

# The Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE.

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## CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..	229
ARTICLES :—	
The Creed of Non-Violence. ... ..	232
De-Bunking of the Cape System. ... ..	234
REVIEWS :—	
Freedom of the Press. By R. G. Pradhan, B. A., LL. B. ... ..	236
Social Ills of Modern Life. By Prof. V. N. Godbole, M. A. ... ..	236
Romantic Reality. By Prof. D. D. Vadekar, M. A. ... ..	237
The Bihar Earthquake. By N. M. J. ... ..	238
Civic Training. By S. R. Venkataraman, B. A., B. L. ... ..	238
Singapore. By K. Venugopal Rao, B. A. ... ..	239
SHORT NOTICES. ... ..	239
BOOKS RECEIVED. ... ..	240

## Topics of the Week.

### The late Dr. M. A. Ansari.

THE death of Dr. M. A. Ansari of Delhi which must have taken most people unawares will be deeply mourned throughout the land. Besides being a physician of great renown who counted in his clientele many rulers of Indian States, he was endowed with an exceptional measure of public spirit. Dr. Ansari first came before the public eye as an organiser of the Red Crescent Mission to Turkey in connection with the Turko-Italian War more than twenty years ago. His close collaboration with the Ali brothers in that connection gave rise to the impression that Dr. Ansari, in spite of his prolonged stay in Europe, was developing into a narrow-visioned Muslim. Observers of contemporary events will gladly bear testimony to the fact that his subsequent public career completely belied this fear.

EVER since the Congress came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Ansari's identification with its programme of work has been whole-hearted and he was always known to have given unstintedly of his labour and money for the furtherance of its cause. Of this, what more convincing proof is needed than is furnished by the fact that he did not shrink from betaking himself more than once to the rigours of jail life in obedience to the command of the Congress during the last fifteen years? This naturally raised him very high in public estimation and ensured an honoured place for him in the councils of the Congress. His election to the presidential chair of the Congress

which was held at Madras followed as a matter of course in 1927.

THAT Dr. Ansari was not a mere destructive critic but was gifted with a constructive bent of mind could be seen from the fact that it was during his regime as President of the Congress that the Nehru Committee set its hand to the important, though by no means easy, task of evolving an agreed constitution for India. But what will be universally regarded as a feather in his cap was his presidency of the All-Parties Convention held at Calcutta towards the end of 1928, at which the Nehru scheme was finally adopted as the nation's reply to Lord Birkenhead's challenge to India to produce a scheme of reform acceptable to all parties.

IT must also be gratefully recognised by nationalist India that the Nationalist Muslim Party owed its birth largely to Dr. Ansari's endeavours. Whether the outlook of that party was sufficiently wide and whether its attitude towards the Communal Award was all that it should have been are matters into which it is purposeless to go in this obituary notice. Suffice it to note that Dr. Ansari largely used his opportunities for inculcating the nationalist view in the minds of his coreligionists. This by itself is a service of no small importance, for which India must be grateful to him. He was reputed to wield unrivalled influence with the Mahatma and the miracle of the Mahatma's conversion to parliamentarianism is largely credited to this personal factor. That Dr. Ansari should have been snatched away by the cruel hand of Death before parliamentary mentality had taken firm root in the Congress soil is without exaggeration a great national loss.

### The late Mr. Vagbhat N. Deshpande.

IT is with deep grief that we have to record the death of our friend Mr. Vagbhat N. Deshpande, the Dewan of Aundh. While on his way to Aundh Mr. Deshpande met with a serious motor accident on the 21st of last month which among other bodily injuries had affected his spinal chord. In politics Mr. Deshpande was a Liberal. Himself a State subject, he knew at first hand their ills and disabilities and was actively associated with the movement for an improvement in their political status. To him his appointment as Dewan of Aundh six months ago was nothing short of a God-sent opportunity to translate his ideas on the reform in Indian States into effect. He had elaborated a scheme of debt redemption and rural uplift for a part of the State territory. Schemes of wider import also engaged his attention. Among such was one for the establishment of a common high court for the States in the Deccan, a complete scheme of which he was expected to unfold next month. In the

midst of all his other preoccupations Mr. Deshpande always found time for his literary activities. He has to his credit several works written in Marathi, whose literary merit is widely recognised. That a life so full of promise should have been cut short in this tragic manner is a great misfortune and a severe blow to his near and dear ones no less than to the large circle of his friends. To his widow and the other members of the bereaved family we offer our heart-felt condolence.

### Royal Inauguration of Federation ?

MR. K. M. PANIKKAR, an official of the Princes' Chamber, writing in the *Spectator*, says that for a start being made in giving effect to the federal part of the constitution two things are necessary: first, the formulation of a general Instrument of Accession, which will be applicable to all the States; and, second, the listing of reservations to be made in favour of individual States. The latter task will involve somewhat prolonged negotiations, for, as Mr. Panikkar very frankly says, the States will "naturally" be very anxious "to retain as much as possible and minimise the federal content of the subjects." Yet he thinks that all the preparatory work will be complete by the autumn of 1937, or at the latest by January, 1938. Obviously the British Government will make every allowance for the "natural" desire of the Princes to put as little as possible into the federal pool and be willing to bring into existence a federation, however thin and anaemic it may be.

THE establishment of even this kind of federation which the Princes will de-federalise as much as they can appears to Mr. Panikkar to be such "a historic change" as deserves to be signalled by a Royal Durbar. It will not be enough, he says, if the King issues a proclamation on the occasion or even sends a member of the Royal Family to announce the great event. That would be doing less than justice to "the momentous character of the new constitution." Nothing less than "a Great Durbar at which His Imperial Majesty will in person solemnly inaugurate the new Government of his Indian Empire" will be fitting. It is necessary that the world should know and appreciate to the full the enormous change that the constitution will bring about in India's status, and this can only be done if His Majesty will inaugurate the federation himself at a Coronation Durbar.

WE very much wish that nothing like this would be done. Rightly or wrongly, the Indian people are so bitterly hostile to the new constitution that it would be folly deliberately to do anything which will tend to transfer the deep resentment which they feel towards their administrators for imposing the constitution upon them to the person of the King-Emperor. The King is always above politics; and the present King had no hand whatsoever in this Hoare *diktat*. Why should the Government then go out of its way to associate this unforgettable wrong upon poor India in the people's mind with His Majesty? Why place him and the people of India wantonly in such an odious position? When the King visited India as Prince of Wales the non-co-operation movement was in full swing in the country, and the people were unable to take that detached view of the visit which would have saved him from incidents that no one would now like to recall to his mind. But if the King's advisers would now make him personally responsible for giving a start to a constitution which the people loathe from the bottom of their heart, they would create the maxi-

imum amount of ill-will in the country. His Majesty ought to be spared all this.

It may be that the judgment of the Indian people about the new constitution is wrong. If so, they err in good company. Professor Berriedale Keith in his new book, *A Constitutional History of India, 1800-1935*, finds it "difficult to deny that federation was largely evoked by the desire to evade the issue of extending responsible government to the central government of British India." He dismisses "the alleged concession of responsibility as all but meaningless," and says, "If it (the federation) operates successfully, it will probably be due to the virtual disappearance of responsibility and the assertion of the controlling power of the Governor-General backed by the conservative elements of the Indian States and of British India." This echoes the feeling of all progressive Indians, and if a Royal inauguration of the constitution is to take place, let it be preceded by a continuous official propaganda till the constitution becomes popular. We fancy the propaganda will have to go on till the Greek Kalends.

### No Retaliation, But Reciprocity.

IN the course of the last Assembly session, opportunity was taken by non-official speakers to draw the attention of the Government to the legislation undertaken by the Iraq Government with a view to prohibiting the employment of foreigners, a large numbers of whom are Indians. The Government spokesman was complacent enough to counsel patience. "Do not worry about it just yet. There will be time enough to submit representations against it after it is passed" said he in effect. Of what practical use such submissions, however strongly worded, would be at that stage he alone could know. But may we tell him that even this excuse for his inaction, utterly unsubstantial as it is, has been once and for all removed by the final enactment of the law and that his opportunity for fulminating against it has arrived? We hope he will seize it in order to impress on the Iraq Government the strength of Indian feeling against it.

UNDER this law, non-Iraqis are prohibited from pursuing the following trades and professions:

Printing, photography, showing of cinema films, smith's work, barber's work, carpentry, masonry, tailoring, painting, weaving, musician's work, dancing and transportation, in the local civil services and loading and unloading of the goods, lighting, heating and water supply, and permanent services as motor car drivers, steam engine and carriage drivers, and manufacture of cigarettes, sadars (caps), hats, and footwear, and work in hotels and bakeries and service anywhere as labourer, or watchman and service in various trades and places such as restaurants, clubs, baths, coffee-shops, and shops, theatres etc., and such trades and professions as shall be decided upon from time to time by special regulations.

BUT this is not all. The foreigner is not to work even as a salesman in shops or do any hawking nor will he be tolerated as a broker. His presence in certain trades and professions will be tolerated "only when such trades and professions need expert guidance or require improvement or progress provided that there does not exist an Iraqi who can undertake similar work."

EVEN so, all is not lost if only the Government moves in time. For the law provides for exceptions being made in the case of foreign nationals on a basis of reciprocity. In such cases the

Iraq Government is empowered to issue regulations "whereby permission shall be granted for carrying on with part or whole of the trades and professions by the subjects of those powers who permit Iraqi subjects to work in their countries on a reciprocal basis." Iraqis in India number only 300 but are subject to no restrictions in regard to the pursuit of any profession or trade. Why should not the Indian Government press for reciprocal treatment for Indian nationals under this law? They should without loss of time ask for the exemption of Indians from the operation of this law. No retaliation which perhaps the Government dread and for which nobody would ask till other remedies are exhausted, but just reciprocity.

#### Need for Further Information from Iraq.

AN inspired message from Simla in the course of last week wants the public to believe that the Government are closely in touch with the Indian situation in Iraq and gives expression to their readiness to deal with cases of individual hardship. The first part of the statement does not seem to be borne out by facts. For if the Government had been closely following the trend of events in Iraq they would not be asking for specific instances of hardship to be brought to their notice. In the course of a recent letter to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore such cases have as a matter of fact been mentioned in detail and the intervention of the Government of India earnestly implored with a view to securing redress. Let the Government take up these cases with proper authorities and help in securing justice to Indian nationals in Iraq. Anyway their claim to be close observers of Indian developments in Iraq cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged.

IT is a great pity that all the commotion in India during the last few weeks over the fate of Indians in Iraq should not have moved Government to make efficient arrangements for being supplied with reliable information about the hardships from which Indians are suffering in that country. Their source is obviously the British Consul whose primary concern is bound to be the safeguarding of British interests. In the nature of things he cannot give his undivided attention to the protection of the interests of Indians whose number in Iraq is 5,000 or expeditiously attend to requests for information about their condition. Would it not therefore be better to follow the Zanzibar precedent in respect of Iraq and depute an experienced Government officer on a fact-finding mission to Iraq? Whether the Government ultimately succeed in securing the removal of Indian grievances or not, this will at least leave no ground for the feeling that the Indian public is suffering from lack of firsthand and full information.

#### Sex Ratio in Malaya.

ONE gets an inkling from the latest report of the United Planting Association of the arguments with which the Malayan Government's request for the non-enforcement of the sex-ratio rule would be supported when the Indian deputation visits that country. It is necessary to remember that this rule does not prescribe sex-equality among Indian emigrants to Malaya. All that it lays down is that out of every five persons assisted to emigrate at least two must be women. The requirement is very moderate and should not be difficult of fulfilment at the hands of the Malayan authorities. But, thanks to the accommodating spirit shown by the Government of India in this matter, their

exemption from the operation of this rule is already in force, though for a limited period. The Malayan Government's heart is now set upon securing the concession for an unlimited period.

NOW that the rubber industry in Malaya is again looking up, the Indian Government are naturally demanding that at least one half of the 20 per cent. cut in the wages of labourers should be restored. The demand is fully justified and ought to be ungrudgingly accepted by Malaya. But there are indications that it will be used as a bargaining point with a view to securing the suspension of the sex-ratio rule. Then it is also likely to be said that the problem is one for the Malayan Government with which the Indian Government need not bother. If the non-observance of the rule raises any difficult situation, the Malayan authorities are well able to deal with it without drawing upon the Indian Government for assistance. We are confident the deputation will not be taken in by such specious reasoning. Whichever may be the authority dealing with the problem, it does not do away with the fact that the problem relates to the maintenance of a reasonably high standard of Indian morals which is obviously a matter of vital concern to the Indian Government. How can it then afford to disinterest itself in it? This may be what is desired by the Malayan Government but would be nothing short of a serious dereliction of duty on the part of the Indian Government.

THE Indian Government will be asked to abolish the rule on the plea of their inability to insist upon its observance in the case of all emigrants, whether assisted or unassisted, to Malaya. Why then enforce it only in the case of those migrating to Malaya with that Government's help, it will be asked. Either insist upon the enforcement of the rule in all cases or let it go completely by the board. We are sure the deputation will not be in the least impressed by such arguments. The Indian Government's primary responsibility is for the well-being of those whose emigration is authorised by them. In their case at any rate they are bound to see that the safeguards stipulated for for such emigration are duly observed. But to ask that a rule should be allowed to be a dead letter because it is not possible to enforce it in all cases betrays a disordered mentality which would prefer starvation even when the means of satisfying one's hunger partially are available, simply because they cannot be had to the requisite extent. Nobody outside bedlam would commend such an attitude.

THE plea of a steady improvement in the sex ratio, so far as the Indian population in Malaya is concerned, will also be strongly urged with the help of statistics. But such a plea is beside the point, as a little reflection will show. If the sex ratio is improving in the case of the Malayan Indian population, it is doubtless a phenomenon which deserves the welcome of all concerned. But we fail to see how it disposes of the Government of India's primary responsibility for the moral well-being of the Indians going out to a foreign land with their full backing. No. To us it appears that they would be betraying their trust if they became willing parties to any relaxation of the above rule.

#### Uplift of Depressed Classes.

THE Backward Class Officer in Bombay is intended as the official protector specially of the depressed classes. It is seen from his report for 1934-35 that he is satisfactorily filling that role to the best of his

opportunities and within the means at his disposal. The effectuation of the Government's policy of encouraging the admission of depressed class children to common schools instead of creating special schools for their exclusive benefit is to be seen in the increase of over 6,000 in the number of Harijan children attending common schools. The number of children in special schools showed a small decline of about 1,500. It must be added that these figures relate to the primary education stage alone, the total number of depressed class children in receipt of instruction of any kind in the presidency being 72,260 as against a little over 68,000 during the preceding year. It is gratifying to note that the public prejudice against Harijan children sitting side by side with higher class pupils in schools is slowly dying out. The report gives a typical instance of its having been overcome as a result of official firmness. We trust it will be similarly dealt with in all cases where it might raise its head.

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ONE of the important functions of the Backward Class department is to help the backward classes in securing jobs in Government service. It is already laid down that at least 10 per cent. of the menials in Government offices must be persons belonging to scheduled or depressed classes. Similarly too one-tenth of the recruitment for clerks' vacancies has now been reserved for the backward classes and one-fifth in the case of talatis. The Department maintains a register of qualified and non-qualified candidates belonging to backward classes seeking employment. This greatly facilitates the task of the Backward Class Officer in making suitable recommendations, the Officer having helped to place 108 such persons during the year under report. But it is obvious that without the co-operation of the leaders of these classes the Officer cannot do all that is possible for their benefit. It is revealed in the report that in some cases backward class candidates failed to send replies to officers offering them appointments which they lost in consequence. It is disheartening to find that the Department's attempts to secure openings for backward class candidates under local bodies have so far come to nought; but let the Officer not weary of knocking at their door which cannot long remain banged and bolted against the backward classes.

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IT is observed from the report that the Department has to its credit some activity in the direction of securing house sites for the backward classes; but it must be regretfully admitted that it is nothing as compared to what is being done in Madras in that direction. It is to be hoped that the Department will keep Madras as the model before it and try its best to reach that level as soon as possible. A carefully chalked out programme of work spread over a number of years may perhaps be found useful in this connection. Its preparation will, we hope, engage the serious attention of the Officer in the near future.

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WITH regard to the provision of drinking water facilities for the untouchables, the year witnessed a definite step forward. Sign-boards notifying the accessibility of public wells maintained by local boards to all classes without distinction were put up, to begin with, on only 20 per cent. of such wells. Orders were issued during the year for the exhibition of such boards on all wells controlled by local boards. The suggestion made by the Backward Class Board for the erection of pumps on common wells for the use of the scheduled classes was approved by the Government who have authorised the trial of the experiment in one or two places where conditions are favourable.

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## Articles.

### THE CREED OF NON-VIOLENCE.

IN justification of the enforcement of Regulation III of 1818 against Babu Subash Chandra Bose, the Government rely to a great extent upon his opposition to the non-violence creed of the Congress. The inference drawn by the Government is that whoever is opposed to non-violence as a creed must be in favour of the use of violence as a working policy. The fallacy underlying this reasoning is not difficult to detect. Mahatma Gandhi was the first to commit a large section of Indians to non-violence in principle. Before his advent no Indian of any prominence had subscribed to the doctrine. But was the policy of India based for that reason on force? Political India was as non-violent in so far as its policy went as at present. The leaders recognised that, though in the abstract force has certainly a legitimate place in political agitation, though the use of force would be justifiable in certain circumstances, the conditions in India were such that force must in fact be abjured by all right-thinking persons. On this there was no wavering at all in any quarter, except among terrorists whose number, however, shows no sign of diminution because of Mahatma Gandhi's emphasis on non-violence. What Mahatma Gandhi did in Indian politics was not to convert a people addicted to violence to renounce it as a matter of practical policy. For such conversion there was no room. All he did was to convert a section of the people who, convinced as they were that non-violence alone in the existing Indian conditions is practicable and desirable, felt that violence could legitimately be used in certain other possible circumstances, to the renunciation of violence in all circumstances. Subash Babu was not one of the people so converted; but he is only one amongst many such unconverted people. And on this ground alone no valid argument can be rested that because Subash Babu does not accept non-violence in theory he does not accept non-violence in practice either.

One would like to ask Sir Henry Craik, the Home Member, who used this argument with great self-assurance: Does he himself accept non-violence as a creed? Do other members of the Government of India accept it? Did the last Viceroy accept it, and does the present? If they do, why do they maintain such a huge army—in the opinion of Indians a vastly larger army than necessary—at the cost of an annual outlay of 45 to 50 crores out of India's restricted resources? If, like Mahatma Gandhi, to an invading army of Afghans, e. g., they would offer no physical resistance, the Indian army has no function to perform. How many in the world, one would like to know, accept the Tolstoyan principle of non-resistance which Mahatma Gandhi has introduced into India? Even the League of Nations, brought into existence for the purpose of preventing the use of violence by nations, has for its basis the use of force; only it employs—or is rather intended to employ, for it never does

employ—lawful force to counter unlawful force. As Viscount Cecil has said, Article 16, the Article of Sanctions, is "the kernel round which the whole of the rest of the League of Nations conception was constructed," and the sanctions allowed and in fact enjoined here include military sanctions. Collective action need not always result in military action, as Viscount Cecil observed, but it may result in military action. Resistance is the very foundation and plinth of the League of Nations; it is not the non-resistance of Tolstoy or Gandhi. And, considered philosophically, both for individuals, families, States and international bodies, the use of force must be allowed in certain circumstances. The principle of non-violence as Mahatma Gandhi preaches it is wrong. Sir Henry Craik, we are sure, will agree with us in this. Then why make so much of Subash Babu's opposition to the Congress creed, which creed he knows is not ethically well-founded?

We are aware that the Government's contention is that Babu Subash Chandra Bose goes further and advocates the use of revolutionary violence in the present circumstances in India as the right policy for Indians. Of this we would like to have clear and irrefragable evidence, and such evidence can only be afforded at an open trial in the ordinary law courts under the ordinary law. The excuse which is often trotted out for the application of extraordinary laws like Regulation III in preference to public trial is unavailable in the present case. The excuse is that the lives of witnesses would be menaced if they were produced at the trial. But such evidence as the Government seem to have in their possession against Subash Babu is evidence that requires no witnesses and that will therefore lead to no outrage upon their lives. For the Government rely upon Subash Babu's book, *The Indian Struggle*, his undelivered speech at the third Indian Political Conference in London, certain private letters of his, etc. All this is documentary evidence, and if it proves conclusively, as the Government maintain, the incitement by Subash Babu to violent crime and his complicity in it, why do they not put the matter to the test by a trial in the courts in the ordinary way? How can the people be convinced, from the few extracts that the Government choose to make public, that the trend of his writings and speeches is really as the Government allege? The Government have the power to keep him under detention as long as they please, and Subash Babu will have to submit to all such persecution. But if the Government's desire is that the people at large should be satisfied about the justice of their action, then we must say that the people will be satisfied only when Subash is put on his trial.

The reason why we are moved to refer to this subject on the present occasion is because of the publication of a summary of the talk which Babu Subash Chandra Bose had with M. Romain Rolland recently on Indian politics in general. This summary shows that Subash Babu's writings and speeches can well be interpreted quite differently from the way in which the Government interpret them. It contains most of

the sentiments and expressions upon which the Government seize for showing to their own satisfaction that he is a revolutionary intent upon bringing about a mass rising. He spoke to M. Rolland of the failure of satyagraha in India. He said:

India's great hope was that the satyagraha movement would fructify in a peaceful movement in the following manner. Within India, the movement would gradually paralyse the civil administration of the country. Outside India, the lofty ethics of satyagraha would stir the conscience of the British people.

But that hope was frustrated. Within India, no doubt, the satyagraha movement created a non-violent revolution, but the higher services, both civil and military, remained unaffected and the King's Government therefore went on much as usual. Outside India, a handful of high-minded Britishers were no doubt inspired by the ethics of Gandhi, but the British people as a whole remained quite indifferent; self-interest drowned the ethical appeal.

He then asked M. Romain Rolland, as one of the foremost advocates of non-violence, whether, since the ethics of satyagraha has not succeeded, a change in Mahatma Gandhi's ideology should not be thought about. The following conversation then took place:

If satyagraha ultimately fails, would M. Romain Rolland like to see the national endeavour continued by other methods or would he cease taking interest in the Indian movement?

The fight must go on in any case, was the emphatic reply. He would be sorry if satyagraha failed, but if it really did the hard facts of life would have to be faced and he would like to see the movement conducted on other lines.

Then the conversation turned on the desirability of the national movement identifying itself with workers and peasants if capital will not join with labour and landlord with peasant, and on Mahatma Gandhi's attitude to this question. M. Rolland remarked that the cause of the workers of the world was supreme, and added:

If, as a result of unfortunate circumstances, Gandhi (or any party for the matter of that) should be in conflict with the cause of the workers, and with their necessary evolution towards a socialistic organisation—if Gandhi (or any party) should turn away or stand aloof from the workers' cause, then for ever will I side with the oppressed workers—for ever will I participate in their combats, because on their side is justice and the law of the real and necessary development of human society.

This interview shows Subash Bose as an earnest soul engaged in considering possible alternatives when Gandhiji's method, about which he was never over-sanguine, had demonstrably failed. This failure wrung from M. Rolland, who had a more robust faith in satyagraha, the admission: "I have not decided against non-violence, but I have decided that non-violence cannot be the central pivot of our entire social activity." We suggest that in the writings of Subash Babu which the Government consider incriminating the same searchings of heart are to be observed, the same attempt to reach forward to a more promising solution. If any other interpretation is possible, let the matter be put to the test—by placing him on his trial.

## DE-BUNKING OF THE CAPE SYSTEM.

THE native Africans of the Cape Province were threatened some time ago with the total abolition of the franchise which they have enjoyed for over eighty years on a footing of equality with the Europeans. By a new Bill which recently passed the Union Parliament their vote has been retained, but they are put on a separate roll. Even at present, although the Cape natives are put on the same register and vote at the same ballot box as the white men, they can vote only for Europeans, for a fundamental part of the South African constitution is that no native shall sit in either chamber of the legislature. This colour bar was first introduced by the Act of Union. Before the Act of Union any person could be a member of the Union Parliament, whatever his race, creed or colour might be. No non-European was in fact elected at any time, but in theory there was no bar. Since the Act of Union was passed, non-Europeans are statutorily excluded from Parliament.

The whites in South Africa are all agreed about one thing: that their supremacy must ever remain unchallenged and unchallengeable. Even those liberal statesmen amongst them who favour the retention of the franchise by the natives of the Cape Province or even its extension to other Provinces are not prepared to envisage at any time in future the country being governed by the natives. The native population is between seven and eight millions and the white population is only two millions. Nevertheless even the advocates of a fair deal towards the natives refuse to contemplate a time when the natives, as they advance in western civilisation, will be the predominant partners in the government of their own country. They are willing to give a vote to the natives, but on the distinct understanding that the African voters will form a small, almost an overwhelmingly small, proportion of the total electorate. In the Cape Province at present the total number of voters is 417,524, of whom the number of native voters is only 10,628, or an insignificant 2½ per cent. of the total (Asiatic voters being 1,401, Malays 1,796 and persons of mixed or Coloured races 21,596). In the Natal too the native is supposed to have a vote, but it is only nominal and entirely ineffective: there is only one native enrolled on the Natal register, the total number of voters being 92,116. (There are 10 Asiatic voters, 343 mixed or Coloured races, and the rest whites.) In the Transvaal and the Orange Free State all the voters must by law be white, the present number of voters in these Provinces being 349,000 and 101,089 respectively.

The liberal Cape politicians, therefore, insist that the natives having such a small vote, they need not be deprived of it. It can be retained without endangering in any way the political supremacy of the whites. Liberalism costs so little in South Africa! General Hertzog and others too are not afraid of the present position, but they fear that if the principle of an equal franchise for the natives is once granted, there is bound to come a time, as the natives acquire property and become educated, when the native vote will swamp the white vote in a country where the natives outnumber the whites by a propor-

tion of two to three. And white dominance is an article of faith with all Europeans, whether they be English or Dutch, whether they be large-minded or narrow-minded. This dominance can be maintained, if the natives are to be admitted to the voters' register on the same franchise qualifications, only by taking effective measures for the prevention of the natives from acquiring voting qualifications, i. e., by keeping them poor and uneducated. The possession of an equal franchise by the natives has in fact, it is said, only resulted in making the Union Government pursue an unsympathetic policy towards them. General Hertzog, in moving the Bill, said:

We cannot close our eyes to the fact that in the past we often felt that it was desirable to promote the natives' interests and to make them happier people; we felt that it would be of great importance to us with a view to the interests of the State to be able to help the natives forward, but instead of doing that we always put on the brake. Why? Because every time that the native took a step forward on the road of civilisation it was felt to be making the threat worse that he will eventually overwhelm us with his numbers. We were never honest towards the natives.

He felt that it would be much better to remove the native from the electoral register and to help him move forward educationally and economically than to retain him on the register (which did him little tangible good) and then keep him down in matters that affect him closely.

General Hertzog thought that the best way of relieving the white population from the nightmare of ultimate native domination was to put an end to the native vote in the Cape. But it was feared that it would be considered too drastic a measure in some quarters, and he therefore proposed that the native should remain on the voters' list, but he should be on a separate list. This would achieve the same object as the abolition of the vote and would appear less sweeping. The natives, whatever the number of voters on their separate register may be, are to elect three representatives—of course, white representatives—to the House of Assembly of the Union Parliament. The number of representatives is not to be increased unless a proposal to this effect is accepted by a two-thirds majority of the members of both the chambers. A possible increase in white representatives of the natives being thus provided against, it would be a matter of indifference to the whites how rapidly and how high the native vote grew. In the Provincial Council of the Cape Province also the native voters are now taken off the common roll and put on a separate roll. Thus the much-vaunted liberal Cape system has come to an end. Of this system General Smuts recently said: "The quintessence of the Cape native franchise is that there should be these three elements of common roll, common candidates and common ballot box." And yet he now agreed to the undoing of the system of common roll, which he himself had said was the foundation of the native franchise!

"Equal rights for all civilised men south of the Zambesi" is the famous dictum of Cecil Rhodes, which has been completely done away with by this new law. But, in fact, apart from the separate electoral roll which

is now set up, this boasted equality has ceased to be real. For in 1930, the franchise, which hitherto had been confined to males, was extended to adult white females, and in the following year all property and salary qualifications were swept off for white men and thus all adult white men were enfranchised. While, therefore, in the case of the whites, complete adult suffrage is established, in the case of the natives the old qualifications remain, viz., occupation of property worth £75, receipt of annual wage or salary of £50, and ability to sign the name and write the address and occupation. Thus already the equal franchise of old is ended. However, the poor natives were quite prepared "to accept," as Senator F. S. Malan said, "a white skin as a qualification for the European franchise", provided they were themselves left undisturbed in the enjoyment of their differential franchise. Now, however, by their being put "in a separate kraal", as it were, the equality of rights of which so much is made wholly disappears.

In fact no one who studies the history of South Africa can help feeling that the so-called liberality of the Cape system is very much exaggerated. The franchise qualification was very low at the beginning, i. e. in 1852 when the Cape was granted a constitution. The qualification was occupation of £25, salary at a much lower figure and no education test. And no distinction was made between white and black, because there was hardly any black population in the Cape at the time. The natives being non-existent, they could be very liberally treated, and qualifications for the voters could be made low, because all the possible voters could only be white. Things, however, changed later. The annexation of the Ciskei and the Transkei followed, and the Transkei was incorporated into the Cape Colony. The non-racial franchise of the Cape was extended to the Transkei, and when it was found that a large number of natives would be enfranchised, a Bill was introduced into the Cape Parliament in 1887 by Sir Gordon Sprigg, the Prime Minister of the time, cutting out the communal tenure of land in native areas as an occupation qualification. The Bill was passed, and as a result 30,000 natives were struck off the roll at one blow. Between 90 and 95 per cent. of the natives were thus disfranchised. This measure is aptly called "Sprigg's Purga." In moving it, the Prime Minister said: "In certain electoral districts no fewer than 5,000 kafirs have been placed on the list. If the Bill did not pass they would hand over this noble Colony to a barbarous population."

Five years later another Bill was introduced by Cecil Rhodes himself and passed. It raised the occupation qualification from £25 to £75 and introduced a new education qualification, viz. ability to write one's name, address and occupation. Why was this change made? Only to neutralise or at least to reduce the native vote. Sir James Rose-Innes, Attorney-General and one of the most liberal statesmen of his time, said in the debate:

The Bill contained no mention of colour, but they must know that those who supported the Bill trusted that it would neutralise the native vote.

Sir James's own object was not to neutralise the native vote, it is true, but that was certainly the object of those who brought it forward, and Sir James supported it because he feared that otherwise the native vote would be removed altogether. The education qualification was specially inserted to bring about a wholesale reduction of the native vote. Mr. Merriman said in the same debate:

He looked at the census returns of the whole kaffir male population and found that only 4 per cent. could read or write of those qualified for the vote. . . . It struck him if they talked about the disfranchisement of the native it was just this education test which was going to clean the register.

The education test was introduced to reduce the native vote by 96 per cent., or "to clean the register" as was frankly put. In the same debate Mr. Rhodes said:

When Great Britain conferred representative government on Griqualand West, it deliberately amended the Constitution Ordinance by raising the £50 wage qualification to £100, in order to exclude uneducated persons, and particularly the native vote.

In the Cape too the object was the exclusion of the native from the electoral roll. Cecil Rhodes himself said in 1894:

The natives increase at a tremendously fast pace. . . . We have not given them any share in government, and, I am of opinion, rightly so. I consider that the natives should be apart from the white people, and should not be mixed with them. We should definitely be committing a serious blunder if we were to place the natives on a footing of equality with ourselves. If we treat them differently and say, those people have their own conceptions and so on, then all will be well with us, but if we deviate from that course and place them on a footing of equality with ourselves, we may as well give up.

In their joint monograph on the native franchise, Messrs. Schreiner and Ramsbottom, the great supporters of equal franchise for the natives, write, after saying how groundless is the fear of the whites that the native vote will swamp the European vote:

Were the facts ever to become such as to justify the view that the native or non-European was likely to swamp the European, it would always be open to the still dominant Europeans to raise the qualification for the franchise, and so to strengthen their position at the polls. This was done at the Cape in 1887 and again in 1892. It is certainly far and away the least unsatisfactory method of retaining power should such power be ever jeopardised.

An equal franchise for the natives has always been a make-believe; voting qualifications are fixed, not with a view to obtain really qualified voters, but with a view to keep out the natives from the register. All that has happened with the passing of General Hertzog's Bill is that the native has lost the vote in theory as he had already lost it in practice.

General Hertzog was brutally frank about the Bill, but it should be remembered that the fundamental objects of others, though worded more tactfully, are the same. There were many protests received from clericals all over the country that no right once conceded could be taken away; it was also said that a pledge had been given by the British Ministers at the time the Act of Union was passed that native rights would not be interfered with except on account of rebellion by the natives. To such protests he replied:

When they appeal to me on the ground that it is not Christian, that it is in conflict with Christian principles-

then I say: "Oh no, now I do not understand at all what you mean by Christian principles." Christian principles count for very much, and I hope they will always count for very much, with our people, but there is a principle of self-preservation for a nation. It is a sacred principle, a Christian principle, just the same as any other principle, and it stands equally high. I place that principle still higher; it is the only principle, that of self-preservation, of self-defence, by which humanity itself and Christianity itself will ever be able to protect itself.

We have duties, but let me say this, that whatever our duty is towards the natives, the first duty of the European is towards himself.

Behind all the talk of "equal rights for all civilised men" the dominant idea is that of the domination of the whites.

## Reviews.

### FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

**THE PRESS AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION.** By A. J. CUMMINGS. (John Lane) 1936. 20cm. 139p. 3/6.

THIS little book written by a well-known English journalist is a thoughtful contribution to the consideration of the problem viz., the freedom of the Press. It is a brilliant and powerful defence of the freedom of the Press. The author has been connected with the Press for many years, and is fully conscious that the institution of the Press can be and is abused by some journalists. He stands for honest, fair, educative and efficient journalism; yet, his faith in the freedom of the Press is so great that he opines that even the vilest Press is to be preferred to a censored Press. He rightly observes that if political authoritarianism is given an inch or two, it will promptly take in all. He strongly condemns the Sedition Bill, recently passed by the British Parliament, and quotes with approval, Walter Bagehot's observation that "No one knows what blasphemy is, or what sedition is, but all know that they are vague words which can be fitted to any meaning that shall please the ruling powers." He also quotes with equal approval the following passage from Mr. Chafee's book, *Freedom of Speech*:

Men assume that such a law (a Sedition Act) affects only a speech or a book which devotes itself entirely to the advocacy of violence. This is not so. For instance, any small conservative group in a community which wants to prevent radical agitators from bringing disagreeable facts to public attention will be enabled by such a statute to go through their speeches and pamphlets with a fine tooth-comb and probably find a sentence here or there which can be interpreted as advocating revolution. Thus, it will be possible to imprison almost any radical agitator in the absence of any real danger of revolution. Of course, trivial offences will not be punished in ordinary times; but during the excitement of a great strike or some other widespread unrest, the partisans of law and order will hardly be able to resist the temptation to make use of this law to bottle up Labour leaders and other agitators whom they fear and dislike. . . .

The effect of a sedition law upon books is even more injurious. . . . It must be remembered that a book falls under the penalties of the law if only a part of it is revolutionary. There are many books and pamphlets which, for the most part, contain elaborate discussion of social and economic questions, which it is very desirable to read. Here and there, the writer is so impressed with the hopelessness of legal change in the present system, that he advocates resort to force if nothing else serves. That alone will render circulation of the whole book, a heinous crime under

the Act. Many of the classics of modern economics will be put on this new index expurgatorius. The law will prevent a loyal citizen from obtaining from abroad or from another State the works of Marx, Proudhon, Bakunin or Stirner and will make it criminal for a loyal bookseller to buy these books for him.

Incidentally, we make a present of the above passage to our Indian and provincial Governments.

Every chapter of this book is replete with sound thought. The author's critical survey of the conditions of the Press in Europe is highly illuminating. He expresses a high opinion of the Press in France, which, he says, is much more serious than the popular Press in England. The French are distinguished by a love of ideas and, still more, by the delicate nuances of ideas. The existence of a host of small "journals of opinion" in France is due to this remarkable national characteristic. These political sheets are brilliantly written and brilliantly edited; and it is by them that public opinion in France is largely moulded. They have no counterpart in most countries of the world including Great Britain. Such "journals of opinion" are the salt of the Press; and it is by their influence on the public mind that the real character and worth of the Press in a country must be judged. We wish that there should be many such small journals of opinion in India.

According to the author, the Press in Nazi Germany enjoys no freedom at all. The Press in Fascist Italy and Soviet Russia is also too much under the control of the Government, but as compared with the Nazi Press, they may be said to enjoy some measure of freedom. There is a general feeling among the British that the British Press is perfectly free, and no menace to its freedom exists or is likely to arise. The author deprecates this complacent attitude, and warns his countrymen that the desire to restrict the freedom of the Press is not quite absent from the mind of the Government.

We wish the author had also surveyed the conditions of the Press in India and condemned the galling restrictions to which it is subject. But the book is confined in its scope mostly to the Press in the chief countries of Europe and has nothing to say about the Press in the Dominions, India or other eastern countries. A perusal of the book will show what a valuable institution the Press is and can become, and how necessary it is for the progress of society that its freedom should be maintained. There have been many books on the Press; but we have not come across another—barring, of course, the classics such as Milton's *Aeropagitica*—in which the noble cause of the freedom of the Press is defended with such cogency of reasoning, such brilliance and such force as in this book. We cordially recommend it to the readers of this journal.

R. G. PRADHAN.

### SOCIAL ILLS OF MODERN LIFE.

**TRAGEDIES OF MODERNISM.** By NAGENDRA NATH CHAUDHURY. (A. K. Chaudhury & Co., Calcutta.) 1934. 22cm. 288p. Rs. 3.

IN this book the author describes the social ills which appear to be the invariable concomitants of modern civilized life; he does not tell us whether there is any causal connection between the two phenomena. Taking U. S. as typical, he describes the horrifying conditions with regard to marriage, morals and the democratic political existence. If all that he says is true—and the book is well-documented throughout—civilization would appear to be a curse rather than a blessing. Let us hope however that the evils would be eliminated and the good elements in civilization would endure.



The drama opens with the description of the flaming youth including the detestable 'flapper,' one of the most shocking variety being the 'husband-hunter' who marries and divorces as often as a dozen times. The author quotes the criticisms of several reformers, directed against the morals of the flaming youth, from which it appears that even Americans are getting disgusted with the fruits of modernism. The institution of family is disappearing and the author regards it as of the saddest tragedies of modern life. According to Miss Adams, "thousands of boys and girls become mentally and morally unfit for the responsibilities of married life" on account of the reigning industrialism and commercialism which provide saloons and dance-halls for stimulating the passions of the young.

In another chapter the author proves that American democracy is a hollow sham on account of the corruption and bribery and consequent despotism, all on a vast scale. As Mr. Chaudhary says, "no system of instruction which does not make provision for its moral and spiritual elevation can be said to serve the purpose" of preparing people for the ideals of democracy. The poor are punished while the rich man "robbing a ware-house full of grain or looting a bank" escapes scot-free! No wonder that people are turning communists.

Nearly fifty-three pages are devoted to the Chapter on "the Rising Tide of Crimes". What a catalogue of daring crimes is revealed therein—robberies, hold-ups, kidnappings, and what not! The American Bar Association regards the crime conditions in this civilized country "as the worst in any civilized country". The following warning by the Police Department is eloquent:—"A lavish display of jewellery at the theatre is an invitation to the hold-up men... Carry just enough money for your immediate needs." We should think British India is a far safer place. A certain official of a primary school in Indiana destroyed the school building with all children by dynamite and the police could not think of any reason. Many surgeons are doing a lucrative business by practising abortion, of course secretly. The cost to the U. S. Government of the investigation of crime is £2,586 millions annually! Truly this is the 'cost' of civilization. The Volstead Act prohibiting drink has led to such a violation of law that many Americans think that it should be abrogated.

The Chapter headed "Is Jesus Christ Reigning?" is very eloquent. The burden of the author's song is that Christian societies are not heeding Christ and are violating the principle of brotherhood in their "dealings with the non-white world". The Protestant Church in America is declining owing to division in its ranks and the rising tide of atheism.

At the end the author draws his conclusions. In his opinion, companionate marriage and eugenic motherhood are ruining family life. In spite of more food and more things, "we are poorer, hungrier, more helpless and more confused than ever before," so says Mr. Hutchins, President of the University of Chicago. Another moral is that "Mammon, the God of wealth, has been worshipped... and at his altar human ideals and virtues have been sacrificed". Industrialism ought to be checked as well as reformed. Western countries which have got a myriad of the evils of modernism are living in glass houses and should not throw stones at India. With all this Mr. Chaudhary admits the immense progress made by U. S. A. in all directions. For instance, the total amount of life insurance in force amounted in 1922 to 50 billion dollars. The donations of U. S. are well-known and the League of Nations received from it two million dollars for a Library. Rockefeller donated about 700 million dollars for philanthropic purposes. So it is clear that the author does not write the book in the

spirit of Miss Mayo and Miss Kendall (author of "India and the British: A quest for Truth"). As everything is not right in the West, the author advises us to study the Western progress critically. He warns us against importing foreign vices and fads like short skirts and lip-sticks. It is good that the author has examined the ledger of Uncle Sam and exhibited the debits. Occasionally Uncle Sam becomes nasty and it is necessary to pull him up. The author ends by a peroration preaching the high development of the spiritual as well as the material sides of our national life.

V. N. GODBOLE.

## ROMANTIC REALITY.

THE ROMANCE OF REALITY. BY JANET CHANCE. (Allen & Unwin.) 1934. 20cm. 138p. 5/-.

THIS book is a plea for a realistic and scientific attitude and outlook on the problems of human life. The history of human progress and civilization has been a long tale of repeated acts or repudiation by humanity of their magical beliefs, cherished illusions and superstitions, in favour of proved scientific matters of fact. And true happiness in life can only be reached by accepting the world as it is, i. e. as it is disclosed to us by patient work of science and adjusting oneself to it, and not by indulging in a world of fantasies and delusions about the nature thereof. And the world when understood as it is and made the best of affords after all great opportunities and prospects for the enjoyment of life. Reality then is found to be unexpectedly right; and this, according to Mrs. Chance, is "the romance of reality." Romance does not fall from the clouds: it is the natural flower and flavour of a realistic life, a life based on a plain admission and envisagement of facts and our scientific findings about them. Romance is forward life, a life not of conjuring sentimentality, but of sturdy commonsense.

This philosophy of life in the abstract ought to be acceptable to all who want to reach truth in life and thought and are not prepared to remain satisfied with mere hollow imagery. Mrs. Chance develops it in the course of the earlier chapters of her book, especially the second; and the reader glides smoothly along her general statement of it. But after having stated the theory, she proceeds to demonstrate the truth of it by seeking to apply it to some of the concrete problems of life, viz. physical and mental health, personal relationships, work and recreation, emotional and sexual well-being and social responsibility. And it is here, that is, in the actual handling of some of these problems in the light of the general principles and in the deduction of the consequences thereof, that every reader may not see eye to eye with Mrs. Chance. I would in this connection especially refer to the sixth chapter ("Beauty is an Experience") where the author considers the problems of sexual life; and I want to cite here in particular an extreme case of Mrs. Chance's applications of the realistic outlook to the institution of marriage. Says the author:

It seems obvious to many that our present marriage customs and laws leave a great deal to be improved. Some recognition of sexual freedom seems to have great advantages over the Siamese-twin conception of marriage favoured by Church and State. With all these reservations however and in spite of present handicaps, marriage proves itself every day to large numbers of people a very desirable state. *And such marriage holds so much more than the sexual attraction and the emotional tie or the mental comradeship that it can afford to be generous to these things when they are found by either partner outside marriage.*

age. To say in any other sphere of life, "You have found a delightful thing but I deny it to you", is considered un-Christian unless some prior good is at stake. And that is what marital jealousy says. (Italics ours.)

I now leave it to the reader to judge for himself whether such an interpretation really follows from the realistic philosophy of life to which, as I have said, one can accord one's general approval. For myself I do not subscribe to Mrs. Chance's view on marriage, even when I have signified my general support to his realism. If our modern psychopathology can be invoked to bring to the fore facts of repression and the evil consequences thereof as an argument for the loosening of the marriage tie, it must be remembered that it is equally possible to invoke anthropology and sociology to enlighten us on the facts of social evolution in the course of which the concepts of the marriage bond and chastity have been forged as the most suitable instruments of social peace and stability. It is a real pity that some of our modern writers on social problems are very much in a hurry to apply all too readily the isolated findings of a single science. Ours should be a scientific realism on all fronts. Human life no doubt ought to be governed in the light of the best that we possess by way of scientific knowledge; but one must be assured that it is the best. And the best is not to be confounded with the latest or the most novel. Theories the most ingenious and once considered to be the most unassailable, we must remember, have now been relegated to the limbo of discarded fads. Indeed Mrs. Stapledyn, who has written a Foreword to Mrs. Chance's book under review, very acutely observes: "It is possible that Mrs. Chance trusts contemporary science more than I do."

I would therefore formulate my judgement about the book thus: Mrs. Chance's plea for a scientific and realistic basis for life is a sound one; but her concrete applications at places betray a lack of synoptic vision and a haste that I am afraid borders on superficiality.

The book however is highly suggestive and certainly provokes thought. Mrs. Chance's exposition is remarkably clear, concise, crisp. I would therefore very heartily recommend a careful perusal of this book to all readers who are interested in the eternal problem of the conduct of our lives.

D. D. VADEKAR.

## THE BIHAR EARTHQUAKE

**THE INDIAN EARTHQUAKE.** By C. F. ANDREWS. (Allen & Unwin.) 1935. 20cm. 130p. 2/6.

THIS book is avowedly meant for the readers outside India, on the Continent and America, where in some places Mr. Andrews found the Bihar earthquake passed unnoticed. The book is an appeal to the West to forget all racial and political considerations and to extend moral and material sympathies in the name of humanitarian feelings to devastated Bihar.

The book unlike the official report is full of personal touches and the heart-rending accounts it contains enhance the interest of the reader. The story of the small child, for example, a derelict from a village in the earthquake area, wandering a distance of 200 miles all alone to Allahabad and knocking at the gates of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru for food and clothing, will touch the heart of every reader and reveal to him the tragedy of Bihar.

Mr. Andrews points out that the damage done to Bihar was as large as that done by the earthquake of 1923 in Tokyo and Yokohama. Apart from the material dislocation it involved, it resulted in the complete destruction of the social fabric of the province. The author points out that the consequent

town and rural planning and other reconstruction plans should turn the curse into a blessing by remodelling the social life of Bihar on sound lines.

The book makes valuable suggestions to Government. It is pointed out that big projects require big minds to execute them. Government, therefore, should seek enlightenment from Japan in this respect. It is suggested that permission should be secured from the Japanese Government to allow Indian representatives to study the methods employed in the reconstruction of the areas that suffered from the 1923 earthquake.

The value of scientific research is stressed and it is pointed out that there appears to be a close relation between geological and meteorological research in the causes of earthquakes. The book also contains an interesting account of a controversy between Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindra Nath Tagore on the moral issues involved in the earthquake.

This splendid work closes with an appeal to the West to seize the opportunity to help India in her distress on the same lines as in the case of Japan and thus build up permanent and cordial relations between the East and West.

The book has a nice get-up and is faultless in all ways except for an error of printing in the footnote on p. 58. The year of Jawaharlal's arrest is 1934 and not 1933.

N. M. J.

## CIVIC TRAINING.

**TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP.** By ERNEST SIMON & EVA M. HUBBACK. (Oxford University Press.) 1935. 18cm, 48p. 1/-.

THIS is a pamphlet containing two essays on the subject, one by Mr. E. D. Simon and the other by Mr. E. M. Hubback, the Chairman and Honorary Secretary respectively of the Association for Citizenship, London.

In his essay on "The Case for Training in Citizenship in a Democratic State" Mr. Simon reviews the progress made in education in Western countries and comes to the conclusion that the education given so far has been defective in many respects, that it has created unemployment and has not made the world secure from war. This, in his opinion, is due to the inadequate character of the education given to our boys and girls, which does not fit them properly to play their roles as good citizens. A good citizen, according to the author, "must possess a sense of social responsibility and the will to sink his own immediate interests and the interests of his class in the common good." More than education along set lines, it is the high standard of traditions of public life set up in the country that will produce good citizens.

In the second essay on "Methods of Training for Citizenship", Mr. Hubback unfolds a very interesting scheme of studies. He postulates one essential condition for the success of any scheme of education which may be applied with equal force to other departments of human activity. According to him, if any scheme of studies is to yield its full results, it must to a very large extent depend upon the teacher of the right type who cares intensely every moment of his waking hours for the welfare of his country. He rightly emphasises the part, the important part, such subjects as Geography, History, Economics, Politics, Science, Current History, and Social Studies play in the training of a citizen. Thus any scheme of education intended for good citizens in any country should have for its goal the imparting of a knowledge of the princi-

ples of life, through health, character, intelligence, friendship, literature and the fine arts, and the understanding of the main springs of human activity through history, science, economics and politics. This essay points to the above ideal in a general way.

At the same time, it must be said that both the authors are not mere doctrinaire educationists. They are conscious of the many difficulties that beset the path of educationists. They offer valuable suggestions on problems that may arise in giving effect to a scheme like the one adumbrated in the book under review.

It is no exaggeration to say that the book will be found eminently useful by educationists and students of public affairs. But the suggestions made in this book require a more elaborate treatment for a fuller comprehension of the scheme.

S. R. VENKATARAMAN.

## SINGAPORE.

**THE LIGHTS OF SINGAPORE.** By ROLAND BRADDELL (Methuen.) 1934. 20cm. 204p. 7/6.

WITH Mr. Braddell singing praises of Singapore, with a heart full of appreciation of the good that many races have done to it, the charms of the city become all the more irresistible. Other and more modern cities there are in the Empire but unlike Singapore they contain more alloy of racial animosities than the gold of fellowship of citizens of all races. To most sentimental lovers of places, Singapore holds no appeal because "it has no history like India or China," but the spice trade that has passed through it throws a romantic halo round it. On the whole the city deserves better than being ignorantly described as a tropical hell not worth being born in for a white man. Whatever else its inhabitants do, they certainly do not as Fleet Street gossip has it, pull up tigers in their nets." As Mr. Braddell says, its "terrible climate is in reality quite a reasonable one." Among other things it is said of Singapore that it possesses no culture of its own, but with Mr. Braddell "I am inclined to believe that wherever you find a cultured man or woman you have culture."

Like Bombay, Singapore gives the impression of having partly risen out of the sea and it does not appear as if Sir Cecil Clementi, its Governor, has at all become unpopular for accomplishing this costly beautification of the city. Unlike Lord Lloyd, Sir Cecil Clementi made amends by enabling Singapore to withstand "the economic storms of the past four years; we have large surpluses, little public debt, low taxation, and a more than balanced budget. How many places in the world can say that?"

Being the gatekeeper of world trade, there is accommodation in Singapore for representatives of all races. Great-hearted in this respect, "from a social point of view, our greatest weakness lies in the marked disproportion of the males over females amongst many races, particularly the white ones and the Chinese." As though not he but an outside agency is at work to make a sexual sinner of the white man, Braddell remarks: "The young white man in Singapore runs a most ghastly danger which it is utterly unfair to put in his way. There is no easy companionship between the sexes and when he does meet white women, it is rarely under conditions that are entirely normal." Being far less capable of self-restraint and not the saint that he is made out to be, he feels that he has been unjustly dealt with in that "since 1930 a rigid

campaign of suppression has been forced upon us so that white prostitutes have been driven away entirely and brothels of all kinds have been closed down. But unfortunately you cannot close down human nature. The result has been sly prostitution and widespread venereal disease, ruined careers, and broken health, a terrible price to pay for moral enthusiasms."

Of the many redeeming features of Singapore, there is one that does it immense credit and that is that the city gives ungrudging hospitality to the Gods of many people. Not only are the Christian, Muslim, Hindu, and Buddhist Gods seen to live in friendly neighbourhood but what is more praiseworthy, the Hindu Gods are known to be better-behaved than in India. Whereas the Hindu Gods in India live in unapproachable quarantines, "the Hindu temple of Singapore is open to visitors at any time during the day and they will be shown courteously all that is to be seen. A great reception is held at the temple to which all are welcome whatever their race or creed."

On the Malay Peninsula a different political system prevails. Alongside of the British Colony of Straits Settlements which was once a dependency of the Government of India, there are the loosely federated Malay states which are jealously protected by the British in a way "the hand of the Malayan Civil service lies strong upon the land." Possessing a finer political outlook than that of the Europeans of India, Mr. Braddell is glad "that the bureaucratic domination is to be curbed, which seems to have upset some of the English Press Barons very much."

Unlike the European of India who is never tried of calling the Indian ugly names, Mr. Braddell thinks very well of the Malaya.

They are the most loveable, kindly people one could know, and far more efficient than they ever get credit for. If you tell a man in season and out that he is lazy and will not work, he will lose all ambition; and if you let his country be overrun by all manner of exploiters he will deteriorate more and more... and a truly British Muddle ensues.

Though regarded as uncivilised to-day and called a sex monster in the bargain, it fills us with pride to hear from Mr. Braddell that we played a dignified part as colonisers of Malaya and "that the Malaya Archipelago was studded with prosperous Indian colonies while large Indian ships plied regularly between India and China. The more one studies the subject, the more one realises the immense debt Malaya owes to India for language, religion, custom, literature and general culture."

It is a most illuminating cultural treat to see Singapore and its surroundings with the eyes of Mr. Braddell who is a more reverent lover of the Empire than those who create bitterness of feeling. With the addition of a chapter containing a description of the fearful dimensions of the Naval base, the author will make his book infinitely more interesting.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

## SHORT NOTICES.

**THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIA.**  
By S. K. LAHRI and B. N. BANERJEE. (The Politics Club, Calcutta.) 21 cm. 1936. 398 p.  
Rs. 4-4-0.

NOW that the new Indian constitution is put on the statute book it is natural that the teachers should bestir themselves to prepare constitutional texts for the

use of their students, and also 'for the general reader'. The actual text of the Act and the exceptionally large number of reports and memoranda that have accompanied its framing supply very large material for the authors. Messrs. Lahiri and Banerjee have used the available material with great care and have produced a handy and readable book. The book is calculated to serve the purpose of a general introduction to the new Government of India Act.

The first chapter supplies a brief yet expressive introduction which presents the salient historical stages of constitutional evolution in their proper perspective. The new Indian constitution is so full of 'constitutional anomalies' that any attempt at a reasonable reconciliation of any of them is bound to fail. It is best to recognise that as yet the stage has not arrived in Indian political evolution where a definite political consensus among a large portion of the citizen body moulds the nation's constitution on the basis of some generally accepted scheme. The new Indian constitution is expediency, compromise and mistrust, combined into one. In such a case any but a predominantly analytical book is bound to be difficult to write. Even if one were written its appeal is likely to be limited.

Under these special circumstances it is highly creditable to the authors that they have produced a book which combines history, analysis, exposition and criticism in right proportion. The book will be used with advantage both by students and teachers of the Indian constitution.

D. G. KARVE.

**RATES OF FOOD CONSUMPTION BY 71 FAMILIES OF TENANT CULTIVATORS IN THE KHANEWAL TAHSIL, MULTAN DISTRICT.** By SARDARI LAL. (The Board of Economic Enquiry, Punjab.) 1935. 25cm. 193 p. Re. 1-8-0.

THIS is a survey of the food consumption of 71 families of tenant-farmers of the Britain Cotton Growing Association's farm. Consumption of wheat, meat, milk and gram is studied in detail. The figures arrived at by the investigator generally tally with those given by the Association. A few families of Christians and the Musalies are very poor and their food consumption consequently is very low. The food grains grown and got by the tenants as their share generally sufficed for their consumption. This is a happy feature. It is told that the consumption details collected are given in the appendices. This provides very valuable material for many economic and dietic studies.

N. S. S.

**BOOKS RECEIVED.**

- PRISON REFORM IN INDIA. By P. K. TARAFORE. (Oxford University Press.) 1936. 20cm. 182p. Rs. 5.  
 BARODA. A STUDY CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL. By INDRA DATTA. (Saraswati Press, Lucknow.) 1936. 20cm. 266p. Rs. 4.  
 SCHOOL EDUCATION IN HYGIENE AND SEX. By G. O. BARBER. (Heffer, Cambridge.) 1936. 20cm. 71p. 2/6.  
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- BLACK SHIRT BLACK SKIN. By BOAKE CARTER. (Allen & Unwin.) 1935. 20cm. 178p. 3/6.  
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 PEACE IN THE BALKANS. By NORMAN J. PADELFORD. (Oxford University Press.) 1935. 21cm. 209p. 8/6.  
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