

The Servant of India

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OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XV, No. 16. }

POONA—THURSDAY, APRIL 21, 1932.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN 15s.

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Topics of the Week.

Lord Sankey's Utterance.

AMONG the members of the present British Cabinet no one is supposed to be more radical in general, and more sympathetic to Indian self-government in particular than Lord Sankey. It is believed that in the last crisis his sympathies were all with the Henderson group who refused to join the National Government and that he himself was persuaded to stay in for the sake of Indian reform. It must therefore have been a great disappointment to Congressmen to find that even he is prepared to defend vigorously the policy of repression which is now in force. Faced with a threat of civil disobedience, no government, he repeats, in Sir Samuel Hoare's own strain, can help putting down the movement. On this point all British opinion seems to be agreed. The only difference one finds is as to the minimum of repression that is considered to be necessary. Lord Sankey of course insists that while repression is being used, rapid progress should be made with reforms and that the regime of repressive measures should be curtailed as much as possible. Sir Samuel Hoare too says the same thing, but surely these two members of the National Government mean entirely different things when they speak of the probable duration of this regime and its rigours. Lord Sankey would never allow the use of force necessary for the maintenance of order to degenerate into a persecution of the Congress and he would ever be on the watch for a suitable opportunity of withdrawing

measures of repression. The situation in the United Provinces, North-West Frontier Province and Bengal is surely not the same today as it was early in January. On the Government's own showing a change for the better has taken place in the situation in all these Provinces. And yet not even an amendment of the Ordinances applicable to these provinces, not to speak of cancellation, seems to be in the contemplation of Sir Samuel Hoare. Lord Sankey would surely handle the situation in a different manner. He must no doubt be using his influence in the right direction, but it is a pity that it has had no tangible effect so far.

* * *

The Congress Session.

THE Reception Committee of the Congress whose session is fixed for the 24th inst. has been declared to be unlawful, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Congress dictator, has declared that as the Reception Committee is not an essential part of the Congress session, the action of Government need make no difference to the holding of the session itself. Apparently, therefore, an attempt will be made by the Congress workers to organise a session in Delhi as planned before, and the attempt will be frustrated by Government. A clash between the Congress and the Government is thus imminent, with consequences which it would be impossible to foretell. It would be inconceivable that a Government which had visited the perpetrators of even small acts of civil disobedience with exemplary punishment would allow a big demonstration to take place at which the policy of civil disobedience would be endorsed and reaffirmed. But it is said that perhaps the Congress leaders now want to cry a halt to these illegal activities and to divert the energies of their followers into more fruitful channels like straightening out the communal tangle and considering the safeguards demanded by the Britishers. *The Tribune*, e. g. says that in its opinion "it would have been an act of madness for the Congress to hold its annual session for the simple purpose of endorsing the policy of civil disobedience". *The Hindu* points out that the political activities of the Congress are not confined to civil disobedience, and it may well be that the session of the Congress to be now held would restrict itself to these other activities, or would probably even disapprove of civil disobedience. Anyhow, it is said, the Congress must be given a chance of reviewing its policy. The Government apparently do not believe that a review of the Congress policy in this sense was likely, and, conformably to its practice for the last three or four months, it has evidently made up its mind to prevent what it thinks would be a demonstration in favour of civil disobedience.

* * *

Justification of the Ordinances.

AT long last a reply has been received from the Viceroy to the complaints of the Western India Liberal Association against an unnecessarily harsh administration of the Ordinances. The Association in its letter did not dispute the need for special measures in dealing with the threatened renewal of civil disobedience by the Congress, but urged that the powers conferred by them should be used as sparingly as possible, and in such a way as to prevent illegal activities, but to inflict no indignity. The Viceroy in his reply claims that the Government is already pursuing the policy recommended by the Association. It is said, e. g., that those who are required to report themselves to the police at stated intervals and then punished severely for disobeying what is naturally regarded as a humiliating order are treated in this fashion only when it is discovered that they cannot otherwise be dissuaded from joining the civil disobedience movement. It is difficult to believe however that in each case the intention of the person who is served with such an order is first ascertained. In Poona, e. g., for some time parole was dispensed with; but now it is again being resorted to. Is this apparent change of policy the result of a change in the temper of persons dealt with? Or is the change due to the differing notions of the officials administering the Ordinances? The Government would have us believe that the former is the case, but we have our own doubts in the matter. If the Government of India will be more watchful, it ought to be able surely to prevent police excesses and acts of wanton humiliation which come to notice now and then. If the Association's letter teaches the Government to be more circumspect in its use of repression, it will have served a useful purpose.

Indian Constitution-Building in England.

WHILE the Consultative Committee is engaged in filling in the details of the Indian constitutional picture, similar work is reported to be simultaneously in progress in England. The London correspondent of the *Leader* who enjoys exceptional means of knowing the facts describes the work that is being done at the other end thus:—

"There are in fact two committees. There is first a committee of experts, over which the Secretary of State or Lord Sankey presides. There is also the Cabinet committee presided over by the Prime Minister and amongst its other members are Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Secretary of State for the Dominions, Lord Sankey and Sir Samuel Hoare. It is, I think, inconceivable that a committee so composed will allow itself to be diverted from its declared purpose by anything short of a complete change of opinion coupled with a clear demand for something different in India itself, and it is equally inconceivable that a Cabinet which includes besides these Ministers Mr. Baldwin, Sir Herbert Samuel and Sir Donald Maclean will allow itself to be overridden and driven into a *cul-de-sac* by the reactionary elements in Parliament or outside, whether of the Indian Empire Society brand who returned to the attack upon the federation scheme in the *Morning Post* or not."

End of Ordinance Rule in Sight?

BUT of even more immediate public interest is the news for which he is responsible, viz., that:—

"The Government are more than anxious as to the fit and proper time when the present regime of extraordinary legislation may be abandoned and the ordinary rule of law restored. Notwithstanding all Sir Samuel

Hoare's brave words in the House, he and his colleagues must have been impressed by the serious warnings that to my knowledge they have received, both directly and indirectly, from responsible Indian sources regarding the extent to which the relations between the two countries have deteriorated and the lack of confidence in British good faith has increased."

What follows would be hardly credible were it not for the fact that the information is conveyed by the same correspondent:—

"It was nevertheless more than alarming to learn from Mr. Peter Freeman last night that in course of an interview in Delhi with the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon stated that what India needed was a hard knock on the head and that it was the Government's duty to give it to her. If irresponsible language of this kind can be held even in private by the King's representative in India, one can to some extent understand the irresponsible aggressiveness and brutality of the subordinates and underlings of the administration."

Aundh State Subjects' Grievances.

THE ruler of Aundh State in the Southern Maratha Country is the first Indian Prince to promise of his own volition the grant to his people of full responsible government. Otherwise too he has proved himself to be an enlightened and progressive head of the State. But in one important respect he falls considerably below the standard expected of a ruler enjoying that reputation. This relates to his privy purse which swallows an unduly large share of the revenue of the State. Mr. G. R. Abhyankar in his presidential address to the Aundh State People's Conference held last week dealt in some detail with this point. According to him, the Aundh Chief's privy purse consumes nearly 50 per cent of the State revenue, which is about Rs. 3¾ lakhs. It is true that in the case of States with small incomes the proportion which the palace expenses bear to the State revenue is in the nature of circumstances bound to be comparatively greater than in that of those with large ones. There is also the extenuating circumstance in this case that a part of the amount goes towards the encouragement of fine arts which is a pet hobby with the ruler. It must also be said to his credit that unlike a majority of the members of the Princely order, not a pie of the funds set apart for his expenses is spent in vices. All this however does not alter the fact that if one half of the State revenue is spent on the maintenance of the ruler and his family, very little is left for public utility services like education, medical relief, etc. We have therefore no hesitation in joining the president of the Conference in pressing upon the ruler the urgent need of his cutting down his palace expenses so as to bring them within reasonable limits.

Another matter to which Mr. Abhyankar drew attention was the neglected condition of primary education in the State. He pointed out how with the realisation of Rs. 24,000 by means of special education and local fund cesses from the people for purposes of primary education and an expenditure of Rs. 21,000 on that object, primary education instead of being a charge on the State revenues was adding something to the State coffers. If Mr. Abhyankar's facts are accurate—and there is no reason to doubt their accuracy—there is really no excuse for the unsatisfactory condition in which primary education finds itself in this State. In this connection he deplored the inadequate number of teachers and the comparative lack of suitable school buildings. We hope this and other grievances referred to by Mr. Abhyankar in his address will receive early redress.

TWO LIONS IN THE WAY.

I.

THERE are at present two lions in the Indian Swarajist's path—not imaginary, but very real. They are the demands made by Princes and Moslems.

These demands are similar in nature.

Moslems insist upon separate electorates for themselves; Princes ask that they shall be allowed to send their own nominees to the federal legislature.

Moslems ask for excessive representation in both chambers; so do Princes.

Moslems would give power to the Governor to interfere in their behalf and thus limit the scope of provincial autonomy; Princes insist upon circumscribing the scope of the federal power by removing paramountcy from the Government of India's jurisdiction.

Moslems would restrict as narrowly as possible the functions of the federal government; so would Princes. The former would exalt the Provinces at the expense of the Centre; the latter would exalt the States.

Moslems ask for concessions where they are in a minority, while retaining majority rights where they are in a majority. Princes ask for control in the federal government, while retaining all the control they have in the States.

The parallelism can be drawn out still farther, but the points of resemblance mentioned above are enough to show that the demands of both these sections are equally the despair of the Indian home ruler.

If anything, the demands made by Princes upon Indian nationalism are more sweeping than those made by Moslems.

Let us see.

Communal electorates on which Mahomedans are so insistent are objectionable in that they cause a wide breach in the fellowship of our national life. But at any rate Moslems provide for some sort of election. Princes however insist upon nomination, pure and simple. If nationalists cannot reconcile themselves to Mahomedans as a class choosing their own representatives, how much more difficult must it be for them to agree to each ruler choosing his own representatives? If separate electorates are unfavourable to a building up of democracy in its full vigour, nomination is a sheer negation of it.

Excessive representation as demanded by Princes is a worse evil than as demanded by Moslems. Both ask for a weightage of nearly 33⅓% in the lower house. But the latter at any rate ask for the same rate of excess in the upper house of the federal legislature as in the lower; the former have been promised a larger rate, viz. 60%, and ask for a still larger one, viz. 100%, in the upper house. Moreover, the Princes' upper chamber is a far more powerful body than the Moslems'.

It is considered very unpatriotic of Moslems to carry their suspicion of Hindus so far as to ask that power be lodged in the Governor to overrule a

Ministry if it acts against their communal interests. This, it is feared, will render all responsibility illusory and will enable the British Government, in spite of formal transfer of power, still to have its finger in the pie of Indian self-rule. The demand of Princes on the score of paramountcy is not dissimilar. It will enable the British Government to employ paramountcy as an engine of intervention, and this will be, unlike the Governor's power of veto, a permanent measure, not to be scrapped at any time in future. When Hindus inspire enough confidence in Mahomedans, the Governor will be divested of the power of interference; but the Viceroy's power of interference on account of paramountcy is to remain for ever and ever, making it impossible for India at any conceivable period to attain full dominion status, not to speak of independence. The Princes' sabotage would thus be more effective than the Moslems'.

It is the policy of Princes as well as Muslims to drain away as much power as possible from the federal to the local governments. Both insist upon keeping the federal government at minimum strength when the greatest desideratum from the national point of view is to keep it at maximum strength. But in the first place, the insistence of Princes is far greater than that of Moslems; and, in the second place, the minimum of Moslems is still very much larger than that of Princes.

Moslems are considered to be very unreasonable in not making any concessions in provinces where they are in a majority while asking for all manner of concessions in provinces where they are in a minority. But Princes also pursue the same "heads I win, tails you lose" policy. Without giving up any power which they enjoy at present, they ask for a large share in power held now by British India.

These being the two main obstacles in the way of self-government of the right sort, what is the reaction of British Indian politicians to them? Do they feel greater resentment at the greater obstacle? Do they concentrate their efforts upon beating down the party whose terms are the more unconscionable? Is their approach more conciliatory toward those whose demands militate the less against democracy?

S. G. VAZE.

WANTED—A CENSOR'S BUREAU.

AT an All-Parties Conference of Mysore State held at Shimoga under the presidency of Mr. H. B. Gundappa Gowda, M. L. C., several resolutions were adopted of which the most important was the following:—

While welcoming the desire of the Indian Princes to join in a scheme of All-India Federation, the Conference is emphatically of the opinion that the entry of the States into the Federation will not be acceptable to the people of the States unless the following guarantees are incorporated in the constitution of India as con-

ditions precedent to such entry, namely (a) that federal citizenship, without prejudice to our accepted allegiance to the Royal House of Mysore, and fundamental rights are secured for the people of the States, (b) that the representation of the States in the federal legislatures be by election as in British India and not by nomination, and (c) that the federal court should have power to enquire into and decide any question that may arise regarding the infringement of the fundamental rights of the State subjects.

Mr. Gundappa, in his presidential address, spoke in the same sense and advanced many and, from his point of view, quite cogent and irrefragable arguments in support of the contentions contained in the above resolution.

We journalists, who wish our readers always to take up a position which is not merely theoretically just but practically expedient, find ourselves in great difficulty as to the advice we should tender to them. Should resolutions of this sort be faintly supported or sternly discouraged? We confess we cannot make up our minds in the absence of any inside information as to whether federation is now too firmly planted to be in danger of being uprooted, or whether it still requires to be tenderly sheltered from rough and stormy weather. Authoritative guidance to journalists on this matter is, we believe, a prime necessity at this moment, so that through journalists a right attitude may infiltrate to the masses of people.

If the demands of the States' people were outrageously unreasonable, our task would have been easier. We should then have given no quarter to these agitators. But unfortunately the demands look plausible enough. For, after all is said and done, it will have to be admitted that there are some federations in which a common federal citizenship is recognised, and rights of such citizenship, being written into the constitution and placed under the guarantee of the federal court, are made available for citizens of all federating units. Similarly federations are not quite unknown in which representatives in the federal legislature are elected. This may not perhaps be a universal practice. But the point is that the agitators in Indian States can point to some federations existing in the world in which all these things—election, common citizenship, fundamental rights—have been conceded to the people.

Why, one can go even farther, without obviously placing oneself in the wrong. One can even ask that the content of federation be enlarged, that all matters requiring uniformity of treatment be placed in charge of the federal government, and that even civil and criminal law be made a national instead of a local concern. This is such a queer world that precedents can be found in the constitutions of some advanced countries even for the federalization of civil and criminal law. The Mysore people have not luckily put forward such an extravagant demand, but there are other wrongheaded people who have the temerity of asking that the States give up to the federal government the power of enacting civil and criminal legislation. These cantankerous people re-

fuse to be silenced by the precedent which the United States happily provides, where this power resides in the States and not in the national government, but they maintain that the practice of the United States in this matter is rather a warning than an example. And later federal constitutions have indeed departed from the U. S. precedent. This renders the position of some of us who wish to support the Indian States somewhat difficult.

The question therefore is, how should these croakers from the States be dealt with? There is of course no possibility of their being able to persuade the Princes to agree to any of these demands, and yet the fulfilment of these demands is made a condition precedent to the formation of federation! The point for decision by our leaders is, how will the Princes take these demands? Will they treat them with good-humoured contempt, in which case no harm will result, or will they be frightened by the brave show which the demands make? For our part we are inclined to think that our rulers are incapable of taking a fright. But there is another possibility which must be seriously considered. It is that some of the conservative Princes may make this agitation in the States an excuse for getting out of federation. It is also possible that the bureaucracy in British India and editors of Anglo-Indian newspapers, who are straining every nerve to defeat federation, may use the bugbear of this agitation to frighten the more timid of the Princes into withdrawing their consent.

If either of these things is likely, then it follows that we must do everything in our power to prevent this kind of agitation. For then federation itself may become an impossibility, and all hopes of our getting anything like self-government will be for ever at an end.

It is for our leaders to tell us whether there is at all a chance of this happening; and if so, what are the measures that we can take to counteract the mischief.

One drastic remedy will not fail to occur to their mind; and it must not be ruled out merely because it is drastic. Now that the Ordinances are in force can we not persuade the more sympathetic of the high-placed officials in the Government of India to insert a clause in them making such an immoderate criticism of the federal scheme a criminal offence, punishable with imprisonment and a heavy fine? None of us of course likes the Ordinances, but they are there, whether we like them or not. Such a clause would at any rate furnish some real justification for them.

But perhaps it is too much to expect that the officials who are known to be active behind the scenes in throwing all kinds of obstacles in the way of federation will allow the Ordinances to be used for protecting federation from the attacks of irresponsible men in the States. In that case we would be thrown on our own resources. The least that our leaders can do—leaders who are fully conscious of the fact that federation is the last chance of our getting any kind of reform in British India and all that this implies—is to let all sensible journalists

like ourselves know that the kind of resolutions like those passed in the Mysore Conference are extremely dangerous and must be refused all publicity. We shall then know what to do. But we receive no guidance in this matter. Will not some one undertake this somewhat unpleasant but highly necessary task? If the agitation is not likely to be mischievous in its results, then let the States' people squeal as much as they like. Our only point is that our leaders must not, supinely and from a false sense of security, allow agitation to go on even if it should endanger federation.

AN INDIAN AGENT FOR AFRICA.

IN his recent communication to the press Mr. C. F. Andrews, whose unflagging interest in Indians in Africa is beyond question, and who yields to none in his solicitude for their welfare and self-respect, remarked that it was quite possible that he would have heard nothing of the recent pieces of legislation passed or contemplated in Portuguese East Africa and in Tanganyika if he had not himself chanced to visit those countries on his way back to India. He also lamented the absence of responsible Indian Agents in those parts who would keep India promptly and accurately informed of happenings which affect the Indian communities settled there. Nothing could have been further from the thought of Mr. Andrews than to cast reflections on the zeal and efficiency of the Indian organisations in those territories. It was a mere acknowledgment of the fact that, taking all the circumstances into consideration, it was not possible to expect greater efficiency from them. They do their best, but that is unfortunately not adequate. Admirable as is the work of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association in Bombay, the premier non-official organisation in India formed for the purpose of watching over the interests of Indians abroad, not much more efficiency can be expected of it in the matter of securing prompt and accurate information regarding the condition of Indians overseas which would enable India to take timely and useful action. Non-official organisations, such as they are, though indispensable, are not wholly adequate for the purpose they have in view, and need supplementary action by the Government of India.

Indians in Rhodesia would heartily welcome such action. But the attitude of some Indian leaders in other territories towards the question is somewhat disconcerting if understandable. They apprehend that the presence of an Agent of the Government of India will tend to partially eclipse the importance of the local Indian political organisations and even impede, if not cut off, their direct access to the Government of the country. The experience of South Africa lends no justification for this apprehension. The Indian Agent there has not supplanted the Indian Congress; rather, he has lent weight to it.

Granting for the sake of argument that local Indian political organisations might suffer in prestige, it seems somewhat unreasonable for Indians abroad to seek the assistance of the Government of India but turn down proposals which alone would enable the Government to render it effectively. After all, it is meant to be a temporary expedient. With them we look forward to the day—may it come soon—when they will themselves be able to protect their interests effectively and not need the assistance of the Government and peoples of India.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate relations between the Government and the people of

India over domestic affairs, Indians abroad have happily no reason to be suspicious of the goodwill and solicitude of the Government of India for their welfare. On this question all parties in India are at one; witness the composition of the recent Indian Delegation to the Cape Town Conference.

It is quite possible that the Governments of the territories in Africa such as Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Portuguese East Africa and the Rhodesias may not welcome with enthusiasm the presence of representatives of the Government of India in their countries. But their scruples need be no insuperable bar. The example of South Africa, a Dominion extremely sensitive of its independence and resentful of external interference, should enable them to welcome the arrangement as an offer of helpful co-operation. It is wise to prevent trouble rather than to cure it. For the same reason, the powerful influence of the Colonial and Foreign Offices in London could not conceivably be adverse to the proposal.

In these days of economic depression and retrenchment, any proposal to appoint an Agent in each of the territories in Africa where Indians are settled in numbers and need protection is entirely out of the question. Even in better times, it will not be justified by the work to be done. (We are not thinking of trade commissioners at the moment.) It may be quite within practical range for the Indian Agent in South Africa to watch over the interests of Indians in the other territories. Normally an annual visit to each of them would be sufficient, and only very occasionally when a crisis impends, more frequent visits may be necessary to a particular territory. The extra expenditure will be limited to the travelling expenses of the Agent and his staff, and that will not be prohibitive even in these days of retrenchment, and will be well worthwhile.

P. KODANDA RAO.

Reviews.

AUSTRALIAN ECONOMIC CRISIS.

THE AUSTRALIAN ECONOMY. (2ND EDN.)

By D. B. COPLAND. (Angus & Robertson, Ltd., Australia & the Australian Book Co., London.) 1931. 20cm. 97p. 3/6.

THE economic blizzard that has been blowing over the world since the autumn of 1929 has affected none perhaps more cruelly than the agricultural and debtor nations of the world of which Australia is a leading instance. She has been particularly hard hit because at the very moment when under the combined influence of structural changes in agriculture and an unprecedented trade depression the prices of her primary products had come tumbling down, thereby gravely injuring her export trade, the normal capital imports from Great Britain were cut off and she experienced the greatest possible difficulty in meeting her adverse balance of trade. Her troubles were aggravated by the unsound economic policy of extravagant borrowing and unproductive expenditure pursued by the Government and Australia had thus mortgaged her future too heavily. The story of how after an initial stage of indifference and lethargy the country woke up to the grim realities of the position and successfully attempted to weather the storm is full of interest to the economist, and no one had perhaps done more to educate the Government and the public of Australia as to the urgency of the measures to be taken to face the crisis than Prof. Copland whose clear perception and incessant writings had

contributed so much to the adoption of bold measures of readjustment and recovery.

Prof. Copland has in this little book brought together a series of articles which he had contributed to the local journals on the crisis, and the measure of success that had attended his writings would be evident from the fact that the Government soon appointed a committee known as the Copland Committee whose recommendations formed the basis of all the action that was taken to bring about economic equilibrium. The problem with which Australia was faced in 1931 had indeed many facets; and solution had to be found for a greatly diminished national income, a disequilibrium in trade, a deficit budget and an exchange trouble. Prof. Copland has with his characteristic lucidity presented each aspect of this problem in clear outlines intelligible to the ordinary reader. After pointing out how the balance of trade had been seriously cut into by the fall in the values of export goods, he examines the condition of export trade and shows conclusively that the only way of maintaining the volume of exports is by reducing the cost of production, which at present is kept high by tariffs on the goods and services the farmer requires for the maintenance of his industry and by high mortgage debt burdens. He therefore has set out a plea for a reduction of costs all round, lower wages, lower interest rates on mortgage debts and lower tariffs. In four successive chapters the author has reviewed the budgetary difficulties of the Australian Governments. A national debt of the order of £800 millions must necessarily compromise budgets if it is not backed by interest-earning assets and unfortunately in many cases the costs of development had been greater than the earnings of the enterprises justified. Another source of embarrassment was the constantly growing scale of expenditure on social services which despite heavy taxation made it difficult to secure a balanced budget. A reduction in public expenditure was the only possible alternative unless Government was prepared to adopt the fatal policy of inflation of currency. Further taxation was not desirable as it would greatly burden industry and borrowing was neither possible nor desirable. In the circumstances the author puts in a strong plea for a drastic reduction in expenditure as the first condition of balancing budgets and of avoiding inflation.

It would be of interest to know that the Australian Government has, since the publication of this book, carried out nearly all the suggestions put forward by Prof. Copland. The basic rates of wages have been revised by the Commonwealth Arbitration Court in February 1931 and adjusted to the fall in the cost of living and the States have more or less followed the lead. The Government has also secured a reduction of 20% in all adjustable expenditure, including all emoluments, wages, salaries and pensions, whether fixed by statute or otherwise. But the more interesting and in some ways the boldest step that was taken was the conversion of the internal debts of the Governments on the basis of a 22½% reduction of interest. The amount involved was £556 millions and no less than 97% of the total holdings were converted into the new loan leaving only £17.5 millions which was compulsorily converted. Another noteworthy measure of reform was effected when legislation was introduced in all the States providing for a revision and reduction of interest on all mortgages and other fixed interest obligations of a maximum of 22½% unless the mortgagee could show cause why the rate should not fall. Further internal adjustments are being made and Australia is going on with the effort. New taxation has been imposed to the extent of £10 millions. It is doubtful whether any other nation can show adjustments of the same

magnitude as Australia, although perhaps they were begun late. But despite all that has been done, the prices of her staple products have fallen and are falling so much that she may not be able to meet her interest charges to overseas creditors without borrowing. The responsibility for her difficulties can no longer be fixed on Australia.

The book has become somewhat antiquated with the rapid march of events in Australia, and the delay in reviewing it has added to this handicap. But its interest will ever remain; for the clear analysis which the author has so ably made of the problems with which an agricultural country like Australia is faced in a period of acute economic depression and the bold outlines of the steps which he has recommended for adoption to meet the crisis will give to this book an abiding value which all the changing events and circumstances cannot remove.

P. S. LOKANATHAN.

"NEW SLAVERY" IN KENYA.

A LAST CHANCE IN KENYA. By NORMAN LEYS. (The Hogarth Press, London.) 1931. 22cm. 173p. 8/6.

DR. LEYS is the best living authority on Kenya and has exposed in a most convincing manner in this remarkable book the iniquities of British administration in that colony. He has exploded the theory of native trusteeship on the ground that "the welfare of white settlement is the motive" of British administration. We are told that in Kenya a "new slavery" is in existence which is as reprehensible as the old chattel slavery. The author supports his argument by giving authenticated cases of barbarous crimes perpetrated by white settlers on ignorant and simple African natives. The natives are being taxed out of existence by hut and poll taxes. Most African families in Kenya have incomes less than five pounds a year out of which they have to pay on an average 28sh. in cash to the Government and other taxes in addition. There is also a system of unpaid forced labour in vogue. Under this system all adult males are required to do six days' unpaid work every three months. The penalty for avoiding work is a fine up to £7-10-0. Dr. Leys quotes various other laws and rules and says: "These fragments from the laws of Kenya are characteristic of a slave society. They would be impossible in a free country. . . ." These iniquitous laws and this inhuman treatment make the Africans "regard British justice as a quite incalculable gamble with fate".

Reference has also been made to Indian settlers in Kenya who suffer as much under their white "Christian" rulers as the Africans. Recently an Indian boy of thirteen was sentenced to twelve strokes with a cane for riding a motor bicycle without a license. His father's request to fine his son instead of flogging him went unheeded. The author says that if a European boy of thirteen had been committed for a similar crime all that would have happened would have been a visit or a letter of warning to the father from a European Police Officer. Europeans are not flogged for the most brutal crimes and "Europeans in Kenya commit brutal crimes at least as often as Asiatics or Africans." The fact, according to the author, is that Europeans in Kenya "despise Indians and Africans" and yet people express surprise that Indians suspect the Britishers' good faith! "If we really meant these protestations of friendship" says the author, "we should send to govern Kenya the kind of a man who would have dismissed from the service the magistrate who sentenced the Indian boy to flogging. . . ."

While discussing different races and their characteristics and the effect of admixtures of blood Dr. Leys says that "Bombay Jews are black." The Jews in Bombay are the Baghdad Jews or their descendants. They are not black and what is more, they enjoy all the privileges of the white races in the British Empire. A Jew from Bombay may migrate to Australia and South Africa but not an Indian. The Jews of Cochin State may be put down as "black" but they are all Indians. They are converts like Indian Christians.

The learned author has made many valuable suggestions for reform in Kenya regarding taxation and land policy. Since the book was written, two Royal Commissions have been appointed to investigate into these problems and make recommendations, which if liberal will go a long way to alleviate the sufferings of Africans, whose best interests Dr. Leys has at heart.

S. A. WAIZ.

DESIRABILITY OF SEXUAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE MASTERY OF SEX THROUGH PSYCHOLOGY AND RELIGION. By LESLIE D. WEATHERHEAD. (Student Christian Movement, London.) 1931. 21cm. 203p. 5/-

IN every sphere of life, more trouble is caused by ignorance than by knowledge of the right sort. How many mistakes and disasters would be avoided if only we had the right perspective of different aspects of life? It is more true of the problems of sex than anything else. Upto the beginning of this century, sex was considered to be a mysterious subject. It was not to be talked of nor discussed, much less to be written upon. It was thought that a dissemination of the knowledge pertaining to sex might disillusion some and disgust others. In some cases it might conceivably lead even to perverted habits. It was something to be ashamed of and any reference to it was scrupulously avoided. So our boys and girls were brought up in complete ignorance of what vitally concerned their future lives. The author gives an example of an Honours graduate, a girl, who thought that babies were born as a result of a kiss. This was not all.

"What perhaps is more dangerous than ignorance is knowledge picked up in an unclean way... Unless children are guarded in a careful way, they will often come to a knowledge of facts somehow and if they do not gather them in a clean way, they will get them or a travesty of them, in an unclean way, and in getting them may learn unclean habits which it may take them half a lifetime to overcome."

But public opinion on the subject has recently completely changed and a number of books have been written giving a full discussion of and plain talk on sex problems. In this small volume the author deals with sex questions in an open and straight manner. Owing to his vast experience and contact with them, he knows fully well what requirements of the people in this particular direction are. He has dealt with almost all the aspects of sex, from innocent flirting to perversions. He has given us all that an average man need know on the subject. We are sure this book will be of immense help to young people on the threshold of maturity.

Some people might object to a free discussion of the perversions. But,

"Many people are at once comforted enormously to discover that an abnormality in them which they keep to themselves and which excites in them veritable tortures of fear and self-loathing and turns out to be a disharmony of which every psychologist is aware and

concerning which he can give many parallel cases from his own experience as well as supply the monstrous phenomenon with a name. The eruption on the skin of the body can be terrifying while we do not know what it is. Such terror is itself more capable of doing us harm than the spots on our chest. But when a doctor comes and tells us, it is measles and that he has known many such cases, our terror disappears at once. The horror is not an unknown horror. And it is the unknown that terrifies us most."

Such books are always welcome because they help to dispel public ignorance concerning important aspects of human life. The book is well written and the author has succeeded admirably in dealing fully with a vast subject in such a small volume. It ought to be read by every young man and woman.

M. S. CHEEMA.

THE KEY TO ENGLISH LITERATURE.

DROP YOUR FOREIGN ACCENT. By GERARD, N. TRENITE. (Allen & Unwin.) 1932. 20cm. 118p. 4/6.

THE Indian boy or girl, with a wrong English accent, has missed the master-key to the appreciation of English literature. Satirizing the absurd social value attached in England to accent, Bernard Shaw wrote one of his finest comedies, *Pygmalion*; but the skit would have been equally vivacious with an Indian in place of an English flower girl.

Perhaps, an Indian's case is much worse than that of Eliza Doo-Little. If he wants to talk secrets in the presence of an Englishman without giving him the ghost of a chance of making him out he has but to talk in English. This is a consummation which, whatever its practical advantages, is not at all to be devoutly wished. If there is one devil more than another in our schools and colleges, whose "spookishness" is more than a match for the teacher, it is *cacoepy*. He himself is not free from the devil he wishes to exorcise. The thing could be remedied only by a trained Englishman being appointed in every school: but as few schools can at present afford this costly luxury we recommend something almost equally effective, and costing next to nothing—the adoption of *Drop Your Foreign Accent* as a regular text-book.

For one thing, it achieves a miracle: it does not employ the phonetic script and yet possesses all the accuracy hitherto thought inseparable from it. This alone ought to bring the book within the comprehension of every learner of English. But how is the miracle worked? Well, by the exhausting, in the case of every consonant and vowel sound in English, all the actual vagaries in spelling. The exact phonetic character of every sound is described in the easiest and most untechnical manner. The greatest merit of the book lies in the originality and the flair for mnemonic value shown in the gingles, rhymes, tongue-twisters, strings of words and sentences indicating assonance and consonance beneath the orthographical variations. I tried some of these tongue-twisters on my own children who, with all their "book fright", have come to look on them as daddy's substitute for toffees. These illustrations in Mr. Trenite's book will make what was a task a pastime and pleasure, so that right accent—in its double sense of "stress" and "the correct national mode of pronunciation"—would no longer be rare like "Dodo" or "freedom from colour and race prejudice" but common like salt and Indian courtesy.

No teacher of English in our schools should be without this book.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR.

SHORT NOTICE.

ALL ABOUT MYSORE. Comp. & Ed. By D. V. GUNDAPPA. (Karnatak Publishing House, Bangalore.) 20cm. 141p.

THIS is a compendium of information about the Mysore State compiled in a handy and concise form from authoritative sources—mostly official. The subjects included cover the full range of essential facts of all sides of the life of the state and fully meet the needs of the enquiring visitor as well as the interested student of Mysore's affairs. Some of the long extracts with tiresome details could well have been summarised. The compiler hopes to make this an annual publication both in English and in the language of the country viz. Kannada, "with new information and fresh features in every direction." This will meet a long felt want and Mr. Gundappa will earn the gratitude of all those interested in the state.

The book is got up in a nice style and does great credit to the publishers. The numerous illustrations and the economic map of Mysore at the end of the book add to the attraction and usefulness of the publication. The map needs revision in order to make it up to date.

S. GOPALASWAMI

Correspondence.

FERGUSSON COLLEGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—With regard to the letter of Prof. Aiyar appearing in the last issue of your paper I have to request you to publish the following information which will enable the public to judge the correctness or otherwise of the statements made by Prof. Aiyar.

1. Prof. Aiyar says: "We were prepared to have Dr. Mahajani as Principal provided the long established right of the Board of Life-Members to elect the Principal was respected and that we were allowed to elect him in the first instance—the election of course to be ratified by the Governing Body." As against this statement the following extract from the proceedings of the meeting of the Joint Board of Life-Members held on the 6th of November 1929, that is, only three days after the Governing Body had passed the resolution appointing Dr. Mahajani as Principal, will speak for itself.

"Dr. D. D. Karve moved that the Board recommends that Prof. Mahajani be appointed Principal of the Fergusson College and requests the Governing Body to rescind their resolution in that respect."

On poll being taken, it was found that Prof. Aiyar's friends for whom he writes and who were then in a majority voted against the proposition which was thus defeated owing to their opposition.

Further I have to quote the following extract from the statement of the Governing Body dated 11th August 1930 to show what fate the efforts of prominent men other than Life-Members had in bringing about what Prof. Aiyar says his friends were prepared to have:

"It is worth while recording in this connection that soon after the appointment of Dr. Mahajani by the Governing Body as Offg. Principal, efforts at a compromise were made by some well-wishers of the Society by means of interview with some prominent

Life-Members of the Kanitkar group, to bring about the same appointment as a result of the unanimous recommendation of the Life-Members; but these efforts proved unsuccessful."

2. Prof. Aiyar next says that "there was not a single occasion or instance when our co-operation was asked for and refused."

I refrain from giving individual, particular instances. I shall only quote an extract from the proceedings of the Joint Board meeting of 17th August 1930.

It will be remembered that on 15th, 16th etc. the Fergusson College was picketed by some outside ladies and you have yourself in an editorial note praised the tact and courtesy with which Principal Mahajani handled the delicate situation by calling in the aid of Mrs. Mahajani to break the cordon after which the movement collapsed. What the public do not know and what I am now constrained to bring to light is that Prof. Aiyar's friends showed a very questionable attitude. On the 17th inst. which happened to be a holiday there was a meeting of the Joint Board. Principal Mahajani requested the Board to give him guidance with reference to the advisability of calling in police-protection. The following resolution that was proposed is significant:—

Dr. K. K. Joshi proposed "that in view of the relations existing at present between the Governing Body and the Board of Life-Members and the consequent attitude assumed by some Life-Members of defying the authority of the Board, the Board is of opinion that it will serve no useful purpose to make any suggestion in the matter now under consideration and accepting the responsibility thereof."

Principal Mahajani, seeing the trend of discussion, requested the Chairman to pass on to the next item.

This will give some glimpse of the state of internal affairs in which Principal Mahajani had to conduct the College, and the sort of co-operation he was getting.

Before closing, it may be pointed out that since the day of the Gogate incident, during the unhappy days when Dr. Mahajani stood so badly in need of every colleague's willing help and co-operation, Prof. Aiyar and most of his friends studiously refrained from attending the meetings of the Board and the full story of the part played by them and their whole attitude has been set forth in the Governing Body's statement dated 18th January 1932.—Yours, etc.

R. P. SHINTRE,
Secretary, Board of Life-Members.

Poona, April 20.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- SOME ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE GREAT WAR. By ARTHUR L. BOWLEY. (Butterworth.) 1930. 17cm. 251p. 2/6.
- A PRIMER OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY. By H. KEANE (Catholic Social Guild, Oxford.) 1931. 17cm. 232p.
- SANNYASI AND FAKIR RAIDERS IN BENGAL. By JAMINI MOHAN GHOSH. (Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Calcutta.) 1930. 25cm. 160p Re. 1/8.
- CASTE AND CREDIT IN THE RURAL AREA. A SURVEY. By S. S. NEHRU. (Longmans, Calcutta.) 1932. 17cm. 174p. Rs. 3.