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CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK,	229
ARTICLES :—	
The Mahatma Faces About.	252
Dismissal.	234
State Control of Coal Mining.	236
Education in India.	237
Anti-Indian Feeling in Ceylon. By R. Suryanarayana Rao.	238
REVIEW :—	
Japanese Trade And Industry. By Prof. S. V. Ayyar, M. A.	239
BOOKS RECEIVED	240

Topics of the Week.

Mahatma as a Latitudinarian.

MAHATMA GANDHI who, at the Hudli Conference of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, declared that non-co-operation was a matter of pure strategy and not a question of principle brushed aside with a wave of the hand the moral aspect of the oath of allegiance required of the members who would take their seats in the legislatures. The Sangh people had conscientious objection to taking the oath, even if they could contest the elections, for they thought that the taking of the oath would militate against their adherence to national independence, the achievement of which was not only the ultimate goal but the immediate objective of the Congress. They knew of course that General Hertzog and Mr. de Valera had suppressed any such scruples, but after all these are mere politicians with whom temporising is the normal course of action. The Gandhi Seva Sangh must take a nobler stand. It placed principle before expediency and subordinated considerations of political advantage to moral considerations.

BUT Mahatma Gandhi sternly rebuked this hyper-sensitiveness of the Sangh. It is true, he said, that Congressmen, being wedded to independence, owe no allegiance to the British Crown, and obviously it would be wrong of them to take the oath voluntarily. But if they are compelled to take the oath by being shut out of the legislatures unless they took it—well, they might take it without doing violence to their conscience. The Government knows well enough that the Congress is fighting for complete national independence, and if with this knowledge the Government asks Congressmen to take the oath as a condition precedent to taking their places in the legislatures there is no moral objection to their taking the oath as a matter of formality. The oath has no

religious character about it; it is of a political nature and cannot have such binding force as an oath voluntarily taken has. Congressmen need not therefore shy away from it.

THIS is no doubt how an ordinary politician would argue, but most Gandhi Seva Sangh men anticipated, we believe, that the Mahatma would make a serious difficulty about the oath, just because he is no ordinary politician but applies a strict moral code to every question he considers. The advice that he actually gave must have caused no small surprise, and a disagreeable surprise at that, to his audience. On the Congress the laxity allowed in the interpretation of moral obligations cannot, but have an unfortunate reaction. For instance, the Congress limits entry into that organisation only to those who believe in non-violence in thought, word and deed as an eternal principle insusceptible to variation in any circumstances. This ought really to keep out communists who believe in violent revolutions from admission into the Congress, but in fact it has not done so. Nor do communists see why they should not subscribe to the Congress creed of non-violence as a mere formality and then engage in activities which are not strictly consistent with it.

WE suppose they argue on this question just as Mahatma Gandhi argues on the oath question. Perhaps they say: "The Congress cannot but know what our aims and methods are. We have made no secret of it. If, in spite of this, the Congress imposes on us a creed of non-violence as a pre-requisite of taking part in Congress activities, we shall submit for the moment. We shall subscribe to the creed and then go on our way, quite openly and unashamedly, as if we were under no sort of moral obligation to keep to non-violence." Mahatma Gandhi knows that, with the attitude which he himself would like Congressmen to take on the question of allegiance to the British Crown, he has no moral justification for taking a more strict view of communists subscribing to the Congress creed of non-violence. If Mahatma Gandhi, who was supposed to interpret moral obligations in the most quixotically literal manner, in fact shows himself to be such a latitudinarian to his immediate followers, he must needs take a very lenient view of communists making light of the Congress creed.

IN fact, if the Governors were so minded they could have given the assurance of non-interference which was asked of them by the Congress leaders at Mahatma Gandhi's instance without any intention to live up to it in future even as the Mahatma advises his followers to take the oath of allegiance without any intention to be true to the obligation which they accept by taking the oath. The Governors might well have said to themselves: "The Congress surely knows that under the Government of India Act a Governor is

required to act independently of the Ministers in certain circumstances. If, knowing this full well, the Congress asks for an assurance of complete non-interference in all circumstances, the Governor may as well give the assurance since it is made an antecedent condition to office acceptance, and when occasion arises for him to interfere in discharge of his special responsibilities, he may well do so without minding the obligation which the assurance may be supposed to have placed on him." It was well that the Governors did not take such a light-hearted view of the matter and did not give an assurance with mental reserves like those with which the Gandhi Seva Sangh men were urged to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown.

Congress and Muslims.

THE Congress Party in Maharashtra showed itself in a very unpleasant light in the Sonya Maruti dispute in Poona. As the satyagraha movement against the District Magistrate's prohibitory order started, the President of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, Mr. Shankarrao Deva, issued a statement making clear the Congress attitude to it. In it he showed, first of all, that he had doubts that the Hindu community, to vindicate whose rights the movement was inaugurated, had right entirely on its side—a point on which no impartial observer can have any doubt. Further, he stated that even if it were proved that Hindus were an aggrieved party, the Congress could not take part in the struggle, for such participation would seriously compromise the national character of the Congress. The main objective of the Congress was achievement of independence for the country; it would therefore be wrong of the Congress to fritter its energies in small sectarian movements like the present. Moreover, between two communities, the role of the Congress could be only that of a mediator. If mediation failed, it could not allow itself to intervene actively on the side of the Hindus, even if their cause was wholly just. We think it would be difficult to come across a more striking illustration of a man condemned out of his mouth. In order to keep up the myth of nationality, the Congress must as a settled principle turn its back upon Hindus, however just their cause may be! Nationalism of this sort is the worst form of communalism that one can think of.

Mr. K. N. Joglekar's Case.

MR. K. N. JOGLEKAR, like Mr. Indulal Yajnik, believed that with the introduction of provincial autonomy the removal of harassing restrictions on his liberty which have been in force for nearly eighteen months would be an easy matter. One of these places him on a par with the members of a criminal tribe and compels him to report himself once a week at the police station, while another forbids him to leave Bombay City, where he resides, without the permission of the police. That his attendance at, not to mention his participation in, public meetings or public movements of any kind or any public writing by him is strictly prohibited hardly needs saying. These restrictions, though grossly derogatory to any man's sense of self-respect, were scrupulously observed by Mr. Joglekar all these months probably in the expectation that such exemplary conduct at any rate would move the authorities to do away with them at the earliest opportunity. But this belief has been proved unfounded by the heartless action of the Bombay Government in rejecting his prayer for their removal.

THE imposition of these conditions disables Mr. Joglekar not only from carrying on his public work,

but places him at a considerable disadvantage in the matter of earning his livelihood. He once intended to go out of Bombay to see his relatives and to see, if possible, whether he could earn something by canvassing some insurance business. But the Government, which makes absolutely no provision for his maintenance, turned down even this request of his. This happened when the maintenance of law and order was the concern, not of an avowedly responsible ministry as at present, but of the irresponsible half of the Bombay Government and therefore it need not cause surprise. But even the present reformed and responsible government of the province does not promise to behave better. Should they not set right, whenever an opportunity occurs, the injustices of the previous regime? The public has a right to expect a repeal of repressive laws which disfigure the statute book, but such repeal requires the sanction of the legislature which the Governor is not too anxious to convene in the present state of political temper. If the Ministry cannot repeal the laws, why can they not, by a self-denying ordinance as it were, avoid resort to such repressive laws? Why should they not follow the rule that no person shall be deprived of his liberty except by the usual legal process? If the removal of restrictions on Mr. Savarkar has not set the Thames on fire, we fail to see how their continuance in the case of a labour worker like Mr. Joglekar can be justified, specially because the Ministry includes a Labour leader like Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. We do hope he will yet intervene and restore Mr. Joglekar to unrestricted freedom.

Mysore's Ban on Dr. Hardikar.

THE authorities of the State of Mysore are apparently more royal than the King himself. Dr. Hardikar, a well-known Congress worker, was recently touring the State for Congress propaganda and organisation of Congress committees. But this was more than the State authorities could bear. They read into his activities a serious challenge to the Maharaja's rule, or may be to that of King George VI, and hastily put section 144, Cr. P. C., in motion against him. Dr. Hardikar was by these means prevented from conveying the Congress message to the people of the State. This, however, did not prevent the message from reaching the masses, who heard it through the mouth of a lady Congress worker who accompanied him.

ONE cannot help feeling that the authorities were most unwise in banning Dr. Hardikar's speeches. This action strikes one as all the more ludicrous when the reasons for the ban as given by the magistrate are taken into account. One of these, curiously enough, is the possibility of Dr. Hardikar condemning interim Ministries. Do not the State authorities know that such condemnation is freely indulged in in adjoining British Indian territory with impunity and without any untoward consequences? Unless the subjects of His Highness of Mysore are to be supposed to be exceptionally excitable, there was no reason to fear that the utterances of Dr. Hardikar would have inflamed their feelings to the extent of the peace of the State being put in jeopardy by them. The obvious fact that Congress propaganda is not tabooed in British India, if nothing else, should have shown this overzealous magistrate the utter unwisdom and needlessness of his action.

Forced Confessions.

In a recent judgment the Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court severely condemned the methods adopted by the police in extorting confessions from suspected offenders. It is notorious that these

methods are as far removed from moral suasion as is black from white. With a view to make the suspects confess to a crime for which they are not responsible, they are subjected to all kinds of humiliations and physical torture, and even starvation and enforced abstinence from sleep are sometimes pressed into service. Oftentimes the persecution does not stop with the suspect, it extends indiscriminately to his near and dear ones. In course of time a stage is reached when the victim gives the desired confession merely to secure his release from police persecution and torture.

It is easy to conceive that such forced confessions at times result in miscarriage of justice, the wrong man being hanged for an offence to which he confessed under pressure while the real culprit escapes scot free. The Chief Justice drew pointed attention of the local Government to the scandal with a view to steps being thought of so as to avoid its recurrence in future as far as possible. It is needless to add that the Chief Justice's warning is applicable as much to the Punjab as to other provinces where too, it may be hoped, it will be heeded. The *Pioneer*, commenting on the case throws out the suggestion that the recording of confessions in such cases should not be left to petty officials, "who, either from malice or to make an end of a case quickly with resulting credit to themselves, pick upon a victim and extort a confession from him." It favours the employment of a special staff to investigate all major crimes even at the cost of some additional expenditure, it being made clear to all concerned that any case of extortion of confession would be sternly and severely dealt with. Would it be too much to hope that the suggestion would be sympathetically considered, specially in view of its source?

Shia-Sunni Clash in Lucknow.

WE are accustomed to hear of clashes between Hindus and Muslims or between Sikhs and Muslims, but hardly ever of a clash between Mahomedans and Mahomedans. But the rare, though unhappy, occurrence took place last week at Lucknow and gave much anxious time to the guardians of law and order. The conflict had its origin in a trivial cause. An important Shia festival seems to have fallen last week in the course of which certain prayers are privately offered. A concourse of Shia Muslims who had assembled in a private residence for the purpose was somehow believed by Muslims belonging to the Sunni sect to be engaged in loudly reciting certain passages from religious texts offensive to the Sunnis. A menacing Sunni crowd soon collected near the place and a serious disturbance of the peace would have resulted but for the timely intervention of the police. Though the clash was thus averted for the time being, the public excitement did not immediately subside and manifested itself in the very unpleasant form of stray assaults. Though assemblages of more than five persons were forbidden under section 144, Cr. P. O., and in spite of the fact that the curfew order was strictly enforced, the toll of human life claimed by these communal clashes was 10 killed and more than 200 injured. Some idea of the distrust prevailing between the two sections of Muslims may be formed by the fact that members of one community staying in areas predominantly inhabited by the other felt it prudent to betake themselves to safer places. It is a matter for relief that the situation has since greatly improved and promises soon to return to the normal.

Another Hunger-Strike?

MR. JOGESH CHATTERJI, a Kakori conspiracy case prisoner, who went on a prolonged hunger-strike some months ago, in order to focus public attention on the grievances of political prisoners, is reported to be contemplating a similar step in the near future. Last time he was persuaded to suspend the fast by well-known public leaders who assured him that they would see to it that the grievances complained against by him would be removed. The stipulated period will shortly come to an end without however anything being done to remove these grievances and Mr. Chatterji feels he has no alternative but to renew the suspended fast. The classification of political prisoners which he wanted to be done away with is still there, nor is the association of political prisoners for which he pressed yet permitted. They are not even allowed books and newspapers, as is repeatedly asked for, at public expense. If they spend for books and periodicals out of their own pockets, they have to wait long for them, because the officials concerned have not got the requisite time to assure themselves that the publications do not contain any objectionable matter which, in their view, should not be read by the prisoners. For this and this reason alone, a monthly magazine was kept back from its rightful owner for not less than two months! Such treatment would exasperate even the most cool-minded among men and it is no wonder that in the helpless condition in which prisoners find themselves a prolonged abstinence from food is seriously thought of as an extreme remedy. Now that a non-official Ministry is in the saddle in U. P. we hope it will do all in its power to remove all reasonable cause for such a hunger-strike.

Ban on Summer School of Economics.

A SUMMER School of Economics and Politics which was organised by the Andhra Congress Socialist Party and the Andhra Youth League was to go on with its work of instruction for forty days from the 1st inst., but action was taken against it on the 18th inst. under what is known as the Samiti Act of 1908, and it was declared unlawful by Government. Having banned the school, the Madras Government had to see to it that the ban became effective by forcibly dispersing the school if necessary. The school did not like to disband itself voluntarily with the consequence that Government had to intervene. In trying to disperse the school, it is loudly complained that unnecessary force was used and needlessly harsh treatment meted out to its inmates. We are sure the interim ministry will speedily arrange for an independent inquiry into these undoubtedly deplorable happenings with a view to fix the responsibility for the alleged excessive use of force.

BUT we refer to the matter in order to record our strong protest against the ban itself. Its issue was occasioned, so the official communique asserts, by the Government's belief that the school aimed at interfering with the maintenance of law and order and that it was a danger to public peace. There is, of course, no legal obligation on the Government to justify this belief and no justification is in fact given in the official communique. But the interim ministry would have done well in being a little more communicative. In the absence of any authoritative enlightenment it is to be assumed that the basis for the belief can only be police reports which as a rule are notoriously unreliable. In the present case their unreliability is self-evident, having regard to the fact that admission to the school was tabooed as much in the case of the public press as in that of the police. How could the police then have trustworthy information about the doings in the

school, specially because highly technical instruction, which is beyond the powers of understanding of an ordinary police informant, was being imparted in the school? To rely on unverified police reports in such circumstances is to rely on very weak foundations. The interim ministry should certainly have known this.

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As already stated, the school was the result of the labours of the Andhra Congress Socialist Party and the Andhra Youth League. It had already gone on for more than a fortnight without any visible danger to public peace. And it was not as if it was organised overnight so as to deprive the Government of an opportunity to know anything either about its purpose or its work. It had been advertised many days in advance and the Government, if they were so minded, could have obtained full information about the scope of its activities from the organisers. This is a more desirable procedure any day and might have been followed with benefit to all concerned by the ministry in this case.

Panchayats in C. P.

THE annual reports on the working of village panchayats in C. P. used until quite recently to deplore the tendency on the part of these bodies to attach comparatively greater importance to their judicial functions than to their administrative ones. The latest report, viz. that for 1935-36, not only does not contain such a lament but reports definite progress. It is true that the number of panchayats which stood at 930 showed a small rise of only 24, but the number of panchayats doing municipal duties rose from 397 to 570, which works out to 61 per cent. as against 43 for the previous year. It is to be hoped that the proportion will continue to rise till at last no panchayat is left which would be engaged exclusively in judicial duties. It is time they realised that

the performance of both judicial and municipal duties is necessary for the progress of the community and that to attend to one and to neglect the other acts as a handicap on the cause of all-round progress.

* * *

THE report refers to the "fat" balance accumulated by some panchayats and reproachfully mentions the feeling among them that the criterion of good administration is their bank balance. The criticism has considerable force in it. It is no use panchayats making collections from the villagers unless they know to what use they are going to put the money. Nay, it is positively wrong on their part to add to the economic burdens on the village folk without having clear-cut schemes as to how the amounts are proposed to be utilised for public good. This is, of course, not to justify the general unwillingness of the panchayats to tax themselves, which is common everywhere. Their unreadiness on this score is no less to be deprecated than their readiness to make needless impositions upon the villagers.

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IT is a matter for gratification that some of these rural bodies acquitted themselves very creditably in times of epidemics. It is reported that at least in one district they were able largely to keep away the cholera epidemic and wherever it appeared, it was nipped in the bud through the exertions of the local panchayats. This seems to us to open out endless possibilities of these bodies as agencies for the distribution of medical relief among the rural population. It is to be hoped that adequate use would be made of them for this purpose. When, e. g., the question of fighting malaria by making India self-sufficient in the matter of her quinine requirements by the indigenous manufacture of quinine in adequate quantities comes shortly to be considered by the Central Public Health Board, the utility of these bodies from this point of view should not be lost sight of.

THE MAHATMA FACES ABOUT.

ALL the inhibitions and tabus which were imposed by Mahatma Gandhi on his followers are now lifted by him, and they have been lifted not only from those who followed him not so much from conviction as from a desire to exploit his great generalship, but also from those who sincerely believe in Gandhian philosophy. The former have already given up all forms of non-co-operation—boycott of Government schools, boycott of law-courts, boycott of legislatures—though they still claim to be non-co-operators. The latter have, however, still adhered to the boycott of legislatures. When the legislative boycott was called off recently, Mahatma Gandhi paid a rather left-handed compliment to the move when he blessed it. He seemed to say: "The parliamentary mentality has come to stay. It is no use being too idealistic in this world. The people are straining at the leash to get into the legislatures. If we keep them out forcibly they will only vegetate, but they will not do the constructive work that is their proper job. Let us therefore indulge them a bit." But the virginian non-co-operators held true to the moral philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. They kept away from the Councils on principle and held that the Gandhi philosophy required them to stay away from these bodies. At the recent annual meeting of

the Gandhi Seva Sangh, however, the Mahatma himself disabused them of the notion, that so long as one is at war with the Government, of course in a non-violent way, one must necessarily hold oneself aloof from the legislatures. The other tabus had already dropped off even from these Gandhian non-co-operators; the Hudli meeting put an end to this remaining legislative tabu, and the whole programme of non-co-operation has thus been given a quietus even for those who have vowed to follow the Mahatma's path.

At the Hudli Conference these good men and true spoke with anguish in their souls at the erring ways of the average Congressman who does not understand Gandhian philosophy but places himself under the Gandhi flag of truth and non-violence only in order to capitalise a great name in the political struggle with British imperialism. At this Conference the question was raised whether those who had attached themselves to Mahatmaji not as an astute political agitator but as a moral philosopher of the highest eminence should not continue to give a wide berth to legislatures even when his professed political followers had gone back upon this policy. From the discussion that is reported, it appears that opinion was unanimous among the members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh

that for people like them who stood on a higher moral pedestal than the mere politicians in the Congress, the legislatures must remain tabu; and not merely the legislatures, but the voting at the elections too. They could not conscientiously offer themselves for election, nor could they take part in the election. They were wedded to truth and non-violence; truth and non-violence in the present political conditions of India entailed upon every person pursuit of non-co-operation with Government; non-co-operation took different forms, and while, from the point of view of effectiveness as a political weapon, now one form might be emphasised and now another, it was incumbent upon all to be true to the principle of non-co-operation. Non-co-operation was looked upon by ordinary Congressmen who could not penetrate beneath the surface of things as a political movement. In truth, however, it was a moral, an ethical movement, which rested for its validity not so much on what damage it could do to the Britishers but on what spiritual upliftment it would bring to those engaged in it and through them to their enemies. Non-co-operation was, politically, very effective, but Gandhiji had recommended it to the country as a moral duty, and would have recommended it even if it were politically as dangerous as it was in fact useful. Gandhiji's non-co-operation was Tolstoy's non-resistance, and non-resistance imposed upon its practitioners certain obligations which must be fulfilled, regardless of the consequences that followed therefrom. The Gandhi Seva Sangh was composed of men who had taken a vow to live dangerously: to them non-co-operation was not a fair-weather movement to be conducted in propitious circumstances; whether the circumstances were propitious or unpropitious, they could not deviate from the path of duty by a hair's-breadth.

What was Gandhiji's reasoning when he recommended non-co-operation to the country? To withdraw co-operation from a satanic Government was an inexorable moral obligation on all. Those who sent their children to Government schools; or sought justice from the Government law-courts or practised therein; or bought in or sold to the country of the rulers; or took seats in the legislatures set up by the Government participated in the sin of which the Government was guilty. The political aspect of this non-co-operation was a minor affair; it was the ethical aspect that had a pre-eminent place in the Mahatma's scheme of things. So far as the legislatures were concerned, it was not only those who supported Government policy who were to be dubbed co-operators and thus participators in Government's sin; those who went there with the object of restraining the Government in carrying out its policy or even with the object of opposing the Government in everything it did were equally guilty with the Government itself. The Moderates who abstained from non-co-operation in this rigid sense were to be condemned not merely as bad strategists, which of course they were, but as unprincipled opportunists. No one, according to Mahatma Gandhi, who placed moral principle before expediency, could do any of the things banned by the non-co-operation programme. Any relaxation

of the programme would depend not upon the people having greater or less power to carry out the programme but only upon the Government becoming less satanic. The Government, fifteen years after the programme was initiated, has not become less satanic. The Congress is therefore still committed to non-co-operation—in theory. That it has in effect given up non-co-operation is due to the fact that the average Congressman envisages the fight with Government more as a political struggle than as a struggle on the moral plane that in reality it is. To the Gandhi Seva Sangh it is only the moral considerations that appeal. "Let us keep the non-co-operation flag high, even if others have trampled it in the mud," the Sangh people said. "We must as true Gandhists abjure these Councils, now as before".

But the Mahatma came along at the end of all these speeches of great moral fervour and said: Why bring in any moral principle here at all? It is all a matter of strategy; morals have nothing to do with it. Rajaji has gone into the legislature; Bajajji has spent tons of money in the election—though for others. Am I to say to them they have gone wrong—not only politically but morally? Am I to recall Rajaji from the sphere of work he has chosen for himself? It is true that Rajaji also had some scruples; but I have set them at rest. No one need have any scruples in the matter. No member of the Gandhi Seva Sangh should think as if he was doing something unclean if he went on a legislative council. These Councils, it is true, are full of temptations, but where can people be found who could be relied upon to resist these temptations if not in the Gandhi Seva Sangh consisting of men of the most sensitive honour? It is thus the moral duty of the Gandhi Seva Sangh even more than of others to go into the legislatures if they are fitted for it. It was no doubt the moral duty of all true Indians to boycott the legislatures of the Montagu-Chelmsford regime. But that regime has gone. Only consider how much of our constructive programme we can carry into effect if we go into the new legislatures of the Hoare regime? Why should we deny ourselves the opportunities that these legislatures place at our service? Abolish untouchability, establish prohibition, instal taklis in every Government office—just imagine how many things you can do. Don't be squeamish. Take hold of the instrument which comes to your hand and use it to the full. It is true that some Gandhi Seva Sangh men can only spin; let them confine themselves to spinning. But those who can spin and also take a useful part in legislative work, let them go into the legislatures—not with a twitching of the moral conscience, but with a consciousness that they are doing the only right thing in the circumstances. They will be going into the legislatures to end the constitution and bring Swaraj. No doubts need afflict them. On the contrary, if they would withhold their legislative talents from the country when it is necessary that such talents should be used in national service, they would be failing in their moral duty.

We do not know how many of the Mahatma's auditors felt reassured by this exposition. At least

some of them must have thought it was all casuistry. The new legislatures are no doubt different from the old ones, but are they better? The Congress holds that they are worse. If it was sinful to go into the legislatures which, on the Congress's own showing, wielded more power, how is it sinless to go into those which wield less power? Let us assume, then, that Gandhiji, contrary to the Congress view of the matter, thinks that the new legislatures give more power. Does it become moral to use the legislative machinery when by its aid you can do considerable work, if it is immoral to use the same machinery when you can do not as much work but a little less? If the quantum of work is the test of the moral correctness of any action, can Gandhiji show that the possibilities of doing constructive work—introducing taklis, promoting inter-communal unity, reducing or abolishing drink—were so markedly less in the old legislatures that what would have been an infraction of moral duty then becomes a prescription of moral duty now? Then Mahatma Gandhi says: "But our object is to end the constitution." If one is not forbidden, but in certain circumstances required, to go into the legislatures provided one's object is only to end the constitution, how was it wrong of Pandit Motilal Nehru and his party to go into the legislatures, for their object was to carry out an undeviatingly wrecking policy? The Mahatma not only does not advocate this policy now, but he in terms renounces it. He accepts all the limitations of the constitution, promises to work scrupulously within these limitations, and advises people not to go out of their way to produce deadlocks. How would that be right then in Mahatma Gandhi which was wrong in Pandit Motilal? Mahatma Gandhi in fact cannot employ two mutually destructive arguments. If achievement of constructive work within the constitution is the object, destruction of the constitution cannot be the object at the same time, and whichever of these two alternatives he embraces, he cannot defend the new orientation of policy of the Gandhi Seva Sangh without owning that he was hopelessly wrong in condemning either the Moderates or the Swarajists. If it be permissible and legitimate for the Gandhi Seva Sangh now to attempt to do constructive work in the legislatures, he cannot consider the Moderates who made a similar attempt before as men with a double dose of original sin. If it be permissible and legitimate for the Gandhi Seva Sangh now to go into the legislatures for the purpose of destroying the legislatures, it could not have been anything else for Pandit Nehru's Swarajists to do so before with the one object of demonstrating and bringing about the utter failure of the legislatures.

We do not believe that everyone at the Hudli Conference had his doubts wholly dispelled. The head of the Sangh, Sjt. Keshavlal Mashruvala, felt constrained to offer his resignation of the Sangh, though he was later persuaded to retract it. We should be much surprised if his faith in the so-called Gandhi philosophy is not completely shattered. For our part we are glad that the earnest-minded people who laid bare their doubts on the score of ethics to Gandhiji

drew from him the blunt answer: "The question is purely one of strategy." For it would be easier to reason with Gandhiji when he is divested of the ethos of spirituality and comes to discuss political questions on the plane of mundane politics. But there is no knowing which questions he would regard as merely practical and which of deeply essential principle. Non-co-operation was invested by him when he started the movement with a profoundly moral and religious character. His followers still swore by this ethical aspect and were devoutly thankful that when the Swarajist revolt took place their spiritual father guided them past the wrong track. Just when they were preparing to carry the Light that they saw out into the world around them, their spiritual father leads them himself into what they were taught to regard so far as a wrong track. The question has now lost its moral aspect; it has become a matter of mere strategy. The demand for assurance is now made a question of vital principle. To our earth-bound mind it seemed a matter of pure expediency. Not so to Mahatma Gandhi; he theologises on this issue. It is to him not a political but a moral question; a question of right and wrong, of good and evil. No self-respecting man could accept office without an assurance of non-interference! Now the demand for non-interference too is dropped; and it becomes a demand for getting dismissed. Even so it is a question of great moral import to Mahatma Gandhi. But how these questions of deeply moral and religious significance suddenly become questions of pure strategy we do not pretend to know. It is only those who have the Gandhi spirit who can unravel this tangle.

DISMISSAL.

IF dismissal of Ministers is not substantially different from resignation by Ministers in cases of irresolvable disagreements between the Governor and the Ministry, why should not the Government come forward readily with a promise that the Governor will in such an eventuality take upon himself the responsibility to dismiss the Ministry? This is the question that Mahatma Gandhi asks, and concludes that the fact that no such promise is forthcoming gives support to his view that the Ministry will be in a stronger position if it is invariably dismissed by the Governor instead of being compelled to tender its resignation in any circumstances. The *Tribune*, which holds that there is a distinction without a difference between dismissal and resignation and that the Congress by insisting upon the former has only put itself in the wrong in its controversy with the Government, thinks that the Government cannot bind the Governor always to dismiss the Ministry in case of conflict with it. The Government has no right, our contemporary says, "to bind the Governor and his Ministers to one single method of parting company in all circumstances. Why, if the Ministers in a particular case prefer resignation to dismissal, should the Governor be precluded from accepting that alternative?"

Since dismissal of a Ministry by the Governor is the gravest form of interference with the administration that is imaginable, it is clear that Mahatma Gandhi, by concentrating now on the dismissal demand, has in fact abandoned his former demand for non-interference. The *Indian Express* fully admits that there is a great climb-down on the part of the Congress. "When the A.I.C.C. at Delhi passed the resolution on office acceptance," this paper says, "the first interpretation of the proviso was that the Governor should voluntarily give up the exercise of his special powers and thus modify the Act by consent and convention in the direction of complete provincial autonomy." This position was later modified and now it means nothing more than that the Governor should, when he wants to interfere, dismiss the Ministry instead of leaving it to resign. The *Bombay Sentinel* also thinks that the Congress has in effect given up its original demand for non-interference. It says:

What the Congress asked for in the beginning was an assurance from the Governors that, they would not use their special or reserved powers under the Act as long as Ministers were acting constitutionally.

That is a plain proposition which anyone can understand. But when they are asked to give an express undertaking that they will dismiss Ministers instead of the latter taking the usual course of resignation in case of conflict, whatever its cause may be, something new is demanded which was certainly not in the original demand and was not even mentioned in the first resolution of the Working Committee, which governs the whole situation.

In the resolution passed at Allahabad this reference to the requirement that Governors should dismiss Ministers in the event of conflict, was introduced as a side issue. . . .

We must repeat that this is altogether a new proposition and dislodges the original demand for an assurance of non-interference.

In constitutional practice, the usual course and the proper course is for Ministers to resign when anything arises to convince them that they can no longer usefully continue to exercise their functions.

If it is proposed to act constitutionally, there can be no justification for introducing the novel proposition that a Governor must bind himself by a solemn assurance to dismiss his Ministers.

The Congress must stand on its demand for the assurance that Governors will not resort to their special powers as long as Ministers are acting constitutionally.

That disposes of all other difficulties. It is a clear-out issue, and if the Governors will not give the assurance, there is no other way out of the deadlock.

It may be that Gandhiji and Mr. Kher are seeking another way. But they have no authority from the Congress or Working Committee to resort to this new device and a very clumsy device at that.

The *Indian Social Reformer* too is of the opinion that "Lord Zetland's last speech in the House of Lords was substantially the assurance that was demanded by Congress leaders." Lord Brabourne in his recent speech at Belgaum also gave the same assurance. "To our mind," says the *Reformer*, "these two speeches constitute a guarantee which would justify a prudent man in his own affairs to take risks greater than any that Ministers are likely to incur in accepting office with a majority in the provincial legislature. . . . The object on the score of the constitution being unworkable having been waived, it seems to us that, if the

Congress seriously intend to work on a programme, the ground is clear for it to do so." Then it adds: "We do not see why Lord Brabourne should not follow up his Belgaum pronouncement by inviting Mr. Kher to an interview with a view further to clarify the situation." The reason is obvious. Lord Brabourne knows, even if the *Reformer* does not, that Mr. Kher can only re-echo his master's voice, and the master's voice, so far as it is known, does not encourage the hope that office will be accepted. Mr. Kher in the last interview he had with Lord Brabourne very probably did not say a word about dismissal, and if he is given an interview now will not feel free to negotiate an accommodation. The accommodation can come only if Lord Zetland accepts the new demand for dismissal now put forward or Mahatma Gandhi waives the demand. Neither can Mr. Kher waive the demand in the name of the Congress nor can Lord Brabourne accept it in the name of Government. The men who can either waive or accept it have to say the word. In the interval the *Reformer* can only wait and watch.

Mr. M. N. Roy in his *Independent India* writes about resignation and dismissal:

To us it is a difference without a distinction. In case of a conflict we feel it will be more honourable to resign than to be dismissed. It is more in keeping with Parliamentary practice and constitutional conventions; it is a more straightforward and courageous course. But the more important question that we would like to raise is: When and by what resolution did the Congress decide to stake its whole Parliamentary programme on this futile difference between dismissal and resignation? The Congress objects to the special powers of the Governors and not to their use this way rather than the other way. The Congress demands unfettered authority to work out its programme and not merely to be dismissed like school boys by the Governors whenever a conflict arises. We feel therefore constrained to say that Gandhiji, Rajagopalachari and others following in their footsteps are watering down the Congress resolutions and reducing the constitutional deadlock to a farce by these futile quibblings over dismissal vs. resignation.

Mr. Roy had great hopes about the deadlock because he thought it was the first step to the wrecking of the reforms. He writes:

The deadlocks did not just happen, but were deliberately created in pursuance of the oft-declared policy of the Congress to wreck the new constitution. The Congress is pledged to the policy of wrecking since the talk about the new constitution started. Even when the Congress decided at Delhi to accept offices it did not abandon that policy. It decided to accept offices in order to wreck the constitution more effectively. Assurances were demanded not with a view to facilitate the working of the reforms, but in order to make their working impossible. To create deadlocks in order to wreck the constitution has been the consistent policy of the Congress.

Mahatma Gandhi, however, has no desire to wreck the reforms. In fact, in asking for an assurance of non-interference, he was prepared to give an assurance of non-wrecking.

To the *Triumvir*, the discussion of the question of dismissal vs. resignation has an air of unreality about it. This well-known magazine says:

The Congress is strong with the strength of the electorate behind it; if a break with the Governor is

inevitable, the Ministers need not always wait for the Governor to call for their resignation. They may decide for themselves whether a first-class political issue is available on which they might resign and go before the electorate. They can then come back in greater strength. If the stage has been properly set for the formation of Congress Ministries, and if the advocates of office-acceptance believe that the forces making for Swaraj can be reinforced by the Parliamentary programme of the Congress, they can go forward and form Ministries without prolonged discussions about the relative merits of dismissal and resignation. Events seem to tend that way. The legislatures are likely to be summoned in July, and

Congress Ministers may be expected to be in the saddle by August.

We too are inclined to think that the Congress Party will take office in a short time, and the only outcome of this unnecessary controversy will be that whereas the Party would have been entitled deliberately to create deadlocks in case it were so minded if it had accepted office without a fuss, now it would be disabled from doing so on account of Mahatma Gandhi having given an assurance to the contrary. It is pledged to work the reforms with due regard to all the limitations.

STATE CONTROL OF COAL MINING.

THE disastrous accidents which have disfigured the history of Indian coal mining have of late focussed the attention of the country on the need for a thorough overhaul of the methods and control of that industry. The Government of India was roused to action particularly by the accident at the Bagdigi coal mines in which nineteen men lost their lives and they brought before the Legislative Assembly a Bill in April 1936 amending certain sections of the Indian Mining Act and got it through within a short period on the plea that accidents and fires in the mines were of such a nature that speedy action on the part of the Government under somewhat arbitrary powers was necessary. During the debate on the motion members of the Assembly pointed out that the ills of the coal industry were of long standing and would not yield to a mere change in certain provisions of the Act. Government then promised a detailed expert inquiry into the whole field of the coal industry and trade. As if to substantiate the urgency of the problem, an accident far greater in magnitude and loss of life than that which induced Government to appeal to the legislature for more powers took place at the Poidih colliery resulting in the death of more than 200 men and women and revealing the illegal methods resorted to by managers to meet the demands from Calcutta. This accident occurred while the Government of India Coal Mining Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Burrows, was in session. We shall not be surprised if we are told that the severity with which the Committee deals with those who control the coal industry in the Report was due largely to the inhuman indifference and neglect towards human life revealed in that tragic accident.

The Government of India was accused during the discussions on the Bill of inaction and delay in safeguarding the national interests in the coal industry of India and the safety of human life in the coal fields. Sir Frank Noyce disputed the truth of the charge, but it has been now substantiated by the expert Committee appointed by the Government of India itself whose report, we venture to suggest, would stand as a complete vindication of not only those who accused Government of almost criminal negligence, but of those who advocate the immediate and complete nationalisation of the coal industry in India. Rarely has there been such a scathing exposure of the limitless cupidity of private owners of the nation's

mineral wealth and of the indifference towards human life of which the profit-motive is capable. The Report condemns the reckless methods of trade and industry employed in coal mining to extract the maximum benefit out of a mine irrespective of the damage to property and life that they may involve and refers to the "inaction of Government in the face of a growing national emergency" which, with other contributory causes, has brought about a state of "general infirmity" in the coal trade. The condemnation of Government for its inaction was voiced even by a more important person—the Governor of Bihar. Sir James Sifton, speaking at the Mining and Geological Institution on 15th January last, frankly confessed that "the pitiful part of the history of the coalfields is the absence in the past of Government intervention and the aloofness of Government from the problem of getting the best out of the mineral wealth of the country". No wonder that the Report quotes with approval this admission in order to emphasise the lesson that the coalfields can no longer be left to the chaotic management of profiteers.

The Burrows Committee goes into exhaustive details of the coal mining industry, but we propose to deal here with the most striking part of its report, which is its reflections on the damage which the managing agency system has done to the national coal supply and the paralysing effects of the absence of proper co-ordination between the trade and the industry. How much this lack of understanding of the needs of the industry from the mining standpoint has led to a steady deterioration in the safety conditions of the coalfields is illustrated by the fact that pressure for the reduction of the cost of production has been accompanied by a resultant growth in the death rate in the coal mines. It is not surprising that the three chief Associations of coal traders found it necessary to decline to lead evidence before the Committee or to submit replies to the questionnaire issued by it. The Report has some very unpalatable things to say about the effects of the coal industry being directed from Calcutta where, in a majority of cases, the companies in control of the mines had not even felt the necessity of having a mining expert on their staff. The system by which these "agents" are remunerated puts "a premium on high outputs, big sales and large profits" and "focusses effort on immediate rather than future gain, it being remembered as well that these managing agents also control mills.

and other industrial concerns which benefit by cheap fuel... Retrenchment in working expenses has necessarily dictated policy in the coal trade, and the industry has had to give effect to that policy by increasing output or cutting down costs without sufficient attention to the mining methods necessary to secure these ends." The Report cites, with great effect, the evidence of the Indian Mine Managers' Association that managers do not have at present enough scope "because they are controlled by people who have no sufficient knowledge of mining and are liable to be dismissed if they were to refuse to carry out the orders of an owner even though the carrying out of these orders would mean unsound and unsafe mining." The Committee was told "in confidence" that many engineers have been confronted with the alternative of adopting unsound methods of mining or losing their livelihood. How terrible can be the result of this method and of the legal protection given to the owners and agents who, unlike the manager, are not liable to punishment for any contravention of the Mining Act in the actual working of the mine, was seen in connection with the Poidih colliery disaster where it was revealed that the proportion of women working underground was far larger than that allowed by law. As the manager also perished in the accident, there was none who could be held responsible for the death of those women.

But when Government yields to public pressure and contemplates some control of the flagrant depletion of national wealth and the cruel waste of human life, the sacred principles of private property and initiative are flung in its face and vested interests raise the cry of expropriation. The Committee quotes the Chairman of the Bengal Coal Company making such an appeal to the investors. He asks, "Are you and all other shareholders of coal companies quietly and peacefully to enjoy your properties as laid down in your lease with your landlords, or are you only to enjoy them subject to what Government decide you may or may not do in the presumed interests of posterity a hundred years hence?" "Presumed interest" indeed! The Chairman of the Bengal Coal Company seems to believe that the mineral wealth of a nation can be destroyed with impunity so that the 'sacred contractual rights' of a few shareholders can be 'peacefully enjoyed,' no matter if hundreds of men and women are gassed or burnt alive underground due to the criminal greed of investors. The Report describes the mentality and the methods which result from it in these expressive words:

The coal trade in India has been rather like a race in which profit has always come in first, with safety a poor second, sound methods an 'also ran,' and national welfare a 'dead horse' entered perhaps, but never likely to start.

The Committee, however, has fought shy of the only logical conclusion to which their observations on the managing agency system and the other grave shortcomings of the present coal mining system, which they admit are inherent in an industry mainly conducted for profits, lead. They "believe that State control of coal output and prices must come eventually in India unless there is a radical change in the

psychology of coal trade", but hesitate to recommend that immediate steps should be taken to make that control feasible in the near future. It is gratifying, nonetheless, that a Committee of experts appointed by the Government of India has recommended drastic and far-reaching methods of Government control of this important industry. But if the Committee as a whole, composed as it was, could not find its way to recommend the complete nationalisation of the coal mines, in the supplementary note attached to the Report two Indian members of the Committee, Mr. H. K. Nag, Agent of the Chasnalla Coal Company, and Dr. M. S. Krishnan, Geologist of the Geographical Survey of India, have come to the conclusion that the various facts and difficulties of the coal industry admit of only one solution: the State acquisition of the mines and minerals. A Statutory Authority for the control and conservation of the coal resources of India will be welcomed as the first step, however feeble, towards that consummation and it is to be hoped that the Government will implement the recommendations of the Committee as speedily as possible, for, as the Committee itself finds, "State initiative and State intervention constitute the only effective remedy to save the coal industry, and they are already overdue".

EDUCATION IN INDIA.

THE report on education in India for 1934-35, though a very belated publication, is a document of great interest to all those having the cause of education at heart. In spite of the decrease of 461 in the number of educational institutions which exceeded $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, the number of scholars recorded a rise of over $3\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs (roughly speaking, 2 lakhs of boys and $1\frac{1}{4}$ girls) and stood at a little over $1\frac{1}{4}$ crores. These figures, though imposing at first sight, have had no material nor even considerable effect on the general literacy position. This rose by a tiny 0.12 per cent. to a little less than 5 per cent. of the total population. Among the major provinces, the level of literacy was the highest in Madras which had 6.6 of its total population at school. Bombay came second with 6.5 and Bengal stood third with 6.1. So far as the other provinces are concerned, there was a close race for the top place between Punjab and Burma, which respectively had 5.3 and 5 per cent. of their population in receipt of instruction.

Of all stages of education, the increase in the number of pupils was, for obvious reasons, the largest in the primary stage. The strength in boys' schools went up by nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs to about $80\frac{1}{2}$, while that in girls' schools by about 60,000 to a little over 18 lakhs. These figures relate to their enrolment which is not the same thing as attendance. But what matters from the point of view of a spread of literacy is the number of pupils who succeed in reaching the fourth standard, for it is only when a pupil reaches that class that he is to be believed to have attained literacy. If he drops out before that stage he is not considered a literate and all the expenditure incurred from public funds for his education is regarded as so much waste of the tax-payer's money. It is obvious that steps need to be urgently taken to put a stop to the wastage. But it has to be regretfully admitted that the position from the point of view of prevention of this wastage hardly shows any advance. To judge from figures given in the report, eighteen years ago the proportion of pupils in class I to those in class IV,

was nearly 22 per cent. and in 1934-35 it was just 23 per cent. It is comparatively less marked in the case of boys than that of girls, but it is only a question of degree. According to statistics given in the report, as many as 74 boys out of every 100 that join primary schools fail to reach class IV, the corresponding proportion in the case of girls being 87. The position may be better in some provinces or worse in others. But, generally speaking, it is only 26 boys and 13 girls out of every 100 that attend primary schools that leave them after attaining literacy.

The causes of this fearful wastage have been often discussed and are by now well known. The report describes them as "bad teaching in the infant class leading to stagnation and loss of promotion, irregular attendance due to various causes including sickness, poverty, parents' lack of interest, and ineffective organisation due to faulty administration by local authorities, which also accounts for bad teaching." Most of these defects are such that they cannot be removed without a drastic overhaul of the system of primary education. But curiously enough the report stops short at that point. It contents itself with giving—or repeating?—a catalogue of factors leading to waste without at the same time proposing a remedy. The writer of the report was perhaps deterred from expressing such a view by fear of breach of official etiquette. But the general public cannot escape the conclusion that what is really needed is not a patchwork of reform but a reorganisation of the system of primary education from top to bottom. The report bemoans the fact that compulsion is nowhere making much headway and that wherever it is in force, it is in force more in name than in reality. The single teacher school, of which there is as high a proportion as 57.5 per cent. in this country, is described as a factor helping to swell the volume of this wastage. The Central Provinces have the smallest proportion of wastage in that nearly one half, or 48 per cent. to be exact, of the boys reading in primary schools in the province succeed in going up to the IV class and becoming literate, as the word is officially understood. This is put down to the fact of the province having the smallest percentage of single teacher schools, viz. 23.2. It may be granted, as pointed in the report, that the single teacher schools are useless from the point of view of literacy. What then? A good deal has been heard during these past years about all these factors having an adverse influence on the spread of literacy. But of what practical use is all this diagnosis if it is not to result in a systematic and comprehensive treatment of the disease?

While on the subject of primary education we may as well refer to statistics of the expenditure needed to educate all the boys in British India who are of school age but are not in school. It is estimated that on a 12 per cent. basis their number would be in the neighbourhood of 1½ crores. Over 84½ lakhs of boys are already attending primary classes, which means, in general terms, that as many boys need to be brought to school as are already at school. The cost of giving primary education to about 83½ lakhs of boys, which is the number to be educated, at Rs. 7-11-0 per boy would, it is calculated, come to about Rs. 6½ crores. These figures are described as "astronomical" in the report. We do not know that they need necessarily be regarded as so unrelated to reality as the writer imagines, if it was within India's power to cut down her heavy military expenditure and to touch the scale of the fat salaries paid to her civil servants. At the same time we know that for progress to be real and lasting education needs to be diffused equally widely among girls. A great disparity at present exists in this

matter. While nearly one-half of the boys of school age are already at school, only just about one-ninth of the total number of eligible girls are in receipt of instruction, and the proportion rises no higher than one-sixth even in Madras which is educationally the most advanced of provinces. A large financial outlay would also be required for bringing girls up to the educational level of boys. The sums required for the purpose would thus be all the more "astronomical." But it is no use throwing up one's hands in despair, as the writer of the report does, and reconciling ourselves to the existing state of affairs in a mood of self-complacency. What is really needed is a courageous drive against illiteracy without regard to sex, and for this comprehensive plans must be thought of without delay.

Adult education is reported to be in a flourishing condition nowhere. Its failure is ascribed largely, if not exclusively, to the system of employing as teachers in night schools men who have taught during the day. Naturally this does not leave them sufficient energy and enthusiasm for imparting instruction in the three R's to grown-up people who are, physically, utterly exhausted by their labours from sunrise to sunset. The latter difficulty seems irremediable. But we fail to see why it should not be possible, in these days of frightful unemployment, to get hold of fresh youths who would apply themselves to the work of adult education with single-minded devotion. Their expectations as regards salaries, emoluments, etc. would obviously not be very high so that the financial aspect of the idea ought not to act as a great handicap to its implementation. The results may not be all that we might like them to be, but some improvement on the status quo could surely be looked forward to. It is to be hoped that the matter will engage the serious attention of the authorities.

ANTI-INDIAN FEELING IN CEYLON.

THE virus of racial arrogance was till now considered to be the peculiar characteristic of the whites in the Colonies and when it is exhibited it is defended in some quarters on the ground of the preservation of the purity of the race. But Ceylon seems to out-Herod them. The agitation against the free entry of Indians is taking many undesirable forms. It was only the other day that I had occasion to write about the proposal to amend the Destitutes Ordinance which is directed mainly against Indians. When the anti-Indian agitation started in 1929, which culminated in the passing of a resolution by the State Council in 1934 demanding the appointment of a Commission to consider and report upon the restriction and effective control of immigration into Ceylon of workers from other countries, it was felt that the idea at the back of this proposal was to restrict immigration of non-Ceylonese workers other than estate labourers as it was agreed on all hands that the prosperity of the tea and rubber industries in Ceylon was entirely due to Indian labour and that without it the industries were bound to suffer. As Sir Baron Jayatilaka stated in the State Council, it is utterly impossible to exclude Indian labour from Ceylon and the Chief Secretary in his report has not only fully endorsed it but has also given cogent reasons for the same. But now it is becoming distinctly clear from the latest move to deprive the Indian labourer of the right of franchise in the

elections to village communities, and that the Ceylonese are bent upon utilising the privileged position they enjoy in the State Council to hit the Indian in all possible ways and in course of time reduce him to the position of a helot.

Those familiar with the politics of Ceylon will easily recognise that the agitation of the Ceylonese against the Indians is political rather than economic, and it was so early recognised by Governor Sir Herbert Stanley who wanted to placate the Ceylonese for the acceptance of the Donoughmore constitution by suggesting the restriction of the Indian vote. So the constitution now in action virtually provides for the election of a preponderating number of Ceylonese while the Indian element, though entitled to greater representation on a population basis, cannot hope to obtain it. Apart from the restricted franchise, lack of organisation is another cause, for more Indian labourers are not being efficiently registered. However, the fact remains that under any circumstances the Ceylonese dominate the situation and that any measure promoted by them is sure to pass through the State Council. So it will not be a surprise at all if the proposed amendment to the Village Communities Ordinance becomes law. The amendment proposed runs as follows :

Every person of either sex, other than an Indian labourer, shall be entitled to vote at the election of a member for any ward.

On what grounds this amendment is sought to be sponsored it is not known. But its passage cannot but raise considerable alarm in the minds of Indians that it is a thin end of the wedge and may be but a preliminary to further deprivation of franchise for other bodies as well, including the State Council.

It is not known if the Government of India or their Agent stationed in Ceylon is apprised of legislation affecting Indians before it is undertaken by the Ceylon Government. It is becoming increasingly clear that insistence on this is absolutely necessary as such outstanding matters should be settled by negotiation instead of indulging in protests after their adoption. The Government of India ought to make it clear that any legislation affecting Indians which is contrary to the spirit of the recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission and the express provisions of the Royal Sign Manual issued to the Governor of Ceylon will not be tolerated. The Royal Sign Manual states that the Governor is precluded from giving his assent to :

Any bill diminishing or prejudicing any of the rights or privileges to which at the date of these Our instructions persons emigrating or who have emigrated to the Island from India may be entitled by reason of such emigration.

It is well for the Ceylonese also to realise that resort to veto by the Governor is not the best means of effectively safeguarding the interests of minorities and that the solution lies as visualised by the Donoughmore Commission in "the members of the larger community so conducting themselves in the reformed council as to inspire universal confidence in their desire to harmonise conflicting interests and to act justly even at a sacrifice to themselves". Will not the Ceylonese rise equal to the occasion and shed

their spirit of enmity towards Indians with whom they share so much in common and realise that the prosperity of Ceylon is intimately bound up with the promotion of friendly relations between the two countries? Let us hope good-will and amity will prevail.

R. SURYANARAYANA RAO.

Review.

JAPANESE TRADE AND INDUSTRY.

THE INDUSTRY AND TRADE OF JAPAN.

By S. UYEHARA. (King.) 1936. 22cm. 259p. 12/6.

THE first edition of this very useful book was published in 1925 and it is a matter for gratification that the author has felt called upon to revise and bring the facts of industry and trade of his great country up to date. As the author himself rightly remarks, a phenomenal development of industries has taken place in Japan, and the expansion of her foreign trade has been most remarkable during the last decade. Japan is now a highly industrialised country in the true sense of the word and is regarded as a formidable competitor in the world's trade.

The book is divided into eight parts and deals with the different industries, transport, electricity, textiles and so on and concludes with a chapter on foreign trade. It is not possible to refer to all the sections—in the space of a review article—to the many illuminating details and observations of the author, but the sections on textiles and transport would be of considerable interest to the Indian student, and statesmen who have the economic progress of India as their immediate objective.

The author's defence of Japan against the criticism of other countries about unfair competition is interesting. At page 89 the author says :

If what the foreigners call "social dumping" means that Japanese cotton workers are obliged to live below the Japanese standard of life, their assumptions are entirely groundless.

Japanese organization is now superior to that of other countries and the obstacles which lay in front of its future development have been removed. A vertical combination is successfully undertaken in Japan. No middlemen are allowed to exist in the industry. All the processes of work from buying raw cotton to finishing the goods are carefully supervised by one establishment. Before sending out, all goods are carefully examined by the Cotton Exporters Association. Bankers accord financial facilities to the exporters and the shipping companies provide special conveniences for them. The style, quality and price of the goods required by consumers are carefully studied by experts who are specially despatched by the Government to various parts of the world. Several new inventions of machines were successfully originated by the Japanese with a view to increasing efficiency.

The author freely admits that China and India have been the two biggest markets for the Japanese textiles and that without them the industry would not have attained the present position. (p. 95). But owing to the ample supply of cheap labour and raw material the productive capacity of both India and China has increased of late, and Japan is faced with new problems. How to become independent as regards the supply of raw material has become a question of national importance. Since the state of Manchukuo was formed, a scheme has been set on foot to cultivate cotton to meet the future demand of Japan. Although the scheme may prove successful in the long run,

Japan will have to suffer many difficulties for some time (p. 97).

The history of Japanese shipping reads like a romance. The development of Japanese shipping, says the writer, has been largely due to the subsidies and encouragement of the Government. The Navigation Law of 1896 granted general subsidies to all owners of steamers engaged in service conforming to the provisions of the law. The figures given below indicate the phenomenal progress made :

Year	Number	Tonnage
1903	1,570	662,986
1904	1,815	797,953
1905	1,988	939,462
1906	2,103	1,116,945
1913	3,286	1,528,000
1918	4,755	2,337,000
1919	5,203	2,870,000

Since 1913, the tonnage of steamships has increased to 3,832,000 in 1933. Including sailing vessels, the total tonnage in 1933 was 5,139,000.

According to the author, in the matter of tonnage Japan was the sixth among the Powers before the war. In 1919 she advanced to the fourth place and since 1920 she has been the largest shipping country in the world with the exception of England and America. The shipping industry of Japan has been one of the most important items of invisible exports, receipts from which are approximately 150 million yen a year. The author has interesting material to give the reader about the Japanese railways and the advantages of the policy of nationalisation which has been the predominant fact in railway management since the beginning of the century (pp. 198-199).

The author appreciates how great a part oil plays in modern industrial and commercial life. He says on page 153 that the uses of oil have been widened to such an extent that the destiny of a nation may depend on it. In fact we are in what is called the 'Oil Age'. The Japanese government wields *sole control* of oil for the purpose not only of regulating the supply, demand and price, but also of maintaining a fixed quantity of oil in the possession of licensed companies as a preparation for any military or national emergency.

The analysis of the foreign trade of Japan by the author is exceedingly interesting.

The general tendency of the import trade of Japan, says the author, is the absolute reverse of what has been mentioned regarding the export trade. The rapid increase in imports of raw material and machinery shows most clearly the development of manufacturing industries under the factory system. If we take into account machinery, iron and steel goods, metal manufactures together with raw material, they account for more than 90 per cent. of the total importation.

In the matter of the distribution of foreign trade Africa and Australia have developed an importance from the Japanese point of view since 1931. The export trade with Europe and America consists of Japanese special products, while that with Asia consists chiefly of general manufactures. "Japan," says the author, (p. 232), "is still dependent on Europe and America for the supply of certain kinds of manufactures, more especially of machinery and metal goods, and she depends for the supply of raw material and food-stuffs on Asiatic countries, Australia and the U. S. A."

Mr. Uyehara is essentially nationalistic when he says :

The new State of Manchukuo is indispensable to Japan from the point of view of foreign trade, and is a vital national necessity. It is a recognised policy that Japan must lend Manchukuo fullest assistance and co-operation, both in capital and technical skill in order to exploit natural resources to the largest extent for the development of industry in both countries and that the basic interests in respect of trade and industry must be under State (?) control (p. 241).

One can agree with Mr. Uyehara but need not necessarily agree that economic or political Imperialism is a desirable policy. Nationalism can be a curse at times and it becomes definitely so when strong peoples wish to live well at other peoples' expense.

We have every sympathy with the author when he says in his concluding section that emigration furnishes no adequate outlet for the heavy increase of population (50 millions in 1909 and 70 millions in 1933) and that reduction in the standards of living is not desirable. But when he goes on to say that the only way open to Japan to cope with the present national difficulty is to encourage industries and trade to the utmost of her *power*, one is inclined to think that it is a way which possibly other nations would refuse to allow her easily. That the world is in the throes of another convulsion at the back of which is the greed for power and prestige cannot be denied, and Japan by her challenge to western Imperialism is not challenging imperialism at all, but only attempting to take on the role herself in some way or other.

The book is well got up and is fully provided with necessary statistical data for the serious student of Japanese industry and trade.

S. V. AYYAR.

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