

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK

Overseas Indians Committee.

THE Viceroy and his advisers must be considering with anxiety the names of suitable people for the committee in connection with Sir Tej Bahadur's proposal at the recent Imperial Conference. It is a difficult choice to make, and several conflicting considerations will come into play. One of these, however, is in our judgment so important that it may be helpful to set it down in words. Public opinion is sore on the subject of Indians overseas. It is with much hesitation and difficulty that even the men of Sir Tej Bahadur's party have reconciled themselves to the committee plan at all. Its chance of success in their eyes is very slight indeed. If the choice of the Government of India falls on persons who are not known for their independence and fearlessness, the effect on the public mind will be exasperating. No one in his senses will expect the Government of Kenya, for instance, in choosing their representatives to consider for one moment whether they would be acceptable either to the Government or the people of India. It would indeed be surprising if the section of the white population in Kenya who most indulged in threats did not insist upon one or more strong representatives of theirs being included in the committee. We trust that those who make the selection on our side will give a very subordinate place, among the considerations to be weighed, to the susceptibilities of the Kenya whites or the Governor whom they govern.

Indian Christians in Conference.

THE Indian Christians who met at Bangalore during the Christmas week for the tenth session of their

all-India conference are to be congratulated on the choice of their president and the resolutions adopted by them. In an earnest, elevating and at the same time thoroughly practical address, Mr. K. T. Paul, the president of the conference, exhorted his community to understand and accept a special responsibility for citizenship, special to them, on account of their cultural associations with the advanced countries of the west. "I would therefore earnestly urge every Church, every Christian College and every other Christian organisation in the country to make a careful study of this question :

Are the principles of Jesus really applicable to the practical problems of citizenship in India ?

If so, what are our responsibilities of citizenship in this town and district, and how are we to discharge them in practical everyday activity ?

What further are our wider responsibilities to India and to Indians abroad, and how is our contribution to be made thereto ? "

Hindu-Muslim dissensions pain Mr. Paul's heart as much as any one else's and he exhorts his coreligionists to get out of their groves and lay themselves out openly to form friendships and promote friendships between the two communities as was done in his native town of Salem after a very serious disturbance in 1882. But this service of friendship and reconciliation, he rightly points out, would be impossible if they also entered the communal scramble for the loaves and fishes of office. He also asks them to play their proper part in 'the great task of building Swarajya' by seeking the membership of local and municipal boards, not by nomination but by the expressed confidence of the voters and serving the country in every constructive way.

* * *

An Example to Others.

IT is no matter for surprise that under the guidance of such a president the conference passed some very sensible and patriotic resolutions. One of them emphatically protested against the Kenya decision and expressed the firm conviction of the conference that the highest interests of the British Commonwealth would not be served until the principle of equal citizenship was recognized by all its component parts and all disabilities against Indians throughout the Empire were removed. Another resolution urges the Indian Christian

community to strive by every means, and in co-operation with Hindus and Muslims, to bring about national unity, the executive council of the conference being in terms authorised to take the initiative for calling a round table conference of various communities, if that be feasible. Another and in our opinion the most notable, resolution of the conference warns the community against accentuating the communal spirit in itself and understanding 'that the method of separate electorates for the Indian Christian community will lead to a very unhealthy growth of sectarian feelings in the Christian community itself, urges the Indian Christian Associations in the Madras Presidency to take early steps for rectifying the situation'. It is a fact that elections have accentuated the differences between Protestants and Roman Catholics in Madras Presidency. The evil is easily enough recognised. What however is not so easy is the voluntary application of the remedy which consists in giving up what is prized by other minority communities as a great privilege. The Indian Christians, under Mr. Paul's guidance, have set a very worthy and truly Christian example for other Indian communities, and may we hope that Muslims in particular will not disdain to profit by it?

* * *

AN "influential and wealthy gentleman", who, according to Mr. Mahomed Ali's presidential address at Cocanada, "is able to organize a Missionary Society on a large scale for the conversion of the suppressed classes", has apparently suggested the division of the country into separate areas, the "suppressed classes" within which are to be handed over to Hindus and Moslems respectively "for absorption and conversion." Being "influential and wealthy" the gentleman in question is obviously so superior to the "suppressed" classes, that from his altitude he can no longer distinguish between human beings and sheep, and therefore would dispose of the former, as if they were so many flocks whose sole purpose it is to be shorn. To him the idea of consulting members of the suppressed classes, as to their predilection on such matters as absorption and conversion, will no doubt appear as fantastic, as the idea of consulting the sheep, as to whom their fleece should go—when, for all one knows, these silly sheep might be taking it into their heads to answer, that they had rather keep their wool for themselves and would rather not be fleeced by anybody at all! That there are "influential and wealthy gentlemen" of this sort among us, one is unfortunately only too well aware; but some surprise is perhaps permissible that a President of the Congress, a mortal enemy of slave mentality and a dauntless upholder of self-determination, should "place this suggestion in all frankness and sincerity" before his hearers. That Mr. Mahomed Ali should have done so, is proof—if further proof was needed—that the whole pother about *shuddhi*, conversion and absorption is

quite artificial, as far as religion is concerned, and that in fact it represents merely the political question, as to which electorate is to be swelled by the inclusion of these "suppressed classes": the general or the Muhammadan. On equally "religious" grounds, one presumes, Mrs. Naidu has been selected to represent Hinduism at Angora?

* * *

AT the National Social Conference recently held in Poona a resolution was passed requesting all social reformers to direct their attention to the social, economic, and civic uplift of the aboriginal, forest and gipsy tribes, such as the Bhils, Kaliparaja, Gonds, and Santals and to start missions for such work. This was spoken to by Messrs. A. V. Thakkar and T. A. Kulkarni, the former of whom is working among the Bhils of Gujerat and the latter among the Varlis of Thana District. The national conscience of our educated classes is not yet sufficiently awakened to their duty for the uplift of these tribes, who inhabited and ruled the country before the Dravidian and Aryan invasions, and are now confined mostly to forest covered hills and mountain slopes and are living by themselves far away from civilised society. Their total population is as much as 15 millions or more than the entire population of the Nizam's dominions, while their ignorance is stupendous, economic condition miserable, and intellectual development very low. The only people who have hitherto had some sort of contact with them are the exploiting sowkar and the liquor-seller. The former has made the aboriginal practically his serf, in some cases with his whole family including children still to be born, and the latter has brought him very near the state of beast. Christian Missionaries are, no doubt, at work among them, but a large number of indegnous missions are required in various provinces to accelerate the work of their uplift and to bring them in a line with the rest of their countrymen. For this important national work, one indeed which elevates the elevator, we hope a sufficient number of ardent young men will be forthcoming.

* * *

WE hope the scheme which Dr. D. N. Maitra of Calcutta has outlined elsewhere in this paper, will receive the attention it merits at the hands of the authorities and the general public, though he has not clothed it in a familiar or particularly attractive garb. One need not attach much importance to the details of the scheme. We would not for our part undertake to say that a feature of the scheme which has been emphasized by Dr. Maitra, viz. the concurrent teaching of anatomy, physiology and pathology, is at all feasible or desirable; or whether a two years course would suffice for the kind of students he has in view. But these are minor matters, the essential point being that a cheap and withal trained agency, though it may not be highly qualified, is needed to meet the medical requirements of rural areas, and that it has got to be created. How best will that difficult task be accomplished? Dr. Maitra's answer is contained in his scheme. It may or may not be acceptable. But it can certainly serve as a starting point for discussion. For ourselves we believe that though details may require to be changed, the idea as a whole is not impracticable.

Rural Medical Relief.

THE LIBERALS IN MEETING.

THE depression which might have reigned in individual hearts made little show in the proceedings of the recent annual session of the Liberal Federation in Poona. The principal men spoke brave words to their audience, blamed everybody else in the first instance and themselves thereafter for past failures, laid sound plans for the future and promised great things to their party and to their country at the next election. The audience was fairly large throughout the proceedings and not merely at the beginning as is usual. The President's address, as might have been expected, was a wise, courageous and statesmanlike utterance and showed in every part the union of the ideal and the practical. The chief resolutions made no pretence of brevity and indulged in fulness of argument and strength of language. A thoroughly praiseworthy step was the appointment of a reorganising committee with somewhat comprehensive powers for rehabilitating the Liberal school of thought and extending its scope and usefulness. The general level of the speeches too was high and betokened the large amount of political experience and practical constructive ability which the Liberal Party could always command.

Still, truth requires the narration of a few facts on the other side. The lack of animation, except when the subjects' committee considered the boycott of the Empire Exhibition, extended even to the juvenile part of the audience, among whom the khadi jacket and the Gandhi cap were by no means rare. This might perhaps seem no demerit to grave and reverend seniors, but it is symptomatic of the extremely limited appeal that the Liberal Party and its work make to that overpoweringly large section of the population whose characteristics are ardent spirits, love of humour and abounding energy. The attendance from other provinces than Bombay was not large, the Punjab, Behar and Bengal being totally unrepresented, as they were at Nagpur. Not a word of explanation was heard of this abstention on the part of these provinces, one of which boasts of having been the place of origin and nurture-ground of the idea of Indian nationality and of being at present the stronghold of moderation in politics. Even in the days of the old undivided Congress the land of the five rivers never sent a large number of representatives, though now and then a few prominent delegates made a splash in the discussion. O'Dwyerism and the split between Hindus and Muslims seem for the moment to have paralysed its public life. But when we come to the personnel of the attendance at the Poona session, we cannot help noting the gaps. Madras did not send its weightiest representatives, while the absence of the Bombay stalwarts, in spite of the nearness of Poona, cannot be explained on any ground except the existence of some deep-rooted cause of disunion. It has been stated that these kept aloof

even from the combined demonstration of all political parties which took place a few months ago in Bombay in connection with the Kenya decisions. If this be true, it indicates a malady which requires the immediate attention of all well-wishers of the liberal movement.

If, despite these circumstances the recent meetings in the Deccan Sabha ground reached a certain measure of success and efficiency, the credit must be given to Poona, which has always had a strong contingent of clear-headed, and tenacious exponents of moderate politics. The Fergusson College and the Servants of India Society have become the nurseries of a type of dogged patriotism which does not eschew study and hard labour or scorn compromise and undazzling results. The great names of Ranade and Gokhale will continue for a long time yet to keep alive a lofty conception of all-sided and harmonious progress, stable on account of its love of order and just because it does not leave out of account any section or class of the community. That men of this type are ever prepared to look on a friendly and sympathetic government as their ally is natural. That they do not hesitate, when the need arises, to range themselves against the powers that be is to their credit. Small wonder then that in spite of the neglect of Bombay and the defection of three provinces, the three days' session in Poona was marked by sustained enthusiasm and might well afford the basis of a larger and more combined effort in the coming year, if the party at large is capable of it. The Deccan Sabha and the twin institutions named above have earned the approbation and gratitude of the Liberal party for keeping its flag flying in circumstances which might have damped the spirit of other political bodies.

Passing on to a brief consideration of the more important resolutions. The one which aims at improving the fortunes of the party is, considered by itself, a wise expedient. A good deal depends without doubt on the energy and zeal of the members of the reorganising committee; but a good deal more turns on the energy and zeal which the various parts of the country put forward in response and their readiness to give in the shape of men and money the materials necessary for the reconstruction of the Liberal party. The necessity for a coherent organisation has long been apparent, while the weakness and indecision arising from the want of duly chosen leaders have already had disastrous consequences. How far the lessons of defeat have been assimilated it is yet difficult to say; but the politicians who find themselves without any representation worth mentioning in the new Councils would make a sad mistake if they shrank from the changes and readjustments proved necessary by experience, whether they related to aim or methods, and however far-reaching they appeared. The subject of self-government or home rule was dealt with at the very commencement of the sittings, thus making clear

the importance attached to it in Liberal circles. In substance it amounts to a demand for dominion status *minus* the control of the defence of the country and political and foreign departments. The procedure recommended is the appointment of a commission consisting of impartial and experienced publicists to come out immediately to conduct a full inquiry and make suggestions. Though more than one reference was made to the national conference and the formation of a national convention as outlined by the now famous Delhi meeting, the federation refrained from embodying the idea in its programme. In this perhaps it was wise, seeing that but few avowed Liberals have got into the legislatures while the signatories to the national convention idea include men drawn from several parties. A hasty critic might cavil at the immoderate haste of so-called moderate politicians, who hailed the reforms as substantial the other day and undertook to work them to the full and thereby demonstrate their fitness for further progress, in asking at the very start of the new constitution that the Reforms should be at once taken to their furthest limit. The arguments embodied in the resolution supply a cogent answer. They are based on experience and not on *a priori* theorising.

The hand of India's representative at the Imperial Conference is visible in the wording of the resolution on Indians overseas. South Africa is treated expressly as an enemy, though not in a military or diplomatic sense; and a student of world affairs might well laugh at the heterogeneity of an empire which after a quarter of a century of complaint and wrangle finds two of its component parts still girding at each other. The result of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's committee plan is to be awaited in respect of the other dominions and colonies. It is a pity the federation could not agree on the boycott of the British Empire exhibition. The idea has been eagerly taken up in all political circles, while the great Bombay meeting and other representative gatherings have likewise lent it their authority. The differing views on the subject, the eagerness with which for one brief moment they were canvassed at a closed sitting, and the indeterminate conclusion constitute together one of those discouraging episodes in political debate which illustrate the large part played by personality and the domination that may be exercised by a minority when it forgets its duty to the majority. More than by the terms of any other resolution, the assembly, which has to adopt retaliatory action and beat back South African coal under this resolution, will be brought into strained relations with the executive government of India which cannot be expected to countenance such legislation so long as present tendencies continue in Whitehall.

The one new idea in the resolution under the heading "the Army" is that university scholars should undergo a compulsory course of military discipline. There is a good deal to recommend it, but it

has not been sufficiently discussed in the country as a measure of practical politics, and the apparent unanimity of its acceptance conceals some hesitation and dissent which may be found among students of Indian affairs. The federation spoke on the public Services with a note of decision which it had not reached at Nagpur; and nothing could be more emphatic than its approval of the immediate stoppage of British recruitment as a regular part of the system. The celerity with which Liberal opinion has matured on this topic is a healthy proof of its adaptability to the growing needs of the day, and it only remains for us to express the hope that the evidence of men of the Liberal party before the Lee commission will prove that this resolution embodies the views not only of its rank and file but of the leaders as well.

THE DUAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

MR. DEVADHAR made an interesting statement at the opening of the social conference which met in this city at the close of the Liberal Federation. It related to a controversy as to whether the lineal descent from the undivided annual social reform gatherings belongs to the conference which meets at the same place as the Indian National Congress or to the conference which meets at the same place as the Liberal Federation. It will not do to let mere numbers decide the point and it is of interest to see that neither party alludes to the numerical argument. One important detail Mr. Devadhar has disposed of finally. The late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar obviously approved of the Nagpur session of the Social Conference held in December 1922. Only illness stood in the way of his attending. But he took part in the executive work before and after the session. If his personal inclination could decide the matter, there should be no doubt about the justice of the Liberals' claim, and a large body of disinterested opinion in the country would perhaps allow that if any single voice had a right to be heard on the issue, it was that of the late Sir Narayan.

To refresh the memory of our readers, a few facts would be helpful. In 1920 when the political gatherings were held in Nagpur and Madras respectively, the social reform gathering was not held in either place, thus making the only blank during many years. Next year, in 1921, the social conference was held in Ahmedabad immediately after the Congress; the year after, 1922, the social conference met at Gaya and at Nagpur as well in connection with the two political gatherings. In 1923 a similar duplication took place. Mr. Natarajan claims, in the *Reformer* of December 1922, that "all political parties co-operated" in the Ahmedabad session of 1921. This seems to us to be questionable. The fact that Mr. Ramanbhai was chairman of the reception committee has no decisive significance. Now, there would have been nothing inappropriate in Mr. Natarajan, for instance, attending the last

Poona social conference as there would have been nothing inappropriate in Dewan Bahadur Govinda Raghava Aiyar attending the last Cocanada social conference. Neither circumstance, however, if it had happened would have justified the inference that all political parties co-operated in both conferences. In point of fact the Liberal political party was actually in session in Allahabad at the time of the Ahmedabad Social Conference. It is impossible for that party therefore to have participated in the Ahmedabad sitting.

The next question which arises is: if no office bearer was appointed or reappointed at Ahmedabad, who carried in himself the power to summon the next meeting? Mr. Natarajan's statement on this point is as follows: "It was understood that the next social conference would be held along with the Congress at Gaya, and the president for the year had the meeting arranged in the usual manner." Here comes the element of doubt and the starting point of divergence. Mr. Natarajan was himself the president in question. What was the understanding on which he proceeded? And between whom? Apart from the technicalities of the matter upon which even lawyers of standing might have opposite opinions, most ordinary people in the country would consider that Sir Narayan who had been, after Ranade, not only the general secretary for many years in succession but the guardian angel and undisputed custodian of the prestige and traditions of the social conference, was at least as much entitled to step into the breach and summon the next session on his own authority as the president of the then latest session which, as we have just tried to show, could not have been joined by the political party to which Sir Narayan himself belonged. This journal cannot pretend to absolute detachment where Mr. Devadhar is concerned. Still, it ventures the opinion that if judicial arbitration were resorted to the odds are heavily on his side.

The fact is that for two or three years political parties though they had begun, had not become sharply differentiated, and some men of note even considered themselves as belonging to both. That Sir Narayan and Mr. Natarajan, whose intimate companionship in public and private life during a course of many years commanded general admiration and respect, should have separated in this period of mental confusion and distress and gone different ways, is a lesson of much impressiveness in human relationship upon which we may dwell in reverence but dare not pronounce judgment. But we cannot forget that of this illustrious pair the one that has passed away was the older and not the smaller.

AN OUTLINE SCHEME OF RURAL MEDICAL SERVICE.

WHEREAS—in approximate figures:—

- (1) *The percentage of mortality in British India is 44 per 1000, against 16 per 1000 in the*

British Isles, 17 in France, 18 in Germany and 9.7 in New Zealand and 11.1 in Australia: and

- (2) *The available medical relief in rural areas is*
 - (a) *1 Public Health Officer to 15 lacs (India) vs. 10 thousand (Great Britain) and*
 - (b) *1 qualified Medical man to 45,000 (India) vs. 2,000 (European countries)*

AND WHEREAS,

- (1) *standard medical colleges and schools have so far been very few and far between and their establishment has been found to be too expensive for state or private efforts and,*
- (2) *the existing medical institutions cannot find room for more than 10 % of the applicants seeking admission (Bengal);*

AND WHEREAS,

India happens to be exceptionally illiterate (7.7% literate vs. 99 % of England) and profoundly ignorant in matters of modern ideas of sanitation and thus presents a most suitable field for the occurrence and spread of preventible diseases and epidemics which are quietly carrying off millions of her population, and are rendering as many invalid and a social and economic burden to an already impoverished country;

It is very correct and very true, what His Excellency the Governor of Bengal declared, addressing the staff and students of a recognised medical college of Calcutta (on 24-11-23), that he "is forced to the conclusion" that adequate medical relief is "the most serious problem of the day" and that "how serious the problem is, is probably not realised even by those who are helping to solve it."

If that holds good for the medically best equipped province of India (Bengal) what is one to say of the other provinces?

The most satisfactory way of solving this urgent problem seems to lie in—the inauguration of a cheaper, shorter, popular and directly effective form of an efficient, modern and scientific medical training, such as would raise generally on their own soil and amidst their own surroundings a crop of what one might call, welfare doctors or medical workers or "Rural Sanitary Officers"—who would directly attend to and combat preventible diseases and epidemics, render first aid, attend to the sanitation of the area in their charge, and treat the common ailments by direct and approved methods.

THE SCHEME.

(A) GENERAL.

1. *The pupils shall be at least 18 years old: and an education in a High School up to a class which may be even 2 forms below the matriculation standard is necessary and also a character certificate from the headmaster.*

2. *Before admission to the Medical Course he will be required to pass a test in a special course*

of basic instruction to be prepared for him (Text Book) so as to bring up his general knowledge to a certain minimum standard.

3. Cities, towns and large villages, wherever there is a Hospital or even an outdoor dispensary, should be centres of such teaching.

4. Qualified (and registered) local medical men having access to such hospitals etc. should be entrusted with the medical teaching along the lines laid down in text books specially written for the purpose.

5. Headmasters or assistant masters may be permitted to undertake the teaching of the "A" portion i. e. general cultural course to bring up the general knowledge of the students to a minimum standard (for test examination.)

6. Both the teaching officers should be remunerated (a) partly from the public body engaging them and (b) partly from a portion of the pupils' fees.

7. This is the main point in this scheme. The instruction in the medical course and the clinical teaching should be given *concurrently* from the outset.

8. A course of one to two years should be enough for such instruction—that will depend on the teacher and clinical material. The more experience they can have at Hospital the better.

9. There should be a public examination of their work, which should be subjected to.

10. General supervision by assistant surgeons.

(B) SPECIFIC.

(i) THE BASIC CULTURAL PORTION.

1. They should be able to read and write simple English.

2. They must know simple arithmetic and the Tables (weights, measures, etc.)

3. They must have a general idea of the main principles and laws of Biology, Physics and Chemistry. This part could be taught through suitable primers (specially written) and small and cheap model boxes of chemicals and appliances.

4. They should know through *special text books* written for the purpose, something of

- (a) the ideals of the medical profession, with short and inspiring biographical sketches,
- (b) the ideals of village sanitation with short reports of what has been achieved elsewhere,
- (c) the triumph of science in harnessing the forces of nature and in combatting evil forces (specially of epidemics) through entertaining and if possible illustrated accounts so that their vision may be enlarged and their views of men and things may be improved.

(ii) THE MEDICAL COURSE.

Will consist in :—

1. Revision of the knowledge gained under B (1) (3) i. e. of Biology, Physics and Chemistry.

2. *Concurrent* teaching of the main principles of Anatomy, Physiology, Pathology, Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery.

3. The subjects should be taught with the help of specimens, which the bigger medical colleges and hospitals can supply directly or through some central distributing department, at least of bottle, preservative, freight and labour.

In the absence of a human body a goat's body or body parts will do well for demonstration purposes.

4. General principles of bacteriology, infection, asepse and antiseptics should also be taught *concurrently* from the outset.

5. A course of first aid and sick nursing.

6. A simple course of village sanitation and hygiene.

7. A few main points from medical jurisprudence which they may be required to know.

8. A knowledge of *Materia Medica* limited to only a couple of dozen of drugs with a general knowledge of Pharmacy.

9. Hospital or dispensary attendance throughout.

10. Occasional visits to bigger hospitals.

CONCURRENT TEACHING.

Concurrent teaching is advocated instead of the present practice of teaching anatomy, physiology, etc. during preliminary years and then the subjects of medicine, surgery, etc.; for the knowledge previously crammed into the head without interesting reference to its application in practice is soon forgotten. Considerable time might be saved and the teaching made much more interesting and impressive and practical if the subjects are treated and demonstrated on cases concurrently from the outset. e. g. take liver or lung. They would be shown a normal liver (anatomy), be told about its main functions (physiology), its appearances and changes in diseases (pathology and bacteriology) and treatment (medicine and surgery) in one and the same lecture or lectures and so with other organs.

D. N. MAITRA.

CONTINENTAL LETTER.

BRESLAU, 27, NOV. 1923.

ACCORDING to the latest news M. Poincare has celebrated another complete victory in the French chamber. The vote of confidence for him was carried with the overwhelming majority of 500 against 70. He has done splendid work indeed. The complaint in France, that the economic strength of Germany had as little been broken as national unity had been destroyed has ceased. The fact that about two million people in Germany are now without employment, that the state is not able to maintain them and that the misery reaches heights unknown before, arouses general satisfaction among the numerous retainers of the "great man from Lorraine". When the war broke out, Paul Bourget, the well-known novelist, wrote: 'One campaign will unfortunately not suffice to destroy the German race altogether, several will be necessary.' Observers from other countries held that utterances like this were to be considered as emanat-

ing from a certain war-psychosis that would soon pass over. Dean Inge e. g. rebuked the French writer in one of his essays for being carried away to such an extent by his patriotic feeling. Since then about ten years have passed. But the mentality of the leaders of France, if not of its active population, has remained the same. The only difference is that they couch their ideas in more carefully chosen terms. But the war of extinction is going on nevertheless as before.

Nobody would have thought a few years ago that it could be so easy to bleed a big nation to death. In reality it is, as the Australians say, "as easy as falling off a log". An industrial country with a large population which cannot support itself with what it grows but depends on imported food is like a ship with leaks, which is absolutely safe only as long as its pumps are served. But you have only to fetter the men at the pumps, to prevent them from working and the water will soon rise and save you all further trouble. The pumps of the Ruhr district were deserted by the crew itself from sheer exasperation when the foreign invaders appeared. When it became visible that the water had risen so high meanwhile that the ship was in the greatest danger, and that the crew wanted to return to the pumps, they were not allowed to do so. That in short is the history of the passive resistance and what followed it. In war the foreign military power that occupies a district is, according to the International Law, bound to provide for the life of the population. But then war is a comparatively humane state of things. It is different with a "peaceful seizing of pledges" as the French styled their enterprise in the Ruhr district. It does not oblige you at all, we have learned, to look after the population. If they are no longer able to support themselves, why, let their compatriots in the other, unoccupied parts of the country provide for them; if they do not, or pretend they are starving themselves, it shows you how little they care for you and that you had better separate from them.

This idea of separation, it is true, must be adapted to the people's taste. In such things the initiative is not so easily taken. One wants unprejudiced people for putting the idea into practice. These one finds easiest among those who have been in temporary conflict with the laws of their own state. It is marvellous how unbiassed the French have shown themselves in this respect during the last months. The Rhenish "separatists" who have put themselves into the service of the French Military for the purpose of conquering all civil power in the province by brute force, a less unprejudiced observer would call the moral scum of Central Europe. The local administration in Trier may serve as an example. The separatist "police director" there is a certain Herbert Marzen, who has repeatedly come into touch with the police for living on the protection of prostitutes. Another member of the administration, called Schneider,

has still to serve five years of penal servitude. One of the highest officials is an individual that in 1914 was sentenced to death for complicity in murder and was since pardoned to penal servitude for life. The separatist troop that occupied the old university town of Bonn on the Rhine too was led by a group of persons who *without exception* consisted of old criminals and convicts. It need scarcely be said what the feeling of the population towards these 'liberators from the Prussian yoke' is. But again and again the same thing happens. In towns which are yet undefiled by the practices of these rascals the citizens combine to form a body of resolute men who are to protect the municipal buildings. That protection, however, is not so easy, all arms having been delivered up to the French military long since. However, they try to arm themselves as well as they can with what is left to them. Often they have nothing but spades and pickaxes. Sometimes they dig trenches across the roads and lie there waiting for the "separatists" to come. And now the same item occurs invariably: French soldiers appear, sometimes on foot, sometimes on horse, invade the town, apprehend the defenders and carry them off into prison. They are in every case immediately followed by their separatist friends, who are provided with weapons, in many cases—parsimony is one of the principal virtues of the French—with those very weapons which have had to be delivered up by the law-abiding population. And then the separatist 'reign of terror' commences. Lately the French have proclaimed that the separatist "government" has the right to banish whom they please. One can imagine what hell is created for the unfortunate inhabitants in this way. These things however are not being discussed in the French chamber. The newspaper report says that M. Poincaré informed the deputies: "Towards the various tendencies to autonomy which make themselves felt in the occupied district, France keeps absolute neutrality."

It is not to be wondered at that these things react upon the internal politics of Germany in a fatal way. In ruining the whole financial system of the Reich and humiliating its Government, in offering it the alternative to leave the two most important provinces to their fate, or to give up the last gleam of hope to reach a reconstruction of its finances, the French Government has brought about a situation in Germany which is characterised by a wild raising of all political antagonisms which makes itself most acutely felt in the open rebellion of the South against the North. The military control which in these circumstances has been decided upon by the Reichstag as the only means to stifle those tendencies that would lead to the dissolution and disruption of the state, has proved a two-edged sword: it threatens to become a means in the hand of the extreme Right to subdue their political enemies and do away with the newly acquired liberties of the nation. For the great entrepreneurs think that the time has come to

abolish all the acquisitions of the Revolution, above all the eight hours' day. Their general attack has set in, in all parts of the country. The working-men are in a desperate position, their funds being absolutely exhausted and hunger staring in their face. Where should their power of resistance come from? Besides, the reactionaries must inevitably gain ground, for it is natural that those people should come to the fore now who advocate a new and different method in dealing with the French, as all ways that have hitherto been tried have without exception only led to disappointment, misery and shame. It is true that these people who are constantly telling the nation that it has been drinking the cup of humiliation to the dregs and that an end must be put to it, have no programme of their own. In case they should come into power their flourish of trumpets will instantly become silent and they certainly will not be able to bring about war. Still it is intelligible that they have a certain attraction for many people. It is exactly as it used to be with the persistence of Jacobitism in England in certain periods which was explained by Dean Swift in the words: "When I am in pain and lying on my left side, I naturally turn to my right, though I may have no prospect of benefit from the change."

This reactionary tendency to 'turn to the right' which undoubtedly is the leading feature of the political situation in Germany at present, gives, however, new pretexts for threats to the French. It is especially the return of the ex-Crown-Prince that has aroused a new storm of Germanophobia in the Paris press. Now to allow the ex-Crown-Prince to come back to his country-seat near Breslau is certainly a very silly measure of the government, but political importance it has none. To understand these things one must know the mentality of the German Socialist party. For it is the Socialists that have consented to this step while they formed part of the government. They are opposed to everything in politics which they consider inhuman. Their idea of justice has prevented them in many cases from taking the steps necessary to give the life of the state a new basis, because that would have implied hard measures directed against members of the former regime. Sometimes their attitude strikes one as being almost suicidal. In Greece the generals that lost the war against Turkey have been shot, in Germany they have been given stately houses and large pensions. The affair of the ex-Crown-Prince too they consider merely from a human, not from a political standpoint. They look at him as a German who has a natural right to live at home. In this case the decision will presumably have no consequences of importance. For the sympathies this insignificant man enjoys are not large enough to make him a dangerous foe for the republic. No, the most dangerous enemy of German democracy, protector and guardian angel of all reactionary tendencies

in Central Europe, resides in Paris: his name is Poincare.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

BOOK NOTES.

WARTY, K. S.: HOW INDIA IS GOVERNED, BOMBAY. 1923. 6 x 4. pp. iv and 108. (Vaibhav Press. 12 as.)

This little book is intended for Matriculates and, one hopes, will be found useful for this purpose. But one fears that much of it, being taken from the language of Acts, is couched in a style quite above the heads of those, for whom it is intended. Hence, although elementary, it is anything but popularly written.

HALL, J. R. C.: BIRTH-CONTROL AND SELF-CONTROL. LONDON. 1923. 6½ x 4. pp. 28. 6 d. (S. P. C. K.)

This is a useful little pamphlet, which deals with the fashionable subject of birth-control from the ethical point of view. It is, if anything too terse, which however is a fault on the right side. The author shows that the sex-appetite can be inhibited without injury, but that, especially in a pleasure-loving age, this is not highly popular—exactly as lactation is being dropped, and for the very same reason, much to the detriment of the race. He scores a neat point when he asks whether France, the home of contraception, is conspicuous either for markedly improved physique or for married bliss? It is certainly "a significant commentary on the sincerity of much of the appeal for 'poor mothers', that 'the artificial restriction of births is most general amongst the well-to-do classes'". The whole question is primarily a psychological one and it is therefore only natural that out of the selfish and mean environment of restricted families there should come as a rule a thoroughly selfish and unfilial offspring. What would happen, if children, the main humanizing influence, were removed from the lives of the masses, I for one shudder to contemplate. Like every true friend of "Labour" Dr. Mary Scharlieb once aptly summed up the whole problem by saying that "housing, wages and education, with all the other necessities of life, ought to be adapted to the populations, and not the population to the economic considerations."

Z.

THE SIXTH NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA.

RESOLUTIONS.

I. Condolence.

1. This meeting of the all-India Liberals mourns the death during the last year of Sir Narayan Genesh Chandavarkar, Kt., Mr. V. R. Gupte, Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, and Babu Ashwini Kumar Dutta, all of them worthy sons of India and devoted workers in her cause. The Conference offers its heartfelt condolence to their bereaved families.

II. Self-Government.

Having in view the many inconveniences and anomalies which have been felt in practical administration under a system of dyarchy in the provinces and the incongruity and difficulty in practice of an irresponsible central Government controlling and superintending the administration of transferred departments by ministers responsible to local legislatures, having also in mind the difficulties of the central Government having no majority of its own in a legislature with a majority of elected representatives of the people, and having further in mind the immediate necessity of releasing the Government of India and the local Governments from the control exercised by the Secretary of State for India and the proved inability of the Government of India, not yet fully responsible to the people, to protect the interests of Indians settled in self-governing Dominions and Crown Colonies, this meeting of the all-India Liberals, concurring with previous meetings thereof, is emphatically of opinion that full responsible government in the provinces and complete responsibility in the central Government except in the Military, Political and Foreign departments should be esta-

published without delay, and for this purpose urges the immediate appointment of a Commission similar to that provided for in the Government of India Act of 1919 for making a full inquiry into the actual working of the present constitution and making recommendations in respect of future constitutional advance.

III. Indians Overseas.

(i) This meeting of the all-India Liberals places on record its indignation and resentment at the Kenya Decision of July last, which, besides being grossly unjust and invidious, violates the most solemn pledges of the Crown and other constituted authorities, and its firm determination, which is likewise the determination of the whole of India, never to accept any settlement which assigns to their countrymen in Crown Colonies, particularly Kenya, a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects. This meeting trusts that the Committee to be appointed by the Government of India in pursuance of the Resolution of the last Imperial Conference will be able to secure for Indians in Kenya a position in keeping with her recognised status as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth, besides safeguarding in an effective manner their economic interests.

(ii) This meeting further views with alarm the tendency of the provisions of the Kenya Immigration Bill and requests the Government of India, notwithstanding the unfavourable attitude of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to press upon him the necessity in ordinary good faith of delaying the progress of the Bill through the Kenya Legislature until the Committee above mentioned should have had opportunities of examining the measure and discussing its provisions with the Colonial Office. This meeting is further of the opinion that the Government of India should without delay appoint a strong and representative Committee and send it to England at the earliest possible date to raise the question with regard to the Kenya Immigration Bill with the Colonial Office.

(iii) In view of the facts that the political, civic and economic interests of Indians in South Africa have been for generations without adequate protection, that at the present moment their economic status is further threatened by the imposition of restraints which are humiliating to this country as well as injurious to their interests, and that the position of Indians within the Union of South Africa excepting Cape Colony has, during many years, been inconsistent with their status as subjects of a common Sovereign and with the national dignity of India; this meeting of the all-India Liberals strongly urges the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take effective retaliatory measures against the Government of that Dominion whose representative refused even at the last Imperial Conference to explore any avenue for the redress of the grievances of Indians, great numbers of whom were born in that country and own it as theirs. In particular, this meeting recommends the imposition on non-Indian South African Colonials of reciprocal restrictions and disabilities in respect of the franchise, both political and municipal, eligibility for the public services and the right to hold properties and trade, mining and navigation licenses.

(iv) This meeting strongly urges (1) an amendment of the Racial Distinctions Removal Act so as to deprive non-Indian South African Colonials in India of the special privileges still accorded to them in criminal trials, and (2) the imposition of a prohibitive import duty on South African coal, taking care at the same time by suitable measures, to provide adequate facilities to Indian coal in the way of transport and otherwise.

IV. Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals places on record its high appreciation of the services rendered by Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K. C. S. I., at the last Imperial Conference to the cause of Indians overseas in general and Kenya Indians in particular and notes with satisfaction that the Kenya Decision is no longer found to be treated as final and that the Committee to be sent by the Government of India will raise the entire question with the Colonial Office.

V. Retrenchment.

While taking note of the recommendations of the Inchoape and the various Provincial Retrenchment Committees, this meeting of the all-India Liberals calls upon the Central and Provincial Governments concerned to effect all possible economies and to lose no time in exploring further avenues of retrenchment.

VI. Removal of the Sex Disqualification.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals is of opinion that the time has arrived for the removal of the sex disqualification in regard to membership of and franchise for the Provincial and Central Legislatures.

VII. Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals deprecates the delay in carrying into effect a long overdue reform viz: the separation of Judicial and Executive functions and urges the Government to lose no time in giving immediate effect to it.

VIII. Labour Representation.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals desires to press on Government and Liberal organisations the need of encouraging the establishment of trade unions in the country and of labour being adequately represented in Provincial and Central Legislatures by direct election instead of by nomination as at present.

IX. Protection to Indian Industries.

This meeting of all-India Liberals is of opinion that Protection to industries of national importance should be given, the period, form, and degree of protection depending upon the condition and prospects of each industry.

X. Repeal of the Princes Protection Act.

This Conference urges that the Indian States Act should be repealed as early as possible, as it is opposed to the interest both of British India and of the Subjects of Indian States.

XI. The Army.

(1) This meeting of the All-India Liberals is emphatically of opinion that it is the duty of the Government to take steps for a more rapid training of Indian officers in all arms of the Army including the Air Force so that the Army may truly be Indianised at an early date.

(2) This meeting of the All-India Liberals considers that with a view to expedite the Indianisation of the Army and in the interests of national economy, a substantial reduction in military expenditure, accompanied with a reduction of British Troops now used for internal security purposes, should be effected as soon as possible and that in any case the recommendations of the Inchoape Committee in this behalf be given full effect to as a first step.

(3) This meeting urges that the report of the Military Requirements Committee should be published without delay.

(4) This meeting of the Liberal Federation is further of opinion that Indian young men reading in Universities or Colleges should be made to undergo some military training and discipline.

(5) This meeting of the all-India Liberals further urges that no distinction should be made in the status of officers of the territorial and auxiliary forces and in the matter of granting King's Commissions.

XII. Indian Deputation's Work.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals records its sense of high appreciation of the work done, under the most discouraging circumstances, in connection with the discussion on the Kenya question, by the Indian Delegation consisting of the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., and Messrs. B. S. Kamat and Jamanadas Dwarkadas.

XIII. The Salt Tax Certification.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals enters its emphatic protest against the certification by His Excellency the Viceroy of Indian Finance Bill 1923 providing for the enhanced Salt Tax in the face of the clearly expressed opinion of the Legislative Assembly to the contrary. In the opinion of this meeting, the Bill should not have been certified either on economic or political grounds. This meeting is further of opinion that section 67-B of the Government of India Act is wholly inconsistent with any true

responsibility of the Legislature and that even under the constitution as it is, it is necessary that the power of certification vested in the Viceroy should be strictly limited to genuine causes affecting safety and tranquillity of British India or any part thereof.

XIV. Mr. C. F. Andrews's Services.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals places on record its sense of high appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the cause of Indians overseas in general and of Kenya Indians in particular, especially in connection with the discussions in India and England about the Kenya dispute.

XV. Uplift of the Masses.

This conference is strongly of opinion that for the purpose of accelerating the process of nation-building, more strenuous, more sustained and more vigorous efforts must be put forth by the people and Government so as to bring sound and suitable education within the reach of the illiterate masses at an early date by means of compulsion, to improve their economic and moral condition by adequate measures, to raise their political status by a broadened franchise and, in the case of the untouchables, to remove untouchability which is great impediment in the way of national advance; and further calls upon the people to make adequate sacrifices to secure this object and also upon Government to find more money for the achievement of nation building, as quickly as possible.

XVI. Mr. H. S. L. Polak's Services.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals places on record its sense of gratitude for the services rendered by Mr. H. S. L. Polak in connection with discussions in London on the Kenya dispute.

XVII. Indianisation of the Services.

This meeting of the All-India Liberals is of opinion that the real question on which it is necessary for the Government to have a definite policy for the future in connection with the Public Services is the question of the venue of recruitment.

This meeting is further emphatically of opinion that in view of the fact that the traditions of administration established in this country by British Officers have been in full operation for over half a century at least and that many of the British Officers now serving in this country will continue to hold their appointments for nearly another 25 years, it is necessary both on economic and political grounds that recruitment in all Public Services should ordinarily take place only in India, power being reserved to the Government of India to recruit experts on special terms for limited periods.

This meeting is further of opinion that the recruiting, appointing and controlling authority in future should be the Government of India and not the Secretary of State and that the Public Services Commission should be appointed by the Government of India to discharge in regard to recruitment and control of Public Services in India such functions as may be assigned thereto by rules made by the Government of India.

That the basic pay of all these Services should be on an Indian basis with special allowances to be given to British Officers on such conditions as may be determined by the Public Services Commission to be appointed hereafter.

That in regard to any grievances of a financial character or of any other kind, this meeting is of opinion that they should be examined and redress given to public servants consistently with the financial capacity of the country to bear any additional financial expenditure; provided further that before any steps are taken in this behalf, the Legislative Assembly shall be taken into full confidence by the Government.

This meeting of the All-India Liberals appoints Mr. C. Y. Chintamani to appear before the Commission to give evidence on behalf of the Liberal Federation.

XVIII. Appointment of office bearers.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals appoints Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra as Secretaries for the next year and directs that the all-India

Council should be constituted in accordance with the lists to be submitted by provincial Liberal organisations by the end of January 1924.

XIX. Swadeshi.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals strongly urges upon the people of India the urgent need of bringing into greater practice the doctrine of Swadeshi and calls upon them to make it a point to purchase Indian made goods only, wherever possible.

XX. Indians in Mauritius.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals urges the Government of India to enquire into any legislation under contemplation by the Mauritius Government which is understood to prejudicially affect the political representation of Indians settled in Mauritius and to take effective steps to safeguard Indian interests against any impending danger. And if our countrymen there fail to get their grievance redressed, this meeting of the all-India Liberals is of opinion that further assisted emigration of Indian labour to that Colony be stopped as soon as possible.

XXI. Change in the Creed.

The object of the National Liberal Federation of India and of its component organisations is the attainment by constitutional means of Swaraj (responsible self-government) and Dominion status for India at the earliest possible date.

XXII. Party Organisation.

Whereas in the opinion of the Federation it is imperatively necessary that effective steps should be taken immediately to reorganize the Liberal Party so as to bring about greater solidarity among its ranks, to extend the scope of its influence and to increase its utility and carry on an effective propaganda for the early attainment of responsible government and the securing of a status for Indians overseas compatible with India's status as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth; and whereas it is realised that these objects cannot be achieved without first raising a large Party Fund, secondly without increasing its membership, thirdly, without adopting a definite programme and policy for work, fourthly, without securing public support for that programme and policy and educating the electorates either by speeches or through the Press, English and Vernacular, or by taking other steps that may be necessary; this meeting of the all-India Liberals is of opinion that the work of organization should be entrusted to a Committee consisting of—

- 1 Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K. C. S. I. (Chairman)
- 2 The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C.
- 3 Dr. R. P. Paranjpye.
- 4 Mr. S. M. Chitnavis
- 5 Mr. C. Y. Chintamani; and
- 6 Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra } Secretaries.

This meeting further resolves that the gentlemen named above be asked to form themselves into a Committee with power to co-opt such and so many other members of the Party in India as may seem to them necessary.

This meeting directs that the above-named gentlemen shall pay visits to important centres in the country to interview members of the Liberal Party, to address meetings and to take all such other steps as may be necessary for the raising of the funds and increasing the membership of the Party and securing support for its programme and policy.

It further directs them to prepare a scheme of work by the members of this Party to be carried on among the electorates, and the people at large.

It further directs them to consider the advisability of sending a deputation of two or three members to England at such time as may seem to them proper for securing support there to the programme for further constitutional advance.

And it further authorizes the Committee to take steps for raising Funds for this deputation and also for the establishment of an organization in England for the dissemination of the views held by this Party and for securing the co-operation and support of the English politicians and public men. It further directs this committee to submit a report of its work to the Council of the Liberal Federation not later than the end of May 1924, and in consultation with the Council to

arrange for the holding of a special session, if necessary, at such time and place as may be found suitable.

This meeting places a sum of Rs. 10,000/- at the disposal of the Organising Committee to enable it to carry on the work indicated above.

The Federation further authorizes the Organising Committee to carry on the work of the Council pending its appointment; after which it shall be open to the Council to delegate all or any of its functions to the Organising Committee.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE CIVIL SERVICE OF SPAIN.

All the Spanish public officers, regardless of their profession and the department in which they serve, are divided into the following grades:

General Director of Service.

Superior Chief of Civil Administration of 1st class.

Do. do. do. of 2nd class.

Do. do. do. of 3rd class.

Chief of Civil Administration of 1st class.

Do. do. of 2nd class.

Do. do. of 3rd class.

Head of Section of 1st class.

Do. of 2nd class.

Do. of 3rd class.

Civil Officers of 1st class.

Do. of 2nd class.

Do. of 3rd class.

There is also a body of auxiliary personnel.

The Spanish civil service is entered with the grade of Civil Officer of 3rd class, by virtue of competition among those who hold a professional degree (lawyer, engineer, etc.) according to the Department they intend to serve.

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For Chief of Civil Administration of 1st class ... " 12,000.00

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Justice and Diplomatic and Consular Services are specially treated and their salaries are different from those assigned to the above grades.

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