a tyrant.

This insistence upon individual opinion as opposed to the views of the state certainly looks like a doctrine of anarchy, for an ordered society can be built only on the firm rock of discipline, but Laski is right when he points out that discipline can be carried too far and may culminate in tyranny and stagnation. Besides, "we must make our protest proportionate to the event. We need not march out with machine guns because the income tax-inspector has assessed us wrongly."

In modern times the Leviathan has become so strong that it requires great courage in an individual to cross swords with it; the result has been a growing inertia on the part of the citizen. Under these circumstances, a plea for the assertion of the individual will against the state is certainly timely. The state is no longer the crude organization of the past when it could be broken into pieces by slight opposition, nor is it based on a half superstitious dread and prestige which could not be weakened with immunity. Today the society which does not encourage criticism, or which has no sound critics is more or less dead, and a really vigorous state always thrives on sympathetic criticism. Therefore, unless the criticism be malicious and malignant, it will always be useful, and the patriotic citizen should not be afraid of its use if he considers it necessary.

The next Essay is an instructive criticism of the American Political System in which its weaknesses are brought out in a convincing and lucid style. The average American looks upon his constitution as the embodiment of all political wisdom and too good to be criticized; therefore, this Essay along with the brilliant criticism of Bryce and others will go to some extent in disillusioning him. Laski's Essay is useful in one respect which is very helpful. He illustrates his points with the events of the last few years

which gives one an insight into the recent political events of that country.

"The Recovery of Citizenship"—the next Essay deals with the weaknesses of the modern democracies and the reasons why they fail in giving the man in the street his proper share in the Government of his country. The main reason is that the working of the state machine has necessarily grown too complex to interest the average man who does not feel that politics are his concern. The Parliamentary process neither gives the multitude any great share in the government of their country, nor sufficient education in the quasi-technical matters which parliaments have to discuss. It is very doubtful if the legislative assembly represents the popular will; "for the party system limits rigorously the number of wills that can be effective, and the average private member is the creature of the leaders who dominate the caucus of his party." If an assembly is elected on the basis of Proportional Representation, its efficiency is marred, and the executive depending on such an assembly has a very risky term of existence. The facts that a legislature has generally to decide issues for which it has no mandate from the people and that during the intervals when there are elections there is no assembly show that modern democracy is far from being perfect.

Yet there is no cause for despair. Man always finds means of self-expression, and therefore, he establishes voluntary associations which sometimes are so important that the state cannot neglect them. The experience gained by individuals in these organizations is generally lost to the state which fails to utilize it. Laski recommends a system of advisory councils which should "advise, encourage, and warn the government in the particular sphere in which they are interested. In the realm of industry these councils will be of immense use in settling disputes, stabilization of employment and production, and collecting statistics and other important matters connected with the industry. Thus it will be possible to make the voluntary organizations vocal and to organize them into semi-official advisors of the government. This, by establishing closer contact between the enterprising individual who runs the voluntary association and the members concerned of the government, will regenerate the waning interest of the average citizen in politics, and will have all the advantages of functional representation without its necessary drawbacks.

"A plea for equality" pleads very strongly for greater equality in political as well as economic spheres, and advocates a radical change in our ideas on the question of property.

"Can Business be civilized" advocates the grant of a greater share in the management of industries to workers and consumers. "A Portrait of Jean Jacques Rousseau" and "Machiavelli and the Present Time" contain some original thoughts on the two great philosophers.

In addition to these there are a few essays on problems connected with education and universities which are valuable both in showing the trend of events in Western educational institutions as well as in making valuable suggestions which are, in certain cases, applicable to our country also.

The book is readable from cover to cover and amply repays a perusal. The style is everywhere attractive, and even the layman in education and politics can enjoy almost every essay. It is also valuable in showing the trend of contemporary political thought as Laski's views are radical enough to give ample food for thought without shocking people. His genius combines in a way peculiar to him only a readiness to institute the most radical opinions with-

out going to extravagant extremes. This small book, in short, gives in the small compass of about 300 pages a collection of Essays which are instructive and thought-provoking.

I. H. QURESHI

INDIAN'S PUBLIC DEBT.

THE INDIAN PUBLIC DEBT. A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE BORROWING POLICY OF THE GOVT. OF INDIA IN RECENT TIMES.

BY D. L. DUBEY. (Taraporewalla, Bombay.)
1930. 20cm. 382p. Rs. 8.

THIS is a very interesting and exhaustive study of the borrowing policy of the Government of India during the last decade.

The book through its different chapters traces in detail the nature and amount of the liabilities of the Government and the author has spared no pains to collect the relevant statistical information. Some of the chapters as, for example, those on the sterling debt, the provincial debt, the small investor and the money market in India are extremely interesting of the student of Indian finance.

On p. 93 of his very able survey Prof. Dubey has some arresting remarks to make. In regard to the resolution of the Indian National Congress at Lahore in the matter of the public debt of India Mr. Dubey writes: "Any Government, whether indigenous or alien, will have ultimately to redeem India's debt obligations, both external and internal, in full. It is possible to be a true Nationalist to the core without proclaiming oneself a bad debtor." Dr. Dubey is very generous and we have every sympathy with him. The only question is whether every loan raised was raised properly and for a very proper purpose. If the Indian debt can stand the test of an impartial scrutiny, obviously India would not be so foolish as to think of any remonstrance. At any rate an inquiry would serve a very useful and necessary purpose, especially as India has not been and is not yet a self-governing country.

Bad creditors are as plentiful as bad debtors and it is ridiculous to get excited over the Lahore resolution or any similar resolution which insists on a scrutiny. India has not suggested repudiation either in full or in part of public debt properly raised and properly expended. The flutter in the investment market to the extent that it exists may also in part be due to the fear that such scrutiny may reveal weaknesses of some type or other. Prof. Dubey himself uses strong language in condemning the issue of a sterling loan in 1921 at 7%. The whole course of this loan from beginning to end, writes the author, appears as nothing short of a financial scandal! Mr. Dubey is, however, on strong ground when he pleads for the transfer of the management of the sterling debts from the Bank of England to the Imperial Bank of India.

In his chapter on the Provincial Debts Dr. Dubey reiterates the orthodox opinion that the Provinces must not be allowed a direct access to the money market in England. It is not however clear why this should be so. Every Indian province is a big unit of administration and has a responsibility for good government over many millions of His Majesty's Indian subjects. It is not very correct to say that provincial loans would have no success in the London money market. Undoubtedly, so long as the Secretary of State and the Government of India are very jealous of their powers the London investor would prefer the bigger guarantee. But a federal India may have to think of a different line of approach.

Dr. Dubey has the conviction that India is a sink of precious metals, and he is probably right

in insisting that India must make up her mind to have more steel and iron, more coal and gas. But to throw out a suggestion, may it not be equally correct to say that the more intelligent nations of the world may give up their gold standards and make their currencies work on a non-gold basis? They can then afford to neglect India's gold.

On the whole Prof. Dubey has done very valuable work in bringing out this survey and we commend a detailed study of it to the student as well as the legislator.

S. V. AIYYAR.

LEAGUE OF NATION'S WORK.

TEN YEARS OF WORLD CO-OPERATION. WITH A FOREWORD BY SIR ERIC DRUMMOND. (Secretariat of the League of Nations, Geneva.) 1930. 24cm. xi + 467p.

THE present volume, which sets forth briefly and impartially the work accomplished by the League of Nations during the first ten years of its life, satisfies a long-felt want. It is true that there have been many books dealing with the manifold aspects of the League's work, and that its Publications Department has been steadily producing a long and voluminous series of official documents. The very prolixity of this output has to a certain extent proved self-defeating in that students of League problems have had to wade through a mass of official and non-official literature in order to obtain a clear vision of its range and amplitude. As Sir Eric Drummond points out, the official archives of the League, with its rich store of reports and documents of all kinds, will still continue to be the raw material for the historian. But to the ordinary man, cultured enough to take an interest in the political and social developments of his time, but without either the time or the opportunity to go to the official records for his information, the present compilation will prove very welcome. Nor should it be forgotten that the success of the League depends, in the ultimate analysis, not on the historian or the bureaucrat, but on the man in the street, who constitutes the backbone of true democracy.

The book under review has been produced "under the limitations by which the official is hedged." Evidently, these limitations have not affected the quality of its fourteen chapters, since, contrary to most official or semi-official publications, the authors have produced a volume which, while teeming with facts, is at the same time agreeable reading. The first four chapters deal in the main with the problem of the prevention of war which, according to many people, is the most important function of the League. It is now, however, generally agreed that the more positive side of the League's work, the promotion of international co-operation, is a surer way of achieving world peace than interminable wrangles regarding disarmaments or the settlement of political disputes. In any case, it is this part of the League's activities which has contributed to establishing it as a world force. In the chapters dealing with financial and economic co-operation, international transit and communications, health, and social and humanitarian activities, we find examples of the way in which the new organisation has addressed itself to the creation of an international mind. As the author of the fifth Chapter says, "Looking back, the decision to concentrate the activity of the League in its early years upon the development of international co-operation appears as perhaps the most important single act of policy during the first decade of its existence." The record of achievement in this field includes the fina-

noial reconstruction of Austria and Hungary, the successful fight against cholera and typhus in Europe, the persistent endeavour to suppress the traffic in habit-forming drugs and in women and children, and the magnificent contribution towards industrial peace which has been made by the International Labour Office. This latter organisation being an autonomous body within the League scheme, the signal services it has rendered to humanity have not been referred to in the present volume which deals exclusively with the League Secretariat and the Hague Court. But, no judgment which fails to take note of the work for ensuring social peace which the I. L. O. is so successfully undertaking can be regarded as fair or satisfactory to the entire League Organisation.

It is to be hoped that the present volume will have a very wide circulation, since the work already accomplished by the League has won but inadequate recognition at the hands of the public. In particular, there is a class of critics who imagine that the League is a spendthrift body, producing small results at great cost. Whether the results are small or not, the impartial student can judge for himself from these pages. As for the charge of extravagance, a single instance might here be referred to. In 1921 the British Government was maintaining some 2000 refugees—the remnants of Denikin's army—at a cost of £250,000; in the following year the Refugee Section of the League, working under the guidance of the late Dr. Nansen, settled them all in employment at a total cost of £70,000.

Altogether, a perusal of this book helps to dissipate any pessimism regarding the future of the League. The infant Hercules has already performed wonders. What may we not expect of him when he grows to full manhood?

P. P. P.

INDIAN METAPHYSICS.

MAHAMAYA, THE WORLD AS POWER: POWER AS CONSCIOUSNESS. By SIR JOHN WOODROFFE & PRAMATHA NATH MUKHYOPADHYAYA. (Ganesh & Co., Madras.) 1929. 25cm 239p. Rs. 5/-

THE book is an attempt to prove to the English reader that the World is power and that power is consciousness. In the preface the authors say:—"It offers to western philosophy a new conception of consciousness and mind, and brings to the controversies within the Vedantic schools a profoundly conceived contribution in its theory of power and in its doctrine of the unity of conditioned and unconditioned Being, of the state of worldly experience which is *Samsara* and of that super-worldly experience which is *Moksha*."

In the introduction at the outset they say that the Universe of Experience is said to be analysable into five aspects, namely, Being, Consciousness, Bliss, Name and Form. Of these five predicables the first three are common to all object experiences. The last two differ from object to object. That power could be understood as consciousness not only by subjective analysis but by experimental proof. The experiment is similar to that of a geologist who shows how a great rock or a layer of the earth crust has been formed by experimenting with a small sample of it in his laboratory.

In Chapter I, Consciousness is said to be power-holder and power. The concept *Chit* is unique, Indian thought in its highest form regards it as the fundamental Reality. In the west, there have been thinkers who have reduced the world to idea, to will, to intention or to imagination, but it is the Indian

Vedanta which makes the world *Chit*, in its root as well as in its manifestation. *Chit* as power appears as the world, but in so appearing never ceases to be in itself *Chit*. This is the essence of non-dualist doctrine. *Chit* is Being or Fact (*Sat*) and *Chit* is Bliss (*Ananda*). Veda says that world proceeds out of Bliss, is sustained by Bliss and is reabsorbed into Bliss.

Chapter II deals with the consciousness as the whole as distinguished from it as section or part. The former is perfect experience. It is an experience from which nothing has been ejected, held back; in which nothing has been ignored.

Chapter III deals with veiling of consciousness. Though the supreme Reality is only realisable in Yoga, the intellect gives warrant in normal experience for the truth of the scriptural teaching. The *Bindu* is a perfect universe in a condition of maximum veiling but infinite potency. "In the Upanishads *Brahman* has often been described as smaller than the smallest, and larger than the largest. Now, if by *Brahman* we mean perfect experience or universe, then we see how aptly the description applies to *Brahman*, particularly if we are careful to take the *Bindu* for what it really is."

Chapter IV deals with pure experience. *Shakti* is dynamical in one sense (in the sense of moving and changing) and statical in another (in the sense of persisting as such). Even perfect power cannot do away with itself—cease to be other than power. To know or realize *Shakti* is therefore pure experience.

Chapter V deals with perfect experience which can be best described by the negative method. It is not in time and in space and yet it manifests itself as beginningless and endless, cosmic flux and cosmic configuration; it is Cause and yet it is the ultimate basis of Causation; it is not a Centre, and yet countless subjects and objects are in varied stress on its bosom; it is not Cosmos, and yet myriads of worlds appear and disappear in it like bubbles on water; it is unthinkable and yet all thought and speech proceed from it; it is the whole and yet all aspects are its aspects."

"*Consciousness and Reality*" is dealt with at great length in Chapter VI. Experience is reality and reality is defined as absolutely doubtless *Being-Experience* which means an experience that does not discriminate between thought and thing, and which feels those two aspects or poles as identical. It is the alogical whole. To be absolute or perfect reality, experience must be perfect in the sense of the whole. It must be taken as supreme aspect which involves and yet transcends all particular varied aspects, pure or undifferentiated. To narrow experience down to either of the subordinate aspects is to cut down the perfectness of reality—is to make reality relatively real. This is the root of the matter. But the supreme form must not be offered as being alone the reality. It is an aspect or form of reality, as pure *Chidakasha*, is an aspect. The full reality or fact is *Chit* which, while remaining by its power the pure which is *Sachidananda* or *Shiva*, yet evolves by its power, the world—mother, as the world of forms. The supreme form involves itself into lower and lower forms and also evolves these again into higher and higher forms until in devolution they are withdrawn into itself to be projected again during creation. *Being-Consciousness-Bliss as both power to be and to become or evolve is therefore the reality—whole*. Time, space and causality are born in its womb. She is the mother as also the consort of *Mahakala*. She is the supreme without aspects, as well as with aspects. We cannot define her by anyone of her aspects. In herself she is the whole

which manifests as the universe of parts existent within it.

Chapter VII deals with unconsciousness or *Achit*. Man's own unconsciousness and subconsciousness are veiled, unaccepted, unrecognised forms of consciousness itself. In fact both are modes of *Chit*. Subconsciousness, in the consummation reached by degrees, becomes super-consciousness and perfect consciousness.

Because *Chit* is the whole, alogical, and therefore indefinable, it can be thought about and defined only in aspects or sections. "*Chit and Centres*" is the burden of Chapter VIII. The *Shakta* doctrine makes every centre a magazine of free and undying power—essentially perfect, but pragmatically limited, that is, veiled and ignored.

In Chapter IX the authors deal with *Chit* and its involution. The study of perfect experience has necessarily to start on the basis of man's own experience. In metaphysics no more ultimate and surer basis can be thought of. *What is here is there*. All that exists, all whether as mind, life and matter, are forms and products of the one fundamental substance—power which is *Chit-Shakti*, or unlimited being—consciousness as power which is also bliss.

The last Chapter is the one of retrospect and conclusion. A very successful attempt is made in this chapter to express the ancient thought of India in terms of modern scientific thought. Modern science is in a way the fulfilment of the hopes, aspirations and conclusions of Vedanta in its highest hankering after the real. The book affords plenty of material for serious study and consideration to any student of comparative philosophy. It is by no means a light book to deal with. In a way it presupposes an acquaintance with the trend of Indian philosophic thought. It deserves a place in every up-to-date library; the printing is good and the get-up is excellent.

D. S. RAMACHANDRA RAO.

INDUSTRIAL HOUSING IN INDIA.

LABOUR AND HOUSING IN INDIA. By RAJ BAHADUR GUPTA. (Longmans, London.) 1930. 22 cm. 264. p. Rs. 7/8.

THE rapid industrialisation of India and the consequent concentration of large populations in a few of the highly specialised centres of production in the country, like Bombay, Calcutta, Cawnpore, Jamshedpur, etc., have created several problems of the greatest importance on the adequate solution of which depend to a large extent the health and happiness of the Indian working classes. It is surprising that despite the importance of the problem there has been, comparatively speaking, little investigation or research conducted in the field of industrial housing, sanitation and allied matters. Professor Patrick Geddes, it must be admitted, has through his able advocacy of the need for well thought-out and planned efforts at city improvement, awakened to some extent the sluggish civic conscience of India in this respect. Nevertheless, the field of inquiry is so large and investigators have been so few, that there still remain many aspects of the problem which require to be carefully investigated. The book under review is a happy effort to remedy this need, and the author is to be congratulated on the extremely effective manner in which he has handled his subject.

The book is free from affectations of pedantry and is characterised by a directness and incisiveness of treatment which cannot but make its appeal to the serious student. It is divided into four parts; the first deals with the Indian housing problem in general and gives an account of the rapid growth of

industrialism in India; the second is concerned with the social aspects of the problem; the third attempts a co-relation of housing conditions with public health; the fourth tackles the problem of remedial measures. Parts III and IV of the book which bear evidence of laborious investigation and patient research are, undoubtedly, the most instructive portions of the book. The abnormal inflow of immigrants into our important industrial centres and the consequent congestion in industrial areas form the crux of the housing problem in India in so far as it relates to labour. Even a superficial observer of industrial centres like Bombay, Calcutta and Jamshedpur cannot fail to be struck by the dominance of large floating immigrant populations in these centres. In such large aggregations of industrial workers, the dominant characteristics of the ancient agrarian organisation of India such as the joint family system and the village community, along with those social customs, habits and traditions which go to the traditional make-up of the Indian outlook on life have all become submerged under the new order of things necessitated by changed conditions of life in cities. The adaptation of social customs and methods of living to changed circumstances is necessarily a tedious, unpleasant and difficult process involving considerable hardship during the period of transition. It is such conditions that are responsible for the extremely unhealthy *chawls* and tenement blocks which are now so common a feature of Bombay, Ahmedabad, the jute towns, Cawnpore, etc., and the equally insanitary *bastis* of Calcutta, Howrah and other industrial centres. Of the total population of Bombay, 66 per cent. live in one-room tenements as against 64 per cent. in Cawnpore, 6 per cent. in London, 5 in Edinburgh, 9 in Dundee, and 13 in Glasgow. The average number of persons per room in the one-room tenements is 4.03 in Bombay, 3.25 in Glasgow, 3.2 in Cawnpore, and 2.5 in Edinburgh. These figures tell their own sad tale. There is no clearer indication of bad environmental conditions in an industrial centre than heavy infant mortality. The infant mortality rate per 1000 births in 1927 was 316 for Bombay, 340 for Calcutta, 344 for Howrah and 574 for Poona, as against 86 for Berlin and Paris, 59 for London and 56 for New York. Further, in most of the industrial towns in India the death rate is higher than the birth rate. Thus, the birth and death rates in 1927 for Calcutta were 15.5 and 34.2, for Bombay 18.54 and 23.84 and for Poona 19.38 and 41.25 respectively. The fact that in spite of this the population of these cities has been uniformly on the increase is to be ascribed solely to the continuous stream of immigrants into these centres. Besides, mention has also to be made of the heavy toll that insanitary and congested conditions in industrial centres levy in the shape of grievous onslaughts on the health, vitality and efficiency of the workers. Owing to these conditions Indian labour which is quantitatively cheap is qualitatively dear. A searching study of the subject and the devising of adequate remedial measures have, therefore, both a humanitarian and utilitarian appeal.

The author is to be congratulated on the keen and analytical way in which he has handled the various aspects of the problem of industrial housing. The book is singularly free from the didactic mannerisms of the arm-chair critic devoid of practical contact with his subject. Part IV of the book which embodies Dr. Gupta's considered suggestions in the sphere of remedial measures bears ample evidence of that mastery of detail and comprehensiveness of understanding which come as the result not only of patient and prolonged study of blue books and reports, but also of firsthand and intimate acquaintance with the actual conditions of life of the workers. Sensible

town-planning is, of course, the most important remedy suggested by the author, but the distinguishing feature of his advocacy in this respect is the convincing plea that he has made for adapting new town-planning schemes to the regional and social traditions of the workers. The city, it is conceded, cannot assimilate in their entirety the social traditions and processes of the village; nevertheless, efforts can be successfully made to render the transition less abrupt by ensuring approximation to village conditions as far as possible. In this sphere, the author points out, the Government, municipal bodies and Improvement Trusts, employers, and social service agencies have important obligations, on the adequate discharge of which depends to a large extent the industrial efficiency of the workers. The efforts of well intentioned employers and social service organisations can, however, touch only a fringe of the problem, as progress in industrial housing is conditioned by the material and moral support of the central and local Governments. The initiation of suitable legislation to check the vagaries of unregulated urban growth, the inauguration of co-operative housing schemes to meet the existing shortage of housing accommodation in industrial centres, the amplifying and stiffening of housing and sanitary bye-laws, as well as zoning regulations, and the provision of adequate financial assistance to social service agencies working in this field are some of the important directions, according to the author, in which immediate action by the Government is clearly indicated. The remedial measures suggested by Dr. Gupta may lack the charm of novelty, but they are expounded with a lucidity, with a wealth of detail and sincerity of expression that are bound to carry conviction.

K. E. MATTHEW.

Correspondence.

ADVANCE UNDER THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

Sir,—In the course of the eventful and hope-inspiring speech which the Premier made while declaring the future policy of the British Government towards India at the conclusion of the last session of the Round Table Conference in London, he gave an assurance, as a clear indication of a change of heart and of sympathy towards the hopes and aspirations of His Majesty's subjects in India, that his Government, in consultation with some prominent Indians with experience in administration, would consider as to what political and constitutional advances were possible in the immediate future under the present Government of India Act and try to put them in practice so as "to bring Indian administration more into accordance with declarations made here than is the case to-day." The question had already been gone into by the Reforms Enquiry Committee (popularly known as the Muddiman Committee) which was appointed so far back as 1924 by the Government of India.

Appendix No. 2 of the Report of this Committee is the Memorandum submitted by the Legislative Department of the Government of India with regard to this question and it enumerates the legal and constitutional possibilities of advance within the present Act. The following are some of them:—

(a) The Secretary of State for India has been given the power to make rules with a view to enable him to "regulate and restrict the exercise of powers

of superintendence, direction and control" over the Government of India. In pursuance of these powers, it is suggested, that the Secretary of State for India should prescribe that three (out of the six) members of the Executive Council of the Governor General with regard to whom no specific qualification is required by the Act, should be selected from amongst the *elected members* of the Legislative Assembly. This will not mean that half the Executive Council of the Governor General is responsible to the Legislature or dyarchy has been introduced at the Centre. But it is an advance—though of little importance—inasmuch as half the members of the Executive Council of the Governor General would be persons in whom a section of the voters in the country have confidence. The same practice may be followed with regard to the Executive Councils of the Provincial Governors.

(b) The provisions of Sections 43 A and 52 (4) with regard to the appointment of Council Secretaries have not yet been put into operation, either in the Central or Provincial Legislatures.

(c) Extension of the franchise is possible under Sec. 64.

(d) It is possible to extend the scope of provincial administration by classifying subjects which are now "central" as "provincial."

(e) Rules authorizing the Indian Legislature or local Legislatures could be made to make laws regulating the public services.

(f) In regard to *transferred subjects* in the provinces it is possible to reduce the general power of control of the Secretary of State.

(g) It is possible to increase the *transferred subjects* by transferring some of the *reserved subjects* to the control of popular ministers.

(h) The financial powers of the provincial Governments could also be enlarged by relaxing the control of the Government of India over them.

It must, however, be mentioned that the view that some advance was possible under the existing Act was confined to the signatories of the Majority Report only and that the signatories to the Minority Report, who included well-known constitutional lawyers and politicians like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, have brushed aside the whole question by opining that no such advance was possible under the present Act in view of section 131 of that Act which provides that "nothing in this Act shall derogate from any powers of the Secretary of State in Council in relation to the Government of India."

Nevertheless, the transfer of finance and law and order to popular Ministers in Provinces is permissible under the present constitution, by means of Rules made by the Secretary of State and affirmatively approved by Parliament. An immediate transfer of these subjects, to which no opposition need be feared in Parliament in view of the unanimous agreement regarding responsible government in the Provinces, will be a striking and conclusive evidence of a "change of heart" in the British Government and an anticipation of the new constitution in the Provincial sphere.

Yours etc.,

K. G. SPANI.

Poona, Jan. 26.

PRISON REFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—In your notes on the above subject appearing in your issue of the 15th January 1931, certain statements are made, which are likely to create misunder-

standing regarding the scope of the Committee appointed by the Social Service League, Bombay, to investigate the grievances of prisoners. I request you to publish the following few lines in your paper with a view to remove the misunderstanding.

The resolution of the Managing Committee of the League appointing the Committee reads as under:—

“Resolved that a Committee consisting of the following members, with powers to co-opt, be appointed to investigate complaints made by released prisoners regarding their treatment in jail, as also about the working of the new jail rules in the Bombay Presidency and that the Committee be further called upon to make suggestions about reform.”

It will be obvious from the wording of the resolution that the League does not restrict the scope of the enquiry to investigating grievances of the political prisoners only, but it wants the Committee “to take advantage of the experience gained by the more enlightened class of political prisoners of the life of ordinary prisoners, and make recommendations for the amelioration and humanisation of the conditions in which these unfortunate victims of the present social order live in Indian jails”, as desired by you.

Yours etc.,

R. G. JOSHI,

Bombay,

23-1-31.

For Secretary, Social Service League.

[Apologies and thanks.—Ed.]

FACILITIES IN GERMANY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

Sir,—To all students wishing to proceed to a foreign country for higher education it is of very great importance to secure correct and reliable information regarding educational institutions, expenses, fees, etc. Especially is this the case with countries, where the English language is not the language of the natives and where the educational systems are different from those of England or India. I want to draw attention to the splendid work done by the Indian Information Bureau in Berlin (Address: 52 Mauerstrasse, Berlin W 8, Germany.) in assisting not only the Indian student but also all travellers from India who are in need of help or information. Meeting at stations, arranging for rooms, getting admission into educational institutions and factories and supplying business information, are only some of the varied activities of the Bureau and it would be a great pity indeed if this institution were to close down for want of funds. The Indian National Congress has unfortunately stopped the financial help they were sending and there is serious danger of this very useful concern being obliged to stop its activities.

Another matter to which I wanted to draw the attention of your readers refers to the scholarships available to Indian and other foreign students studying in German Universities. The Humboldt Trust gives some 75 to 100 scholarships to foreign students at German Universities and I wish this fact was more widely known in Maharashtra. All information regarding this Trust can be obtained from Humboldt-Stiftung, Schloss, Berlin C 2, Germany, and intending students are advised to write to this address.

Educational information about Germany may also be obtained from: Deutsche Akademische Auslandsstelle, 2, Kaitzerstrasse Dresden-A, Germany—

This is a special office organised by Government to give information to Foreigners.

Poona, Jan. 22.

Yours, etc.

IRAVATI KARVE.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- SIMON THE ZEALOT. By JOHN S. HOYLAND. (Williams & Norgate.) 1930. 20 cm 279 p. 7/6.
- BULGARIA'S ECONOMIC POSITION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE REPARATION PROBLEM AND THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By LEO PASVOLSKY. (The Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1930. 20 cm. 409 p. \$ 3. 00.
- INDIAN INDUSTRY, YESTERDAY, TO-DAY AND TOMORROW. By M. CECILE MATHESON. (Oxford University Press.) 1930. 20 cm. 227 p. Re. 1/8.
- THE CLAY CART. Ed. By H. O. KERSHAW. (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras.) 1930. 19 cm. 93 p. As. 8.
- THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY AND OTHER ESSAYS. By B. GOVINDA RAO. (Author, Cocosnada.) 1930. 21 cm. 153 p. Re. 1/4.
- THE INNER SIDE OF CHURCH WORSHIP. By GEOFFREY HODSON. (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.) 1930. 19 cm. 82 p. Re. 1.
- ISLAM. THE RELIGION OF HUMANITY. By SYED ABDURRAZZAQUE. (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.) 1930. 19 cm. 112 p. Re. 1.
- THE LIFE OF BUDDHA (IN HIS OWN WORDS). Translated from Pali by the REV. NARADA THERO. (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.) 1931. 13 cm. 101 p. As. 12.
- THE FLAME OF YOUTH. By C. JINARAJADASA. (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.) 1931. 14 cm. 103 p. As. 9.

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- The Gift of Detachment.
- The Path According to Gandhi :
I. Gandhi, the Man—By G. D. H. Cole (Well-known Socialist).
II. Gandhi, the prophet—By N. B. Parulekar.
- The Power of the Press—By Frank Whitaker.
- Sufism in Modern Life—By Ikbāl Ali Shah.
- India and Briton—By Evelyn Wrench (Editor : The Spectator)
- Spiritual Union—By M. Dugard.
- Honolulu, The Outpost of Buddhist Missions
—By L. J. de Bekker.
- Eastern and Western Cultures, An interview with
—By Sir Jivanji J. Modi.
- What is Philosophy?—By J. S. Collis.
- A Note on the Above.
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