

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

The Assembly Debate on Political Deadlock.

THE debate on the present political deadlock which was raised in the Assembly last week over a motion for adjournment was largely dominated by the 'disclosures' in the circular issued by the executive of the Calcutta Royalists, which had earlier become the subject of many searching questions. This circular merely gave a summary of the report of Mr. Benthall, regarding the situation at the R. T. C. and it is doubtful if it really revealed anything which was not known before. In spite of the Gandhi-Irwin pact, everybody knew that it was believed in Government circles that "a fight with Congress was inevitable" sooner or later. But whatever doubt might have been left on the point was dispelled by the extraordinary landslide of British public opinion in favour of the Conservatives. Unlike the spokesmen of the Government in this debate, Mr. Benthall frankly recognised that this Conservative victory undoubtedly indicated a change in the British Government's Indian policy. We do not know whether it would be right to characterise this as a change in policy; for British politicians have always believed in the theory of a united front in regard to India. And even if an undiluted Labour Government had been installed in Whitehall, it is doubtful if we had any reason to expect any other policy than the present dual one of repression and concession. But there is no doubt whatever that the change in Government has betokened a change in the spirit of administration, which has proved so disastrous to the relations of Great Britain and India.

Sir Samuel Hoare is fond of ostentatiously claiming success for the coercive action taken by Government in regard to the Congress. If the success means that one openly hears little of Congress activity, it is due to the stringent restrictions on the press in regard to the publication of Congress news and the somewhat too liberal use that is being made all over the country of the preventive provisions of section 144, Cr. Pr. C., for stopping public meetings. The Government's repressive policy has had the undoubted effect of driving the Congress movement underground. If we grant the correctness of the Secretary of State's contention, the question arises why in that case he does not see fit to withdraw the Ordinances. If, as is officially claimed, the Congress has been suppressed as a result of the Government's repressive policy, there is no reason to fear the paralysis of Government which the pursuit of civil disobedience by the Congress was expected to herald, and therefore no ground for the continued use of the special powers vested in the executive and meant to be used in a sudden emergency. To claim success for repression and yet to continue the present Ordinance rule, as Sir Samuel Hoare does, is, to put it mildly, very inconsistent. What impression the Government's drastic anti-Congress action has produced even on habitually pro-Government sections of Indian opinion will be clear from the following telegraphed summary of the speech of Mr. B. V. Jadhav, an ex-minister, in the course of the debate. Mr. Jadhav is reported to have said:—

Events for the past ten years have been undermining what little trust people had in Government. A great revolution occurred in England by which Conservatives and diehards seized office and since then a deep laid conspiracy was being hatched to suppress the Congress movement. When the delegates to the Round Table Conference were hearing the Premier's statement there were communications between Home and India Governments to take severe steps to suppress Congress. When he returned to India he had promised in England to educate public opinion about the good intentions of Government, but events in India read in the light of Mr. Benthall's statement had shattered completely his hopes in the *bona fides* of the British Government's intentions towards India. In whatever way the Reforms were framed, he had grave doubts whether they would be workable with popular leaders in jail.

* * *

Passage of Detenus' Transfer Bill.

LAST week witnessed the passage by the Assembly of the Bengal Detenus' Transfer Bill, which

empowers the Bengal Government to banish, with the previous consent of the Government of India, suspected Bengal revolutionaries to any part of India. It will be easily seen how arbitrary are the powers of restricting personal liberty which the Bill sought to confer on the Executive and yet for a wonder it was passed by the Assembly in an unamended form! This shows how powerless that body has become to safeguard the liberties and the rights of the people. The only improvement in the Bill to the credit of the Assembly was the limitation of its life to three years. The clause depriving the High Court of its power, in respect of Bengal detenus to require the presence of people under detention naturally aroused much adverse comment even from well-known friends of the Government; but their appeals to the Government to behave reasonably proved unavailing. It must be however said in fairness that Government spokesmen made no attempts to conceal the true nature of the Bill. Indeed the Law Member in trying to persuade the oppositionists, that the attempts to remove the limitation on the High Court's power which was such an objectionable feature of the Bill were opposed to the spirit of the measure, plainly informed the Assembly that the Bill aimed at the substitution of executive judgment for judicial judgment. An amendment which sought to throw on the Government the obligation to reproduce, as far as possible, in the province to which the detenus would be transferred conditions of life in Bengal, in regard especially to diet and the manner of cooking food, failed to secure a majority in its favour. But it succeeded in eliciting an explicit assurance from the Home Member that the rules to be framed would provide for the provision of Bengali food to the detenus. It is a mystery why, if the Home Member found himself in a position to give this assurance, he was unable to accept the amendment which aimed at nothing else. The attempt to restrict the area of the detenus' transfer to the Governors' provinces did not also share a better fate. An influential section of opinion in the Assembly favoured the creation of a committee of its members to "report on the suitability of the place of detention and general comfort of the detenus." But even this very reasonable suggestion failed to find acceptance at the hands of Government. A favourable report by such a committee on the conditions of life in the detention camp would have gone far to reassure public opinion, that the suspected Bengali young men detained merely on suspicion were spared all avoidable hardships. The proposal to give travelling allowances to the nearest relatives of the detenus to enable them to interview the detenus twice during the year, which came before the Assembly in the form of an amendment and which succeeded in winning the support even of such an uncompromising opponent of terrorism as Sir Cowasji Jehangir could also not materialise for want of requisite support.

* * *

Boycott of Foreign Goods No Offence.

SINCE the promulgation of the Ordinances early in January last, it has been a moot point whether the preaching of the boycott of foreign articles as an eco-

nomie weapon, even by non-Congressmen, has been banned. There are some who hold that as the Ordinances are designed to deal specially with the Congress, they cannot affect non-Congressmen's activities aimed at the popularisation of indigenous articles, necessarily at the cost of foreign ones. Support is lent to this view by a recent judgment of the District and Sessions Judge of Guntur. A pleader of Tenali by name Mr. Suryanarayan distributed a handbill exhorting people, in the economic interests of the country, to use khaddar, to wear clothes woven from yarn spun in Indian mills and to boycott foreign articles. He was duly charged with assisting the operations of the Congress and sentenced by the lower court to six months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500. When the matter went up in appeal to the District Judge, he reversed the conviction and sentence and ordered the accused to be restored to liberty. The view taken by the District Judge was very sensible. He felt that so long as a man, not proved to be a Congressman, contented himself with advocating a boycott of foreign goods, without resorting to picketing as defined in the Molestation Ordinance, he could not be said to be helping the activities of the Congress. According to him, a man does not make himself liable to prosecution under the Criminal Law Amendment Act merely because he happens to be engaged in activities which had received the imprimatur of the Congress. What was necessary for the completion of the offence of assisting an unlawful body was the intention of the alleged offender, which must be clearly proved and could not be taken for granted. The assistance to such a body, in this case the Congress, must be voluntary and not merely accidental or coincidental. The instance given by the District Judge in his judgment places the matter really beyond the possibility of a doubt. "If an anti-Congressman wears hand-woven or hand-spun cloth or advocates the boycott of foreign cloth or Hindu-Muslim unity, or the removal of untouchability, he will not thereby be assisting the operations of the A.I.C.C, which is an unlawful association and has the above objects. So too, if a fisherman manufactures illicit salt without ever having heard of the A.I.C.C. or its resolutions and with no intention of assisting in its unlawful operations, he will not be liable under section 17 (1) Criminal Law Amendment Act, though the A.I.C.C. too has this object among its many intended operations." This judgment will, it is hoped, go some way in facilitating the work of those who feel that an emphasis on the boycott of foreign articles is necessary, in order to spur people on to greater swadeshi activity, even though the sole object be, as was that of the Tenali pleader, "the improvement of the welfare of the masses and the encouragement of cottage industries."

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Sir Frederick Sykes' Speech at Chamber of Commerce.

SIR FREDERICK SYKES' speech at the Bombay Chamber of Commerce on the 30th ult. was devoted

mainly to a justification of the Government's dual policy of conciliation and repression, which was doing so much to widen the gulf between the Government and the people. Speaking about the contemplated reforms, he prophesied that while they would provide ample safeguards to British commerce, they would also give India "practically unrestricted control over the management of her own affairs." Whatever the Governor of Bombay may say to the contrary, Indian opinion by no means of the irreconcilable variety, has since the phenomenal conservative victory at the British polls towards the close of last year come to entertain serious doubts as to the substantial nature of the reforms. But of course the taste of the pudding lies in its eating and public opinion in stead of being in a hurry to prejudge the proffered constitution will naturally prefer to hold its judgment in suspense until the constitutional picture is completed.

But the part of the Governor's speech of more immediate interest, to us in the Bombay presidency, was where he laid stress on the need for further retrenchment in public expenditure. One searches this part of his speech in vain for an announcement of the Governor's decision on the subject of the reduction of the strength of the Cabinet. We have been repeatedly told that the subject had been under the anxious consideration of His Excellency for months past. In fact, it is nearly two months since the members and ministers, forming the present Cabinet, had actually placed their resignations in the hands of the head of the province with a view to facilitate his embarrassing task of dispensing with the services of whomsoever of the ministers and members he liked, and yet nobody knows when exactly the proposed saving of the salaries of one minister and two executive councillors will become effective. It is a matter of common knowledge that left to himself, the Governor of Bombay would like to defer his decision on the point, till after the new reforms were in working order; but it must by now have become clear to him that in this respect his personal wishes run counter to the dictates of public opinion. Nor did the Governor add to our knowledge of the causes of delay in setting up the much advertised Reorganisation Committee. Speculation has been rife as to its personnel; but whoever are ultimately selected for this difficult job, of setting the administrative house in order, let the selection be based on business capacity and sound common sense rather than on any other considerations. Administrative experience is certainly one of the qualifications to be looked for in the members of the Committee; but strength of conviction, capacity to have a close grasp of administrative details and infinite patience to study them are even more essential requisites in the prospective members of the Committee, if its labours are to be really fruitful.

Articles.

THE CAPETOWN AGREEMENT AGAIN.

BY THE RIGHT HON'BLE V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

INDIANS everywhere will be happy to learn that the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 has been renewed, ensuring the continuance of friendly relations between the Government of the Union of South Africa and our own Government and the maintenance of an Indian Agent to watch over the interests of our countrymen in that part of the world. The significance of this event is enhanced because it was unexpected. To enable the reader to judge how far this feeling of gratulation is justified I shall attempt below to set forth the circumstances and outline the essentials of the understanding between the two Governments.

The background of the South African picture is darkened by the rooted colour prejudice of the dominant community. Whether British or Boer, the white citizen, with honourable exceptions, regards the Indian as an alien whose presence is an economic and political menace and who must be sternly kept down as an inferior to be taxed and ruled but never encouraged to feel that he ever can be an equal citizen. Large sections of the ruling oligarchy continue to believe, in spite of evidence to the contrary, that the Indian is increasing in numbers at an alarming rate; while his Jewish and other trade rivals are able every now and then to work up public feeling against him and compel Government to introduce some anti-Indian measure or other. No measure of relief or help to our community has any chance, so long as those who have the municipal and parliamentary vote are hostile and even bear hatred in their hearts.

In the Transvaal ever since the discovery of gold all coloured persons have been put under disabilities of one kind or another. They cannot acquire fixed property on proclaimed land and their right to occupy stands and carry on trade is subject to serious limitation. The areas within which these restrictive laws do not apply are exceedingly small and are known as bazaars, locations, mining compounds and other places which the Mining Commissioner may from time to time set apart for the purpose. In spite of this harsh legislation, perhaps on account of it to some extent, the policy of the authorities towards the Indian community has never been without some sympathy and consideration. In consequence our people have enjoyed facilities for trade, occupied buildings and shops for that purpose and even acquired fixed property of great value. The vested rights that have grown up these many years are in many cases strictly lawful. But in many other cases they would appear to rest on nothing more than the connivance or passive acquiescence of Government officials. Whenever ill-will towards Indians becomes active, the old prohibitions of law are invoked, and the community is threatened with loss of property and, what is even worse, with deprivation of facilities for trade, which is the only occu-

ption open to the great majority of them. About three years ago this threat became quite serious and certain municipal bodies, chiefly that of Johannesburg, began to withhold or suspend the grant of certificates of leave to trade in cases where it appeared that the Indian who applied for it had no legal title to occupy the premises in question. The trouble gathered force until a Select Committee of the Union Parliament was appointed to consider the subject. This committee heard a good deal of evidence, our case being presented ably and skilfully by Mr. Millin, K. C. and by Mr. J. D. Tyson, who during the period of Sir Kurma Reddi's illness acted as Agent of the Government of India. The upshot was a drastic bill which proposed among other things to segregate Indians in locations and compel those who now live elsewhere to remove to them with all their business and belongings within a period of five years. The Government of India made vigorous representations on behalf of our nationals and were able to secure the consent of the Union Government to the inclusion of the Transvaal Asiatic Tenure Bill among the subjects for consideration at the Round Table Conference which it was proposed to hold in the beginning of this year to consider the renewal of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927. The Indian Delegation under the leadership of Sir Fazl-i-Husain had thus a double task before it.

Omitting many details, however important, which the ordinary reader would find it difficult to follow, three main points of first-rate importance were pressed upon the delegation by the leaders of the Indian community, who were present in Cape Town in full strength and were taken into frequent consultation. First, existing rights must be protected from further menace; second, provision must be made for future expansion so that coming generations of Indians should not find themselves barred from the profession of trading; and third, both these objects should be attained without the humiliation of any treatment savouring of segregation.

Let me mention in passing a few significant points to enable the reader to understand something of the atmosphere in which the question is involved. How vital trade facilities are for our people may be realised by the fact that, although the right of ownership and the right of occupation are both valued, the latter is valued far more than the former, and if, owing to pressure of conditions, one of these had to be surrendered, most Indians would surrender the right to acquire and own fixed property. The Bill as now drafted does not in terms provide for the exclusion of whites or natives from locations intended for Indians. Nevertheless in actual practice the segregation of our community will be brought about. The instinct was sound which led them to detect the presence of segregation even where the wording did not expressly mention it. In the province of the Transvaal the Dutch element preponderates and will not hear any arguments based upon the character of the British Empire or allow any rights supposed to flow from citizenship of that Empire. Our appeal must be grounded upon general considerations of humanity and natural justice.

Our delegation urged that the vested interests which had grown up by the tacit acquiescence of Government officials should receive henceforth the positive consent of the Mining Commissioner, who should be instructed by the Government to exercise the power granted to him under the law to permit coloured persons to reside and trade in particular localities. We were not quite sure that some little legislation would not be necessary to secure our objects fully through this means, but if it was, we hoped the Union Government could secure it with the sanction and support of the Select Committee. If the Mining Commissioner acted in a liberal spirit, he could not only protect existing interests, but provide in fair measure for the needs of the coming Indian generation. It is understood that this suggestion has met with the approval of the Select Committee; only, in the place of the Mining Commissioner they have substituted the Minister of the Interior. Also they have allowed the deletion of the clause which would have segregated the Indian community. The white people of the Transvaal are very sensitive as to their right to govern their territory according to their own wishes and resent the representations of the Indian Government as amounting to unwarranted interference in their internal administration. To meet this sentimental difficulty it was agreed that the provisions of the Transvaal Asiatic Tenure Bill should not become the subject of formal discussion or resolution at the Round Table Conference. Dr. Malan undertook to place our views fully before the Select Committee, and we stipulated firmly that the renewal of the Cape Town Agreement would depend for its ratification by the Government of India upon the extent to which our representations on the Transvaal trouble received the favourable consideration of the Select Committee.

The agreement itself had always been looked upon with suspicion and disfavour by a powerful section of white opinion. The Government of General Hertzog was denounced by this section as having shown undue weakness and compromised the freedom of action of the citizens of South Africa, who were obliged to submit to the delay and inconvenience of having to hear the views of the Government of India and satisfy this outside power that they were dealing justly and equitably with people who were their own subjects. One circumstance had reconciled them to this undesirable position. This was the assisted emigration scheme, which with the co-operation of the Government of India brought about a certain diminution in the numbers of the Indian community. This advantage, however, had now ceased. Opinion in India was hostile, while in South Africa itself the local Indian Congress had become restive and begun to denounce the arrangement by which numbers of their innocent countrymen were lured to poverty, ill-health and social persecution in the homeland. Was there any means, we were asked, of improving the assisted emigration scheme and reviving the movement of Indians from South Africa to India? Our answer was an emphatic and final negative. Knowing, however, that, if the matter were left there, there was no prospect of the Agreement being renew-

ed, we drew attention to the fact that under the terms of the original agreement the assisted emigration of Indians might be to India or other countries where the climatic and economic conditions were similar to those of South Africa. After a good deal of negotiation, the Conference decided that the two Governments should be advised to co-operate in investigating the conditions of likely countries with a view to promoting plans of colonization by Indians both from India and from South Africa. It was no easy matter to get the leaders of the Indian community to agree to this idea. They asked whether we of the Indian Delegation agreed that they were undesirable and must be got rid of to the extent possible. Some went further, asserting that their strength lay in their number and they would never consent to its being reduced. We pointed out that the immediate step was only an investigation, and that they need never emigrate if the plan was not good enough for the people of the homeland as well as for them. Also we had secured that in the investigation they themselves should participate through a representative. These considerations finally won their consent.

We came next upon another difficulty. The Union delegation were dead against the famous upliftment clause. To help the memory of our readers, it may be stated that this clause committed the Union Government to the duty of looking after the Indians under them in the same way in which civilized administrations look after their subjects, and to provide for them the same educational and other facilities which they provided for the other elements of their population. It would appear these propositions raised hopes which could never be fulfilled and the leaders of the Indian Congress tried to discredit the Union Government by constantly flinging the terms of the upliftment clause in their faces. Our South African colleagues would not therefore hear of its being repeated in the new agreement. Our answer was that the upliftment clause was the part of the agreement which made it acceptable to us, and that if it were dropped we should have no use for the agreement. The impasse thus brought about lasted several days during which we discussed an alternative proposal or two, but with no favourable result. The end, however, as we believe and as our readers will perhaps agree, is happy. Our brethren in the Transvaal have been relieved of the worst features of their recent trouble. No Indians will return to India unless they choose to do so. If any pressure is exercised by the officials or Agents of the Union Government in this direction, the leaders of the local Indian Congress will be free to make counter propaganda. The upliftment clause continues. An Agent of the Government of India will, as during the last five years, watch over the interests of our countrymen and be their guide, philosopher and friend, besides serving as the medium of communication between the two Governments. A South African Indian chosen by the Congress will be a member of the committee which explores on behalf of the two Governments the possibilities of colonization for Indians from both countries in such places as Brazil,

British Guiana and Tanganyika. No period of years is prescribed for the life of the renewed agreement.

How was this happy ending brought about? The dominant cause without a doubt was the advantage to both sides of mutual friendship and good understanding, which made it expedient as well as right to have an instrument embodying them, such as is recognised in the international sphere. Also the commanding personality of General Hertzog had its own influence, while Dr. Malan, silent, strong and straight, pulled his full weight in the cause of peace because it was the cause of justice as well. And though we as members of the Conference never travelled outside our agenda, it is not improbable that the necessity of cultivating trade relations between the two countries was present to the minds of our Union colleagues and made its own contribution to the result. Our friend Dinabandhu Andrews interposed his good offices wherever and whenever they were required, thus making a great addition to the already immeasurable debt under which Indians overseas lie to him. Sir Fazl-i-Husain in spite of serious illness surpassed all expectation by his patience, tact and skill as well as by the firmness with which he repressed all communal tendencies among our countrymen there. It is impossible to say enough of the services rendered to the cause by Mrs. Naidu, whose personal charm and great reputation made a singular appeal to all with whom she came into contact, whatever their sex, colour, race or predilection in politics.

FERGUSSON COLLEGE.

MAHARASHTRA, and in fact the whole of India, has always taken a keen interest in the Deccan Education Society and its institutions as they were among the first efforts at educational self-determination in the country. Founded by some of the most eminent leaders of Indian progress and administered under the guidance of men like Agarkar, Apte, Tilak, Gokhale and Paranjpye, the Society has been doing very important service to the cause of education for over fifty years. Its way has not always been easy, for while keeping steadily before itself its object of facilitating and cheapening education it has had to steer clear of the Scylla of officialism and the Charybdis of extremism. In this difficult work it has succeeded marvellously and has served as the model on which many similar organisations have been started in various parts of the Presidency. It has not always commanded the whole-hearted sympathy and support of Government, several of whose officials have looked with suspicion on the activities of a band of self-sacrificing workers. As long ago as 1885 Sir William Hunter in his book on Bombay considered the foundation of the Fergusson College as a serious matter on which the Government of India should have had its say but had not according to the system in force. On the other hand the extremist school of politics in Poona and Maharashtra has looked askance at an institution whose main worker was for a long time Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the leader of the moderate constitutional party in India. In spite of these difficulties the Fergusson College and its allied institutions have won the confidence and respect of all people in the Presidency and have been educating increasing

numbers of young boys and girls for many years past.

The main work of the Society is being done by the life-members who pledge themselves to serve for a period of twenty years at least on a very small salary, while the constitution provides for the general supervision and control by the public who support the Society through the Council and the Governing Body. The latter body of eight was first constituted in 1897 as a result of the political agitation consequent on the Poona troubles of that year and consists of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Council, three representatives of the general body of fellows and patrons of the Society and three representatives of the life-members. The Governing Body has the final voice in the current affairs of the Society and its institutions, but for many years the body of life-members was able to work harmoniously with the Governing Body and questions of a delicate nature regarding the respective spheres of the two bodies did not become urgent. This continued for a long time because the life-members were united in their work and personal questions were not allowed to raise their head. For the last few years this happy state, however, has no longer continued and rumours of dissensions among the life-members have been current. On account of this the Governing Body has had occasionally to assert its authority which led to further bickerings and necessarily led to some unpleasantness. A few years ago the Governing Body thought it in the best interests of the Society to disregard the majority recommendation of the life-members and to appoint Dr. G. S. Mahajani as the Principal of the College. An appointment like this naturally gave rise to some discontent and cordial work in the College became very difficult if not impossible.

The political agitation in the country during the last twelve years had its inevitable repercussions on the Society's institutions. Attempts were repeatedly made to have the institutions boycotted but these did not meet with any success and the Fergusson College in particular had this year a record number of students. It was hoped that the troubles arising from internal dissensions and outside political excitement would soon disappear, but matters took a very serious turn since July last when an attempt was made on the life of the then acting Governor of Bombay and an ugly demonstration was made against him by a small minority of students. Gogate, the young man who shot at the Governor, has been convicted and it has been demonstrated that he was acting in his individual capacity and had no confederates. Still the intense feeling roused among certain sections led Government to propose certain measures for securing better discipline among the students. So far as these measures were of a purely educational character they were gladly accepted by the Society. Among such were the institution of a tutorial system, an increase in the number of the senior staff and of rectors in charge of the hostels, provision of additional houses for resident professors, &c. A further measure for limiting the number of students in the College was suggested and discussions with the Director were going on on this point. The University was also considering similar action in respect of all its old affiliated colleges when certain prominent supporters of the Society thought fit to raise the question of changes in the constitution of the Society itself. The Council of the Society considered that the present was not the time for a dispassionate consideration of the revision of the constitution while the atmosphere was still clouded owing to the outrage.

During these discussions it became clear to the Governing Body that the efficient working of the

Society's institutions could not be secured while the life-members were definitely ranged in two camps and cordial co-operation with the Principal was not forthcoming. The Governing Body consequently called upon six of the life-members to resign, a very serious step which, though probably in the best interest of the efficient working of the institutions in the future, will, we hope, remain for ever the only instance of its kind in the history of the Society. These life-members have been attempting to start a new organisation in Poona and an impression has been allowed to get abroad in certain circles that these gentlemen were the really loyal part of the life-members while those still remaining as such have extremist sympathies. From what we know of the life-members there does not appear to be any ground for this suspicion and we have reason to hope that the institutions will continue to be carried on in the traditions of Gokhale and Agarkar. In the meanwhile Government under the Minister, Sir Rafiuddin Ahmed, has been considering the question of the College and the Society, to whose institutions Government pay a grant of about Rs. 70,000 a year. In any discussions with the Government they have this powerful lever always at hand and inevitably start with a great deal of tactical advantage. It is not possible, neither is it desirable in the real interests of education in the Presidency, to threaten to break with Government on any and every question if a compromise, at all reasonable and not too harmful, can be reached. In the present state of world depression the loss of such a large amount is sure to cripple, if not to endanger, the life of the institutions and the life-members and the Governing Body have done well to reach a settlement which, though not absolutely just, is at least not against any real and vital principle.

These points were being pressed by Government in the discussions viz. the limitation of numbers in the College to 1200, a formal representation of various communities on the Governing Body and the Council, and the nomination of some members by Government on the Governing Body. As regards the first, so far the College has had, along with other Colleges like Elphinstone, Wilson, St. Xavier's, Baroda and Ahmedabad, no limit upon the numbers. But all the same it is recognised by all educationists that an indefinite increase in numbers is not educationally desirable and the College roll itself has exceeded 1200 only in two or three years during its history and it is only this year that the excess has been at all considerable owing to the very liberal result at the Matriculation examination of last year. Taking all circumstances into consideration, the Society have, we think rightly, agreed to accept this limitation for the present. It may later on either seek to have this limit increased or it may start a new college under a separate principal, a course which may ere long be rendered necessary by the proposed complete bifurcation of Arts and Science courses. Although it is no doubt a serious handicap to the College, both in point of resources and of self-respect, the Society must congratulate itself on having got through so lightly after the very damaging incident of July last which was bound in any case to leave some impress on the history of the College, especially because the Government have agreed not to insist on the other two conditions which were really far more harmful to the Society.

The second question of formal communal representation on the Governing Body did not assume a final shape though there is no doubt that it loomed large in the mind of the Minister. Here it was merely a question of formal regulations, for the Society has always welcomed within its fold representatives of all communities and has tried its best to secure their active co-operation. The institutions of

the Society have always granted special facilities to backward classes and Mahomedan students and if the constituted bodies of the Society have contained a very large proportion of one community it was because Poona contains very few well qualified persons of other communities who are moreover prepared to join the Society as fellows or patrons by paying the qualifying donation. Still, usually the Governing Body and the Council have contained some Parsees, Mahomedans and others, and it is only very rarely—though unfortunately it is so at the present moment—that the Governing Body consists only of Brahmins. Government have accepted an undertaking by the Society to secure, if possible, some persons of other communities on the Governing Body and have not insisted on a formal guarantee of this nature. We have no doubt that while legal communal representation on educational bodies is a most mischievous principle it is most desirable to secure adequate expression of all points of view on them by friendly and informal means. We hope that the life-members will be able to secure this at the earliest possible moment.

The third point about Government nomination on the Governing Body was the most vicious of all and we think the Society should resist such a proposal as being calculated to change its whole character. Government nominees have a fatal habit of seeking to grasp power over their colleagues and in this objective they would be assisted by their private access to the powers that be. They would resent any rejection of their own proposals as a slight to their *amour propre* and may be tempted to harm the institution on grounds of personal pique by indirect means. When a few years ago Oxford and Cambridge were offered Government assistance they long hesitated to accept it as the thin end of the wedge of Government control and made their own independence absolutely certain before accepting it. They would have rejected it off-hand if it had been accompanied by some suggestion of Government nominations on various academical bodies. When during the troubles of 1897 a similar proposal was made, Gokhale was able to convince Government of its undesirability and it was dropped. We understand that other private institutions like the Missionary Colleges in Bombay will have also the gravest objection to such a proposal. The innovation cannot long be limited only to the Deccan Education Society for, *l'appetit vient en mangeant* even to a Minister of Education responsible to a legislative council. We are glad that Government have for the present dropped this proposal and we hope nothing further will be heard of it, for we are sure that it will then no longer be a question relating to the Fergusson College which has had to eat the humble pie on account of the mad act of an individual pupil but one that would have immense influence on all private educational effort in our presidency.

While we think that the settlement reached is on the whole one which the general public interested in the Deccan Education Society may accept without too much hesitation we would earnestly impress on the political leaders the serious harm that is being caused by fervent appeals to the student mind to boycott educational institutions and "do their bit" in the political sphere. The young student, male or female, may not realise the full consequences of any mad act but the leaders at least can. They should not seek to involve the youthful impressionable mind with false ideas of patriotism, but should rather impress on it the supreme need of adequate intellectual and moral preparation before plunging headlong into the turbulent waters of political agitation. This Gogate episode may in the long run deprive many a young man of the opportunities of a higher education which the Fergusson College with its unlimited num-

bers has so far provided, but Gogate himself perhaps never contemplated such a result of his mad action. It would be some good out of evil if this chapter of incidents, which, we hope, is now finally closed, opens the minds of thinking people to the dangers and incalculable evil consequences of encouraging young persons directly or indirectly to take an active share in politics for which they are entirely unfitted by their training or mental and moral equipment.

I. L. O. AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

THE International Labour Office was established by the League of Nations to act as a medium for the organisation of social peace; its activity is inspired by the ideal of collaboration; and it therefore watches with keen interest the development of social ideas in Christian circles, and particularly in the Churches which belong to the Stockholm Movement. In the latter connection, it maintains direct relations with the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work and its principal executive body, the International Social Christian Institute.

Certain of the problems now being considered by the International Labour Office and some examples of its general activity are outlined below: they are of concern especially to all Christians to whom social progress is of importance.

There are people who attribute the depression now making itself felt all over the world to the growth of measures for the protection of workers, which they regard as too rapid; and many sections of public opinion are asking whether this or that legislative provision should not be amended. This development should, they consider, at least be temporarily checked. For the Churches and Christian circles this is no doubt a very complex problem and one which requires their most careful attention. It is right that Christian collaboration should prove its worth in the struggle to maintain the spiritual standard to which institutions and laws bear witness. The struggle must take place, not only on international ground, but also in the various states with reference to both national and local considerations.

Besides carrying on the struggle for the actual principle of social legislation, the acceptance of which cannot depend on economic circumstances, the International Labour Office has engaged both in research and in practical activity for the reduction of unemployment. It has been estimated that some 60 million persons are at present directly or indirectly suffering from the shortage of work. The Office has published, under the title "Unemployment Problems in 1931", a collection of the various studies on the world depression which it undertook in that year; and it has also made it its business to schedule the practical steps suggested as likely to improve the present state of affairs. This work has been carried out with completeness and precision, but it is only possible here to mention certain suggestions by way of illustration—the organisation of a European employment exchange and the development of national and international public works, including the building up of a great international network of roads, the co-ordination of navigable waterways, and international distribution of electric power. Undoubtedly, enormous possibilities lie in these varied directions, as is proved by the simple scheme to substitute automatic coupling on all the continental European railways for the present screw coupling, which still claims so many victims every year. This alone would provide more than 600,000 men with work for five years. 13 European Governments have already communicated to the Office interesting schemes, the execution of which, it is

estimated, would provide more than 550 million days' work during the next few years, exclusive of indirect results such as the renewed activity of certain industries. But every practical proposition raises the vexed question of credits. Further, there is, particularly in labour circles, a demand for a more rational organisation and a reduction of hours of work; this has already been put into execution in several countries. Most of the Churches and Christian organisations are engaged in immediate relief work, but they have also dedicated part of their efforts to the problem of how to enlighten public opinion and prepare the way for the necessary national and international decisions. In this connection, the work of the International Labour Office on placing and production is indispensable to them.

Religious circles have always had the question of the employment of children at heart; the Stockholm Congress pronounced itself categorically in favour of the abolition of child labour—a pronouncement which is certainly supported by the circumstances of the moment—and it is no doubt partly for this reason that Christian organisations were especially interested in the discussions at the International Labour Conference in June 1931 on the age for the admission of children to non-industrial occupations. The age at which children may be admitted to work in industry, in agriculture, and at sea having been settled by international conventions, an effort is now being made to protect the vast numbers who are compelled, all too early, to go to work before or after school hours in many different trades,—commerce, street trading, theatres, music halls, circuses and cinema studios—so that they may earn what in many cases the whole family urgently needs. In this respect, as in many others, the present organisation of society is in contradiction with itself, for children are compelled to attend school for a certain period and are yet permitted to go to work before they are fit to do so. The International Labour Office's effort to secure an international convention in favour of all children is thus in the fullest sense both Christian and human.

The abolition of fee-charging employment agencies is another subject to which the Office is giving its attention. The advisability of international prohibition is suggested by the fact that the national and local regulations now in force are recognised as insufficient. Notwithstanding the severity of the regulations in force in some countries, abuses have not disappeared. Among the commonest are said to be the exaction of exorbitant fees, charging of fees where no service is rendered, collusion with foremen to secure a rapid turnover, the obligations laid upon applicants for employment to buy clothes or other articles, or to accept board and lodging. Mention is also made of the sending, either intentionally or by carelessness, of women, and particularly domestic servants, dancers and other artists, to places of ill-repute; and the participation, wittingly or unwittingly, in traffic in women. Lastly, these agencies sometimes supply blacklegs during industrial disputes, or induce workers to leave their employment on various pretences. But whether of a moral or a material order, the official report concludes, abuses occasioned by fee-charging employment agencies find no justification. To realise how inhuman the agencies are for the workers, it must be remembered that they come into play when their clients are out of work, i.e. at the very time when they are most in need of help and least able to look after themselves. It is the persistence of fraudulent practices, defying even the

severest laws, that has led many Governments to consider the abolition of fee-charging employment agencies as the sole means of stamping out abuses once and for all.

These, then, are some of the questions, both general and particular, now engaging the attention of the International Labour Office, or requiring its immediate action; and of concern to the Churches and Christian institutions in virtue of the principle of social solidarity and responsibility that all of them proclaim and some of them endeavour to put into practice.

GEORGES THELIN.

SHORT NOTICES.

EUGENICS AND BIRTH CONTROL. By MERCIA HEYNES-WOOD. (The Times Publishing Co. Lahore.) 1931. 24cm. 119p. Rs. 3.

THE author has certainly made out a strong case for birth control on medical grounds and for economic reasons, but has however miserably failed to refute the arguments of those who are against it on grounds of morality. We are of opinion that strict morality is absolutely essential for the welfare of society and anything likely to undermine it must be penalised. The publication of obscene literature is an offence on that ground and no other; and so long as sex-worshippers cannot squarely fit their arguments to the moral foundations of society, their efforts cannot commend themselves to those who prize morality higher than sexual happiness.

V. M. BHAT.

FACTORS IN NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION. By N. S. NILAKANTA AIYAR. (The Author Idigarai, Coimbatore.) 19cm. 94p.

THE author has attempted to compress within the compass of a small book a host of items bearing on the subject and has filled the work with quotations so numerous that they hinder rather than help the reader to catch the author's own arguments.

SEVANANDA.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE PARTITION OF TURKEY. A Diplomatic History. 1913-1923. By HARRY N. HOWARD. (University of North Oklahoma Press, Norman.) 1931. 23cm. 436p. \$5.00

FOREIGN EXCHANGE IN INDIA. By N. SANKARA AIYAR. (The Book Co., Calcutta.) 1931. 369p.

MARGARET OUTRAM, 1778-1863. Mother of the Bayard of India. By MARY FRANCOIS OUTRAM. (Murray.) 1932. 22cm. 358p. 15/-

JAPAN. An Economic and Financial Appraisal. By HAROLD G. MOULTON & JUNICHI KO. (Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1931. 21cm. 645p. \$4.00.

INDIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION. By P. P. PILLAI. (Patna University.) 1931. 20cm. 198p.

HAITI UNDER AMERICAN CONTROL, 1915-30. By ARTHUR C. MILLSAUGH. (World Peace Foundation, Boston, Mass.) 1931. 20cm. 253p. \$2.50.

THE WORLD COURT, 1921-1931. A Handbook of the Permanent Court of International Justice. By MANLEY O. HUDSON. (World Peace Foundation, Boston.) 1931. 20cm. 245p. \$2.50.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND THE ECONOMIC WORLD OF TO-DAY. By L. W. WHITE AND E. W. SHANAHAN. (Longmans, London.) 1932. 20cm. 378p. 6/-