

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

A BILL, which was opposed by the "Nehru-Muddiman Pact." Liberals and Independents as well as Swarajists was saved in the nick of time by Pandit Motilal Nehru, wedded as he is to a policy of uniform, consistent and continuous opposition, going over with his Swarajist contingent to the side of the bureaucracy. The Contempt of Courts Bill, which seeks to confer upon chartered and non-chartered Courts jurisdiction to punish summarily without a trial and without the right of appeal a person who commits contempt of court before a subordinate Court, is open to serious objection as a dangerous encroachment on freedom of the press and liberty of opinion. The objections to the Bill were fully stated by Sir Hari Singh Gour at an earlier stage and it was expected that his admirable lead would be followed by the Swarajists. The latter began well enough, Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyengar and Mr. Kelkar making the previous week a brave show of opposition. An anti-climax was however reached when at the end the Swarajist leader got up and declared his willingness to support the motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee and thus indirectly to express his approval of the principle of the Bill, provided the definition of "contempt" was deleted from the Bill. The definition was no doubt objectionable, but it formed only one of the several counts in the formidable indictment Dr. Gour had brought against it. And yet only on the assurance of the Home Member that

the definition would be omitted, the interpretation of contempt being left in each case to the court, Pandit Motilal Nehru himself walked into the Government lobby and marched his followers there too, Mr. Rangaswami Aiyengar, who had led the attack, at this stage of the discussion being one of them. This defection of the Swarajist party from the popular cause resulted in converting a sure defeat of Government on an inherently objectionable measure into a thundering victory. What must have been the feeling of Mr. Kelkar who, on a consideration of the merits of the Bill, felt constrained to vote against the motion, to find that the leader of his party has travelled so far from his original policy of indiscriminate opposition, under which even proposals of undisputed advantage to the country like the release of Mahatma Gandhi from imprisonment were to be resisted, that he leads the Legislative Assembly to support a measure which, at the least, is a measure of doubtful utility and of possible danger! Or perhaps the policy of indiscriminate opposition consists in opposing good measures and supporting bad ones?

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"Shame!" THE Legislative Assembly in its attitude to the Maternity Benefit Bill on the 26th. and 27th ulto. has not cut a very enviable figure—not to speak of that of a Government which six years ago (at Washington) was party to the passing of a "Draft Convention concerning the employment of women before and after child-birth", yet to this very hour shirks its plain duty of applying such legislation to India, hiding itself behind the easy excuse of being the Government of a "special country." It redounds to the lasting credit of Mr. N. M. Joshi that he should have formulated a definite measure to supply by a private bill the deficiency of governmental initiative—the "Maternity Benefit Bill" introduced by him a year ago at the Simla session. Last spring, at Delhi, the Bill was sent to local governments, etc. for their opinion: last week Mr. Joshi moved its reference to a Select Committee. No "immediable harm" therefore, even from the point of view of the Bill's opponents, would have accrued had the Bill been so referred. The Select Committee chosen might have been a predominantly pro-capitalist one: they would have had every opportunity of emasculating the Bill before bringing it again before the Assembly, and the latter would have had plenty of time yet to decide whether even in that form they would commit the country to it. But no—nothing would do but to kill the Bill outright.

Mr. Joshi stated that he was quite content to leave to the Select Committee all provisions fixing the amount of the benefit, the incidence of contribution and the restriction to specified industries. His proposals were anything but doctrinaire and intransigent and clearly aimed merely at the introduction, in however modest and limited a way, of a principle. But obviously that was exactly what his opponents in the Assembly wished to resist—knowing full well, that once a right principle is introduced, its gradual application in practice is but a question of time. And of the rightness of the principle—that it is the duty of the Commonwealth to see that if employers derive pecuniary advantages from women's labour, such private profits of theirs must not interfere with the primary rights of these women as mothers of their family—of the rightness of that principle there can indeed be no question and there has been no question. It is said to be the usual dodge of the devil never to contradict directly the desirability of a good proposal, but only to advise deferment of its application to a more opportune moment. If moralists are right in this hypothesis it would seem indeed as if on this occasion there had been in Simla no less than 51 *advocati diaboli* represented by that sorry *bloc* of alien bureauerats and indigenous capitalists who voted down Mr. Joshi's Maternity Benefit Bill, "amidst applause," as the Press report has it, "and a few cries of 'Shame'." At least would we add our own cry to that of the few.

#### THE Bombay Provincial Liberal

The Race Course  
Evil.

Conference last week *inter alia* passed a resolution urging that "(1) bookmakers in connection with horse-racing in this Presidency should in no case be re-allowed; (2) the running of Third Class race specials be discontinued; (3) the third enclosure on the race courses in Bombay and Poona be closed; and (4) the minimum stake be raised from Rs. 3 to Rs. 10." It will be remembered that the Deccan Sabha memorialized the Bombay Government a couple of months ago in that sense too, and the Poona Missionary Conference last month passed a similar resolution, including a deprecation of state visits to the race course and other such official recognition and encouragement of the races. Whilst we would entirely associate ourselves with all the foregoing, we cannot but regret the tendency of some enthusiasts to spoil the good case they have got, by starting off on an unbalanced, mono-idea'd side-issue. The *Dnyanodaya* of last week for instance takes the editor of the *Bombay Diocesan Magazine* to task for having in its August number defended the thesis: "Take all you can get out of the Turf Club, and say all that you feel about the betting evil." This attitude, we must say, seems to us only commonsense: but the *Dnyanodaya* manages to whip itself up into a fury over it asking, how the acceptance of money from the Turf Club can be reconciled with the injunction of not "causing a fellow-disciple to stumble"? What about a wine-merchant leaving his money to Pussyfoot Johnson? Must the wine merchant be dead, before his money can be used? Or is his death the only guarantee that he has repented of the evil of having

sold *Veuve Clicquot* and *Château Mâcon*, for which evil he wishes to make amends? And even if the Turf Club does not repent in the least, what does Mr. Edwardes prefer the Turf Club to do with its surplus money? Subsidize financially weak Turf Clubs in other parts of India? Or make the race course of Poona more attractive still? The money is legally still the property of the Turf Club—pending that income being made illegal, we certainly would rather prefer it to make good use of its money, than bad, and we are extremely sorry to year that the Bombay Y.M.C.A. has quite recently refused Turf Club donations.

Social Reform.

A SUCCESSFUL session of the Bombay Provincial Social Conference was held at Poona this week, under the distinguished presidentship of Mrs. Vidyagouri Ramanbhai, who, in her address, reviewed the Social reform movement from a woman's point of view and drew pointed attention to the existing intolerable tyranny of caste, especially in Gujarat. The best way to undermine its influence and to loosen its grip is, she appositely remarked, to ignore it. She also referred to other impediments in the way of social reform such as the ignorance of the masses and the drink evil and made a special appeal to women to devote themselves to social service. Mr. G. K. Devadhar, the chairman of the Reception Committee, in his very lucid and informing speech, maintained that what little measure of success had attended the Social Reform movement was due mainly to the vigorous efforts of the reformers and not simply to the time spirit. The propaganda for spreading the principles of social reform must now be directed towards the villages which form the cradle of the nation. The Conference passed several resolutions relating to current problems and legislative measures which are awaiting early solution. It lent its support to Dr. Gour's bill for raising the age of consent, on the lines of which Government would be well advised to amend the official bill. It welcomed the bill which Mr. Harbilas Sarda proposes to introduce in the Assembly for the prevention of early marriages, and recommended the enactment of a law for registration of conversions. In order to secure proper representation of the depressed classes in village panchayats, the Conference suggests the reservation of at least one seat for them in every panchayat, a demand which in our opinion is just and moderate. Women's franchise and property rights, the demand for the grant of local option in excise matters, and the application of the Prevention of Prostitution Act to all the cities in the Presidency, formed the subject matter of other resolutions and deserve the serious attention of Government.

Mr. Joshi and the  
Mill Crisis.

THE Poona session of the Bombay Liberal Conference did their bare duty in condemning the reduction in the workers' wage in Bombay cotton mills as altogether uncalled for and unjustifiable. The value of their resolution is considerably enhanced by the weighty support given to it by Mr. B. S. Kamat, who cannot be suspected of unfriendliness to the capitalist class. He moved the resolution in a closely reasoned and temperate speech and showed conclusively that even the Viceroy's refusal to abolish the excise duty immediately, which was regrettable, did not render the wage cut necessary. Mr. Bakhale, of the Servants of India Society, who has done yeoman's service on behalf of labour in this crisis, followed with a speech in which he showed how a reform in the management of the mills alone would save the industry from such situa-

tions, to which suggestion, however, the millowners have always turned a deaf ear. In this connection we would refer to the attacks in the press on Mr. Joshi for having declared in an interview his inability to intervene in this dispute on behalf of the employers. His position however is easily explained. In this struggle labour has proved thoroughly amenable to reason and capital obstinate and intransigent. It cost the advocates of labour no small effort in bringing workmen to reason; eventually however they succeeded in inducing in them an admirable spirit of compromise. If, however, such efforts are rewarded by the other side by a blank refusal to reconsider their position, is it any wonder if the advocates of labour throw up their hands and leave the millowners to adjust their domestic disputes as best they can? Mr. Joshi and his co-workers have consistently advised the workers to refrain from striking in their own interests. The workers know well enough that they stand to lose by a strike, but they also know that they will inflict some injury upon the millowners by going on strike. They feel their power and are anxious to use it even if it be to their own detriment. Mr. Joshi naturally enough disclaims his desire to prevent the strike in the interest of the millowners, who on their part are prepared to show no consideration for the workers, and fears that all his efforts to avert the crisis will be unavailing in face of the absolutely uncompromising attitude shown by the industry. We fail to see anything open to objection in this position.

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THE Ganapati festival in Poona has for the last two decades always been the occasion for an orgy of obscene songs and vulgar mob-oratory. Till the last year or two the attacks were levelled by extremists against their political opponents and by the orthodox against social reformers. The objects of attack meekly and patiently suffered this persecution, only hoping that the spread of education would soon purify the depraved public taste. The faint-hearted attempt intermittently made by the officials of their own accord to put a check on this annual saturnalia was denounced by the extremist politicians as an illegitimate interference with individual freedom and so these loathsome festivities went on without let or hindrance. Latterly, however, a third party has descended into the arena—the non-Brahmans. They showed as soon as they appeared on the scene that they could beat the originators of this festival on their own ground, i. e. in the employment of indecent language. Their attack is now directed against the very people who introduced this sinister element into the public life of Poona. The latter at once abandoned their former attachment to personal liberty and even applied for help from the satanic bureaucracy, who, responding in a very generous spirit, has applied the most rigorous censorship to the songs that are sung. The police are in evidence everywhere and even a show of military force is not wanting, as if a terrible breach of the peace was apprehended. The statue to the late Mr. Tilak seems to be particularly unsafe, because it is constantly guarded by policemen. One-hundredth part of such restrictions would formerly have raised a terrible outcry; but now these restrictions are eagerly invoked—by the Brahmans. Verily have the tables been turned on extremist politicians. If greater respect for public decencies can be induced in the public of Poona only by such a counterattack on the part of non-Brahmans, we confess to inability to condemn it with as much vehemence as in normal conditions would be expected of all cleanliving people.

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## DADABHAI NAOROJI—A REMINISCENCE.

By V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

TWICE I was privileged to meet Dadabhai Naoroji. The first occasion was in the very end of 1906, after he had presided over the famous Congress of that year and for the first time used the fateful word "Swaraj." Gokhale had arranged that the young men who had joined the Servants of India Society or were about to join it should wait on the Nestor of Indian Nationalism and receive his blessing on their life-mission. I had not been sworn, but I had resigned from my profession and come to Calcutta to be admitted in due form to the Society. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani too was there, for then he contemplated joining the Society. Mr. (now Sir) Dinshaw Wacha was the only stranger present. We were introduced in a few words by Gokhale, whose behaviour on the occasion I remember as a pattern of reverence and self-respect in natural and attractive combination. The Grand Old Man gave us impressive advice. One interesting statement is perhaps worthy of being recorded. He had himself contemplated the formation of a body of workers similar to the Servants of India Society and congratulated Gokhale on his good luck in realising that which to him had only been a dream.

The other time was in 1910. The Society had held a busy and fruitful session. We had resolved to open branches in Bombay and Madras, and to enable me to assume command of the Madras Branch, my training had been, as a special measure, terminated at the end of three years and a half and I had been declared Ordinary Member. The Madras contingent left Poona like men adventuring forth on a daring enterprise and resolved to fortify themselves at the start by a draught of inspiration at the very fountain of patriotism. So we went by previous appointment to Versova, where Dadabhai was surrounded by the loving care of his family. We were seated in a small room and promised not to tire the venerable patriarch. He entered in full dress and occupied a large chair. I broke the silence by a short speech explaining our presence and praying for just one word of counsel and encouragement. He said a few words in reply, by which we felt more than rewarded. A conversation ensued, in which he showed solicitude for our comfort and satisfied himself that arrangements had been made for due hospitality to us. We also succeeded in persuading him that his valuable library should be left as a legacy to our Society, where we had already a respectable collection of books on politics, history and economics and of Parliamentary and other Government records. He actually gave instructions for the removal of the volumes. But owing to causes beyond our control, the transfer could not be effectuated.

It so happened that I was in Bombay the day he passed away. Among the thousands and thousands of men and women who came to pay their last respects I was one of the few who were permitted to stay downstairs. In spite of the vastness

of the crowds the hush was nearly universal and impressive, and the solemnity was deepened by the chant of some verses from the Zend Avesta in the room where the dead lay, which sounded to me strangely like our own Sama Veda recited in the southern style, which, once heard, can never be forgotten and has the power of stirring one to one's depths.

### DADABHAI'S TEACHINGS.

ON this, the centenary birthday of our great "Nestor of Indian Nationalism" I venture to place before our readers, in Dadabhai's own words, what I think may be conceded to be some of his leading ideas.

"What has been the result of the system of government administered in India? The result has been to bring the country to a state of poverty and misery unknown elsewhere throughout the world. This result has been accomplished by the constant draining of India's wealth, for let it be known that we have to produce every year something like twenty million pounds by our labour and our produce and hand this over to the English before we can utilise a single farthing's worth ourselves." (Speech at the Lambeth Liberal Club, July 4, 1901, "British Democracy and India.") As a remedy for "the bleeding drain from India," he appealed to England to "restore India to her *natural* economical conditions. If, as in England the revenue raised from the people be returned to the people, if the income of railways and other public works taken from the people be returned to the people, to fructify in their pockets, then would there be no need for anxiety, for finance of famine, or for pinching in salt, poisoning with opium, millions of the human race." ("The Poverty of India," p. 201). Economists of to-day do not to view the "drain" in the same light as the early school of Indian economists. But though opinions may differ on the relative poverty of India, there is no room for reasonable doubt about absolute poverty. Disregard or ignorance of this fact has always led the British officials to think of India as the most lightly taxed country in the civilized world. In moving an amendment to the address in the House of Commons (February 17, 1895) Dadabhai in the course of his speech said: "It was the usual official fiction that the incidence of taxation in India was small compared with that of this country. But when they considered the incidence of taxation they must consider not simply the amount paid in such taxation, but how it compared with the capacity of the person who paid it. An elephant might with ease carry a great weight, whilst a quarter ounce, or a grain of wheat, might be sufficient to crush an ant." "From abundance you may give a large percentage with ease; from sufficiency the same burden may just be bearable, or some diminution may make it so; but from insufficiency, any burden is so much privation that in so lightly taxed a country (1s. 10d. per head according to Lord Mayo) to get a 6d. more per head without oppression should tax the highest statesmanship and intelligence without success, is

in itself a clear demonstration that there must be something very rotten in the state of India, and that the pressure of taxation must have already arrived short of the proverbial last straw that breaks the camel's back." ("The Poverty of India, pp. 60-61".)

Dadabhai calculated the income per head in British India to be Rs. 20. The data for basing economic calculations were insufficient then as they are now and Dadabhai's figure was challenged. Writing to the Under-Secretary of State for India (12th August 1880) he said, "The necessity for having correct information about the material condition of India is so very great, both to rulers and to subjects, that I venture to say that any reasonable and well-directed expenditure for this object would be productive of great good" and that the Government of India may be requested to improve the existing machinery as much as it may be needed to obtain from the different Governments the tables of production and consumption with as much approximate accuracy as possible. The tables, even so far as at present supplied, are useful and I cannot think that it would be difficult for the different Governments to improve the existing arrangements, so as to get sufficiently approximate results for the guidance of the legislation and administration of the country with the greatest practical good, and without the commission of such mistakes as are unavoidably made in the ignorance of the actual state and wants of the country." The evidence before the recent Economic Enquiry Committee showed that the government machinery for collecting economic data is far from sufficient or satisfactory and the need is not yet supplied.

The watchful eyes of Dadabhai noticed that the regulations for admission to the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich placed no bar against candidates other than of European descent. He carried prolonged correspondence with the War Office and elicited the reply that "it has been decided that pure European descent is an essential qualification" and "that only such candidates as are considered in all respects suitable to hold a commission in the Army are eligible" Dadabhai indignantly wrote back, "In your letter under reply, you say: 'It has been decided that pure European descent is an essential qualification' but you do not say *who* has so decided. Parliament has not so decided, her Majesty has not so decided, who is this mysterious great potentate, superior to the Queen, and superior to Parliament, who had the authority to decide, contrary to the express desire and decisions of the Queen, the Parliament, and the British people, represented by them? Can any man in his senses believe that out of 225,000,000 of British Indians you will not get a few thousand who are 'in all respects suitable to hold a commission in the army,' if fair and honest trial is allowed to them as candidates"? Similar correspondence was carried on with the Admiralty with results not much more heartening.

The "mysterious great potentate" to whom Dadabhai refers in his letter to the War Office has

the upper hand wherever English interests are concerned. "Propose anything for the benefit of Europeans and it is done at once. The Royal Engineering College at Cooper's Hill and the exchange compensation allowance are two notorious instances, the latter specially heartless and despotic. The Government of India has distinctly admitted that the compensation is illegal. It knew also that it would be a heartless act towards the poverty-stricken people of India. But of course, where European interests are concerned, legality and heart go to the winds; despotism and force are the only law and argument." (Statement on the Admission of Natives to the Covenanted Civil Service, 1897.) "When England's interests are concerned, their accomplishment is often a foregone conclusion. But India's always require long and anxious thought—thought that seldom begins, and when it does begin, seldom results in any thorough good results. It is useless to conceal that the old pure and simple faith in the honour and word of the English rulers is much shaken, and were it not for the faith in the conscience of the statesmen and people in this country (England) any hope of good by an alteration of the present British Indian policy would be given up." (Memorandum on the Moral Poverty of India and Native Thoughts on the Present British Indian Policy, 1880.)

Speaking as the President of the twenty-second Congress (Calcutta, 1906), Dadabhai, the father of the Indian political movement, said: "We do not ask any favours. We want only justice. Instead of going into any further divisions or details of our rights as British citizens, the whole matter can be comprised in one word—'Self-government' or 'Swaraj' like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies."

Dadabhai did not burst into public life, with a meteoric blaze. He nursed the desire to serve the people from his early youth. Writing of himself, he says: "As education advanced, thought gradually developed itself in different directions. I realised that I had been educated at the expense of the poor to whom I myself belonged. The thought developed itself in my mind that as my education and all the benefits arising therefrom came from the people, I must return to them the best I had in me. I must devote myself to the service of the people... The seeds sown in the days of my youth have brought me abundant harvest in the love and esteem of my fellow-countrymen. Is it vanity that I should take a great pleasure in being hailed as the Grand Old Man of India?"

J. B. SEN.

#### THE POONA LIBERAL CONFERENCE.

THE brief stay of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani in Bombay in the position of editor-in-chief of the *Indian Daily Mail* enabled the Liberal Party of the Bombay Presidency to conduct the deliberations of their Provincial Conference for this year under his leadership, and the whole proceedings of the Conference bore the impress of his strong and remarkable persona-

lity. On the burning topics of the day, both central and local, the Conference recorded resolutions, which, in their phrassology and in the speeches made thereto, would not compare unfavourably, as Mr. Chintamani himself claimed in his concluding remarks, with the resolutions and speeches at similar gatherings of any of the other political parties in the country. Naturally, the matter that attracted most attention at the hands of the Conference was that of further constitutional advance, and the report of the Muddiman Committee and the speeches of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy on that subject. The report was subjected in the presidential speech to a very brief but searching analysis, which showed that the Majority of the Committee had not only left alone all questions of substantial advance requiring an amendment of the India Act for the effectuation of reform, and confined itself to minor questions admitting of being solved by alterations in the rules, but that even within this restricted sphere it had failed to do what any other committee, moderately responsive to public opinion, would have done. Mr. Chintamani has categorically mentioned a number of small reforms which the Majority of the Muddiman Committee could have recommended, but has not. To take but one instance: why should the Ministers be held ineligible to hold the portfolio of Finance? One of the constant complaints against the way diarchy is being worked is that the allotment of funds is statutorily left in the hands of the reserved half of government, in consequence of which the transferred departments always suffer. The answer made by Government is that the Finance Member *qua* Finance Member belongs neither to the reserved nor to the transferred half of government, that such control as he exercises is common to both reserved and transferred departments and is not distinguishable in any respect from the Treasury control exercised in England, and that the Ministers' complaint is therefore unfounded. Even conceding all this, for the sake of argument, is there any reason why the Finance Member should always be drawn from the reserved side of Government and the Ministers should be disqualified by law from filling that office? If the Finance Member as such stands apart from both the reserved and transferred parts of Government, it but stands to reason that whoever in the Ministry or in the Council is best fitted to manage finance should be given that portfolio and that no statutory discrimination should be made against the Ministers. This is too simple a matter to require much elaboration and yet even this small modicum of substantial change the Majority of the Muddiman Committee could not bring itself to recommend. It is unnecessary to burden this article with many other instances of a like character, but one other may be cited. Whatever valid reason there may be, in respect of reserved subjects, for allowing secretaries and heads of Departments direct access to the Governor in matters where differences arise between them and the Members of the Executive Council, this practice must be sternly discon-

tinued where Ministers are professedly to be given an unfettered discretion in respect of transferred subjects; but even this whittling away of ministerial responsibility noted is not proposed to be remedied by the Committee. It should be noted that the Committee claim to make the Governor as nearly as possible a constitutional sovereign in the transferred sphere and recommend with this end in view a limitation to be put on the Governor's discretion in turning down the Ministers' proposals. It does not occur to the Committee, however, that if the responsibility of Ministers is to have any meaning, secretaries must not be allowed to go over the heads of their chiefs to the Governor to prefer an appeal as it were against the decisions of the Ministers. If the Committee have failed us in regard even to these small matters, it would be too much to expect them to recommend a generous transfer of subjects, which also could be effected without an amendment of the Act. It is to so insignificant an advance that the Government have pledged their support in the speeches of Lords Birkenhead and Reading, and the Liberal Party is therefore no less discontented than the other parties on the subject of constitutional reforms. The Liberals' demands are set forth in clear terms in the resolution passed at the Conference and in the sixteen items mentioned by Mr. Chintamani in his presidential speech. The support given by the Conference to the Commonwealth of India Bill as the basis of the Swaraj scheme to be hammered out by all sections of political opinion deserves special mention here.

The Conference will no doubt be useful as a step towards a better organization of the Liberal Party in Bombay. The Party is both small and unorganized, but it has the rare advantage of being the only party in India which has not found it necessary to change either its policy or its tactics in the midst of the numerous tergiversations through which all other parties have had to go. The no-change party of non-co-operation has so far changed that the appellation by which it was known only a few months since has already become inapplicable to it. It has dropped all politics and confined itself to the constructive programme, which is synonymous, as Mahatma Gandhi has repeatedly told us, with hand-spinning. This however, has collapsed so completely that the Mahatma already feels it necessary to start or speak of starting individual civil disobedience in order to keep the rump of his party together. The Swarajists have changed from non-co-operation to obstruction and now from obstruction to unadulterated co-operation. It is the Liberal policy alone that has stood the test of time and has remained unchanged during this period of incessant change. It is true that the fortunes of the Liberal party are at such a low ebb now just because they have stood four-square to all these passing phases of public opinion, being so little influenced by them, but the fact that the Swarajist Party has now come visibly nearer to the Liberal Party shows conclusively that the changes that came temporarily over public opinion were not changes by which far-

seeing politicians should have allowed themselves to be carried off their feet, but were changes which they should resist. This the Liberal Party did at the cost of their popularity. Though they have lost heavily at the elections, they have the consolation of having held fast to their convictions and the further satisfaction that the other parties are veering round to their policy. The defeat of the Liberals at the last General Election] has appreciably weakened the Councils. All unprejudiced observers remark that the Opposition in the Bombay Council, for instance, is now not half so strong as formerly, and the Ministers of course show a very considerable falling-off from the standard set by the previous Ministers. The Swarajist party, which is playing the rôle of the Opposition is no doubt solid and well-organised, but the superior advantage they command in this respect is more than neutralised by the lack of careful study of public questions which the Swarajists show as a body. Mr. Chintamani truly says: "Everywhere the Government have had reason to congratulate themselves upon the defeat of Liberal candidates addicted to the inconvenient habit of bestowing close and constant study upon public questions and of offering temperate, and reasoned criticisms less easy to dispose of than rhetorical rhotomontade." In the reports submitted by local Governments on the working of reforms there is more than one reference to the appreciable difference in this respect between the first and the second reformed Councils. "We had expected," these Governments say, "the new Councils to develop extremism to a greater extent than formerly; this expectation has been fulfilled, but we had also hoped these Councillors to bring to the discussion of public questions deep study and searching analysis such as were exhibited by their predecessors, but this hope was sadly disappointed. They were generally very perfunctory and superficial." This unfortunately is a fact and the loss that has resulted from the Liberal Party being practically ousted from the legislatures will be felt more and more as days go by. Time will certainly come when the acknowledgedly superior knowledge of the Liberal Party can again be put to a practical use. In the meanwhile they must derive comfort from the fact that resort to all kinds of extra-constitutional methods has only proved the soundness of their own policy. As Mr. Chintamani observed: "Military revolt being unthinkable, euphemisms for revolutionary or semi-demi-revolutionary methods having failed and being destined to fail howsoever skilfully tried, and inaction being at once cowardly, selfish and unpatriotic, we have left to us the pursuit of constitutional ends by constitutional means as the only political method open for wise patriots to follow." And that the Liberal Party will follow, in season and out of season, in fair weather and in foul.

#### A NEW OPIUM POLICY FOR INDIA.

THE time has come to define a new Opium Policy for India in the light of the Opium Conference at Geneva.

With regard to the contentions of the Government of India which are frequently made at Geneva on its behalf by Mr. John Campbell and others it is possible to accept one part and agree that a Dangerous Drugs Act for the whole of agricultural India would scarcely be practicable in the present circumstances, and that a better way of meeting the difficulties of the case may be found.

When we study the whole Opium Map of India, district by district, we find that there are very serious black spots in different places, but that the main portion of the agricultural districts does not suffer from any serious opium addiction. My own substantive proposal is that in the municipal areas of large cities where the danger of increasing opium addiction is great a Dangerous Drugs Act should be enacted. Furthermore, in the areas which are strongly infected with opium addiction, a Dangerous Drugs Act should be put into force wherever necessary, in order to clear away such excessive opium consumption. On the other hand throughout the length and breadth of the country outside these areas there need be no Dangerous Drugs Act at all. If in this way, the reformers meet the Government of India, they would ask at the same time the Government of India itself to agree to the gradual reduction of the opium offered for sale in all areas where excess is shown above the Opium Conference index figure of 6 seers per ten thousand, until it comes below that actual figure. Thus the New Policy would aim at rationing opium consumption down to this index figure.

The black spots on the map of India, which would have to be immediately rationed down to the League of Nations index figure, are as follows:—

- (1) The non-Burman consumption of opium in Burma,
- (2) The opium consumption in the Brahmaputra Valley in Assam,
- (3) The consumption in the Balasore and Puri districts of Orissa,
- (4) The consumption in Godavari and Ganjam districts,
- (5) The consumption in the Panchmahals, Broach and other Gujerat districts of Bombay Presidency,
- (6) The consumption in Sindh,
- (7) The consumption in the Central Punjab,
- (8) The consumption in the chief industrial areas of India,
- (9) The consumption in certain areas in the Central Provinces, which are seriously infected.

In addition to these areas in British India, by far the blackest spot of all, outside Assam, is probably Rajputana. It is noticeable that all round Rajputana there is an excessive consumption; and it would appear that Rajputana itself is the centre and focus of the worst opium infection. I would call attention to the fact that Rajputana opium has been one of the greatest curses even in a country so far distant as Upper Assam. The smuggling that is taking place must be enormous; and until the Government of India seriously tackles this problem

we are not likely to get rid of the opium evil altogether.

In the black spots of India, where opium consumption is excessive, the suggestion is now made that the Government of India should employ two well-known methods, which have been successful wherever they have been tried. (1) There should be a strict rationing both of individuals and of shops, the amount rationed being reduced year by year. (2) All individuals, who are allowed to consume opium in these areas, should be registered. Nothing but strictest rationing combined with registration can ever eliminate opium addiction when once it has gained a hold upon the people. This is my final verdict based on experience, after the fullest examination of the historical record of opium addiction in the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam.

Let me repeat the new Policy in detail. The aim will be to reduce the consumption of the whole of India down to the League of Nations index figure. In order to do this, the Government of India would proceed, district by district, along the path of rationing and registration, wherever excessive consumption occurs. In the town areas, where the dangers are undoubtedly the greatest, a Dangerous Drugs Act would be enacted. As soon as possible, the same course would probably also be taken in those districts where excessive consumption of a serious character had prevailed in the past, unless it were found possible to reduce the amount consumed to the League of Nations index figure without such a drastic step as prohibition.

With regard to the opium exported from India and sent to the Far East, the New Policy would be to reduce this as far as possible, in accordance with the Hague Convention articles, so that none at all was used for opium smoking. What the Government of India has already done, in the case of Macao and Persia, should be done quite strictly with every other country to which opium is now sent. This means that the Government of India itself will finally decide to what countries it is prepared to send Indian opium. The countries concerned have either to make out a good case for the need of such opium, or else to get it from elsewhere. The Government of India will make no distinction between the refusal to supply opium for smoking purposes to its own nationals and to other peoples. It will demand from other peoples a strictly accurate certificate that the opium required is for legitimate purposes; and it will put up with bogus certificates no longer. It will not be tempted or bullied into sending opium to foreign countries, where abuse is certain to occur and opium smoking is encouraged for revenue purposes. The Government, which desires Indian opium, will be obliged to satisfy the Government of India itself as to the mode in which the opium will be consumed that is sent out from India. Just as in the case of Macao, where the Government of India was not satisfied with the opium demand made by the Portuguese Government, so in the same way, the French and Dutch and other Governments of the Far East, including the British

Government itself, will have to satisfy the India Government that the opium they demand is to be used in accordance with the spirit of the Hague Convention and the League of Nations. As the opium is grown in India, India herself must be responsible for it. And if the Government of India is not satisfied that it is being rightly used, then it has every right to withhold the export of such opium from India to the country which demands it. This will be the New Opium Export Policy.

In both cases, whether for internal consumption or external consumption, it will be seen that the question of revenue will not be taken into consideration at all. The Government of India will no longer seek to make profits out of a poisonous drug. In this respect it will fall into line at last with the best traditions of the Governments of the West.

C. F. ANDREWS.

### THE LATE DR. BHANDARKAR.

#### ANOTHER APPRECIATION.

AUGUST 24 will henceforth take rank with those dates of the year, not very numerous after all, which are observed in Maharashtra as sacred to the memory of this or that great man who, being born on Indian soil, has rendered remarkable services to a section of humanity. For this date, Monday before last, witnessed the departure from this world of the spirit of Dr. Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. The late Sir Ramakrishna passed away a ripe old man, full of years and full of honours, in the midst of people who are, none or very few of them, of his generation but are rather of the generations of his sons and grandsons. And it is held in Hindu Sastra that no deep mourning should be made over the death of an old person passing away after having lived a long life and reared a large family of children and grand-children; and that his obsequies should be performed without shedding too many tears. That is a precept (where a great man like the late Dr. Bhandarkar is concerned) not only for those who are children by blood but also for that large circle of men who stand spiritually in that relation to him.

Without dwelling further, therefore, on the regret felt over this demise, let us perform the filial duty of invoking peace and Bhagavat's grace on Dr. Bhandarkar's soul which, we know for one thing, yearned for that grace more than for aught else throughout the maturer part of his life. Our next duty to the deceased is to offer him our tribute, however humble, of appreciation of his life and work.

Dr. Bhandarkar was a native of Malvan in the Konkan, a fact which used to be recalled to us in a living manner whenever we heard him talk in Marathi with the peculiar Konkani intonation. The educational system as we have it today with a University, several Colleges and numerous High Schools was almost non-existent or rather just in the throes of birth when Dr. Bhandarkar was in his boyhood. In fact the Bombay University had been recently constituted, and R. G. Bhandarkar and M. G. Ranade were among the very first batch of six students examined by the University for the B. A. degree in 1861-62, and these two candidates were the only ones that graduated that year in the first class. These have been twin names that have exercised immense influence, though in different ways and different spheres, in the shaping of the intellectual life of the Deccan. Dr. Bhandarkar

began his career as Headmaster of a High School, first in Sind and afterwards in Ratnagiri, and teaching continued to be his mission to the last during his active life. He was now and then entrusted with the work of 'Search for ancient manuscripts.' Study, research and teaching formed the absorbing pursuit of his life. He had specialised in Sanskrit studies and was appointed to the Sanskrit chair in the Deccan College in succession to Dr. Kielhorn, and all his life-long labours lay, therefore, in the field of Sanskrit. Within that field, however, his learning was wonderfully many-sided. Early, while he was yet a teacher in the Ratnagiri High School, he conceived and carried out his plan of writing suitable text-books for teaching Sanskrit grammar and initiating young learners into Sanskrit language, these being his first and second Sanskrit books so familiarly known to the student-world. They are of course based upon Panini's grammar but treat the exceedingly intricate subject with such clearness, simplicity and brevity coupled with a pretty high degree of completeness that they amply testify to their author's thorough mastery of Panini's system. An extremely difficult branch of study has been made easy and brought within the reach of the common run of students. Other series of text-books were produced by other people later on with the aim of improving upon Bhandarkar's two books and supplanting them. But the latter are holding their own against all rivals. And even if an improved and superior series appears, not much credit will attach to its production, seeing that the pioneering work having been done, subsequent refining does not require much labour or skill. Knowledge of Sanskrit and ability to study Sanskrit literature are more common among the educated of this province than among those of any other, and the credit for this state of things is almost wholly due to the combined influence of Dr. Bhandarkar's books and his personal teaching that is permeating even to the latest generations of students through a long succession of his pupils. Besides Vyakarana he had studied Nyaya, Vedanta and other Sastras and Rigveda and other branches of Vedic learning. Alongside of these varied studies he was constantly in touch with the work of antiquarian research carried on through the deciphering of inscriptions of all sorts. As the results of his labours in this direction he was able to give us his valuable "Early History of the Deccan." Dr. Bhandarkar combined in himself all the strong points in the indigenous learning of our Pandits and Sastris and all the strong points in the critical and comparative scholarship and historical sense which characterised western scholars. In Oriental learning he was an Indian savant, almost the only one fully deserving that high name. Let us hope that his example and the inspiration of his name will produce many more scholars of his calibre in this province, who will be able to advance abreast of the oriental scholars of the west in the exploration of Aryan antiquities.

Dr. Bhandarkar was also interested all along in the study of religion and philosophy. His conclusions arrived at through long-continued study and contemplation will be found embodied, at least in part, in his well-known work, "Saivism and Vaishnavism," the latest product of his mature mind. Similarly his philosophical conclusions will be found embodied in his six Wilson Philological lectures delivered long ago but published in book form more recently.

His eminence as a man of letters found full recognition at the hands of Government, the University and the educated public at large. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University. The German University of Gottingen on its own ini-

tiative conferred on him the degree of Ph. D. in appreciation of his research work.

The most eloquent memorial erected to Dr. Bhandarkar in his life time by his pupils and admirers is the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute established in 1917, and a glance at the record of the work the Institute has been doing—its annual reports, annals and various publications—will go to convince one of the magnitude of the memorial and of it being quite in keeping with the personality commemorated by it. There should therefore be no question of any fresh memorial. Resources that can be brought together as fresh tributes would best be applied to the enrichment and strengthening of the Bhandarkar Research Institute.

K. N. DRAVID.

## REVIEWS.

### KING EDWARD VII.

**KING EDWARD VII.** Vol. I, 1841-1901. By SIR SIDNEY LEE. (Macmillan & Co., London.) 1925. 9 x 6. pp. 831. £1 11s. 6d.

THERE is in biography a dualism which has never yet been resolved. Is a biography to be a detailed record of events and achievements with more or less of decoration, or is it to trace the development of a mind and a character, to mirror as in a glass the soul? The one method is descriptive and discursive, the other intuitive and intensive; the one is industrious and accurate, the fruit of patient research, the other is suggestive and imaginative, the incalculable product of art. Between these two ways no satisfactory compromise is possible, for the very success of the second demands methods which would destroy the first.

The artist, like the painter, seizes upon one aspect of his subject, and exaggerates it to dominate and explain the rest. He is filled with an idea, and facts, however accurately stated, become the attendant satellites which circle and illuminate the central orb. The scientist, on the other hand, is like the photographer whose plate is accurate but soulless, precise in its details and impartial in its division of light and shade, but lacking in inspiration and vision. The artist interprets what the scientist states.

Sir Sidney Lee has tried to solve the problem by producing, so to speak, a painted photograph. Accuracy and fullness, he states in his preface, are essential to biography and so he has taken a photograph; a living man, he realises, is essential to art, and so he has painted his photograph. The book is both encyclopædically full and scientifically accurate, but it is also a living picture of Prince Edward—opening bazaars, thwarted by his mother, the centre of society, the genial host, the habituè of the Hotel Bristol, the continental traveller, and through all, the international diplomatist, with an ever-growing distrust of Germany. Nevertheless the coloured photograph is no substitute for a genuine painting, and we still feel at the end of it all, that the work is descriptive rather than suggestive, that we have seen the Prince from the street, across the banquet table or in the Council room, but not in his own inner chamber with his heart laid bare. We have still to arrive "in the flash of one trembling glance" at those dark recesses of the soul where the destinies of men are decided. King Edward awaits his Lytton Strachey.

This volume thus gives materials for estimating his character rather than the character itself. It is a full, clear and eloquent summary, marred only by

an occasional excess of diplomatic verbiage and a vagueness where tact has prevailed over clarity. Why are there only five incidental references to the Duke of St. Albans, "a young man of weak character" who became the Prince's "close associate", and what was the quarrel which ended the intimacy with Lord Charles Beresford? The way to dissipate the traditional rumours is not to pass them over with polite circumlocutions but to give a chapter to a frank discussion of his friends and his character in youth.

The weakest part of the book is the treatment of the Kaiser. Sir Sidney has ample material for his thesis of his instability and double mindedness, but he prejudices the issue by strings of epithets and opprobrious adjectives. The Kaiser's attitude to his English relatives is that of "an ill-trained and ill-tempered child." "Disapproval on England's part of his arrogant advances provoked a dishevelled tangle of underhand efforts to damage her power and prestige." His remark, "our future lies on the water," is a "brazen boast" and his clever letter to Queen Victoria in defence of the Krüger telegram is written "in a strain of wheedling." On p. 762 we read of his "sordid imaginings," his "base promptings," and "the shuffling workings of his mind"; indeed the Kaiser never does anything without the help of an adjective.

The fact is that Sir Sidney judges foreigners by their attitude to English policy; those who assist it are "great" like Delcassè, those who hinder it are "mischievous" like the Kaiser, or "bitter" like the French after Fashoda, or "sporting for a fight" like the Boers. The other side of the diplomatic picture is revealed by Count Bülow's remark that the Boer war was a good opportunity for checking England's "Imperialistic cupidity" and by Muravieff's and even Delcassè's encouragement of the Kaiser's proposals for intervention (p. 765). Finally no remark of the Kaiser was more absurd than the Prince's hope "that when the British ambassador returned from the Chancellor's dinner he washed his hands with carbolic soap after shaking hands with the Boer representative". There was universal suspicion in Europe in those days and each country thought it had good reason for distrusting the others. There is no place for patriotic passion in high politics and those who cannot understand diplomacy should not abuse diplomats.

King Edward was born in 1841, the second child of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. For the first seven years he lived a care free nursery life, enlivened by sallies like the question to Archbishop Howley at a christening, "What is that on your head?", which evoked the solemn reply, "It is called a wig", and sobered by Lady Lytton's gloomy doubts in 1848 as to whether "he would be a Prince in ten years' time". From the age of seven the unimaginative solicitude of the Prince Consort and the industry of Baron Stockmar, punctuated by queenly encomiums of "dear Albert", imposed a strict regimen of literary study and improving society on the Prince. The result was at first "frequent outbursts of temper" and later a distaste of all reading, a love of gay society, of light opera as opposed to the Shakespeare of his youth, and a passion for the details of dress and the niceties of etiquette. But he early learnt not to attack what he could not alter and a parental memorandum on his coming of age was appropriately greeted "with floods of tears".

In 1864 he married Princess Alexandra of Denmark, the fifth on King Leopold's list of prospective brides. The marriage seems to have been happy and had several consequences. The Prince assumed the social activities neglected by his mother and for 45

years was the unquestioned leader of society. Cosmopolitanism replaced the Puritan intellectualism of the Prince Consort, bankers were recognised as gentlemen, and racing became the royal sport.

With his marriage there also began a struggle for a voice in affairs which only ended with Victoria's death. The Prince wished "to be of use" but the Queen, convinced of his son's frivolity, always refused him office, and for long even access to official papers. The creeping hand of age and permanent seclusion slowly loosened that tenacious grip, but it was not till the nineties that she asked her son's advice and on occasion deferred to his opinion.

A series of travels led him in 1876 to India. His mother pursued him with telegrams on the subject of health, urging his suite "to use her name freely." The Prince was an orthodox imperialist, but his cosmopolitanism saved him from racial prejudice (the Sassoons of Bombay became close friends) and led him to denounce the prevalent Anglo-Indian arrogance. Disraeli recalled the Resident of Hyderabad as a result of his protests and he earned the compliment of having Lord Lytton's efforts to improve the official tone ascribed "to the malign influence of the Prince of Wales."

His Danish marriage and his French sympathies led, with the Danish and Franco-German wars, to a suspicion of Germany which developed into a rooted distrust of Bismarck and a personal feud with William II. Edward disliked his nephew's gusty ways and was outraged by the Krüger telegram, while the Kaiser called his uncle the "old peacock", refused to meet him at the Austrian Court, outbuilt his yacht for the Cowes regatta (an unforgivable offence) and attempted a coalition against England during the Boer war. Imperial telegrams and avuncular disgust between them wrecked Anglo-German agreement in the nineties.

But what of the man Edward behind this tangle of diplomatic civilities and social futilities? He had no deep sense of religion, but beneath his love of trivial amusement and gay talk lay a shrewd grasp of affairs and a steady desire to assert himself. Here was no buckram prince. Prince Edward was ambitious. For sixty years his life was one of frustrated effort, a knocking at the gates of political power kept closed by the obstinacy of the ageing queen. On occasion his wrath flashed out and an imperious prince emerged for a moment from the screen of complacent geniality, but a Stuart determination not to go on his travels kept him from open revolt, domestic or political. His social gaiety was only a cloak to hide his disappointment, and his despotism in the only province left him, etiquette and dress, was his solace for his lack of real power. His hunger for power is the secret of all his adult life, of his eager suggestions for cabinet-making, and even of his tours and conversations abroad, where a Prince of Wales received the attention he considered his due. Prince Edward was a disappointed man, and it was the tragedy of the English monarchy that a prince so fitted to rule should have been turned into a king of fashion and of the race course through the narrowness of an infatuated widow.

But when all is said and this monumental biography is complete the soul of the Prince will not even then have been laid bare. For the profoundest insight, for the truest character sketch we shall still go, not to the laborious findings of research or to the tortuous windings of diplomacy, but to the mythical Prince Florizel of Robert Louis Stevenson.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

I. L. O.

### INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

SEVENTH SESSION, GENEVA, 1925. REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR. pp. v & 509. 12 x 8½.

THIS massive tome contains the Annual Report of the Director of the International Labour Organization for the year 1924. If it is quite a task to read it, one can well imagine what task it must have been to write it! The first section deals with the general activity of the Organization, its internal machinery, international labour legislation, information and relations; the rest of the report in 324 pages sets forth an "examination of results" firstly in general, secondly as a summary of the Annual Reports receivable under art. 408 of the Versailles Treaty.

The separation of the examination of the results into two parts is not obvious: one ventures to think that the whole would be made more digestible, if the two parts were amalgamated and not spun out at such length. Similar criticism forces itself upon one in respect of the First Part too. A whole chapter there on "General Results" (pp. 73-127) could surely to a large extent be incorporated into the Second Part ("Examination of Results"). Again within the First Part itself, Chapter 4 is supposed to deal with "Relations," but relations with Governments have already been dealt with in Chapter 1, pp. 8-35. The arrangement altogether is not of that lucidity and logical clarity, which one is always told to expect from a Latin! We humbly suggest that it would be a great advantage to group the whole Report under a few great headings, say (1) Internal Organization (which should include the work done in conjunction with the League and by special Committees), (2) Research and Publicity, (3) External Relations, (4) Results of the year under review—and having so grouped them, to stick to each subject and not reiterate somewhere else what has already been said.

To have offered this criticism is indeed only proof of the comprehensiveness of the Report, which is so replete with every kind of interesting information that it seems to us really essential that its bulk should be reduced as much as possible, as we think could be done by a greater aim at terseness and brevity rather than by indulgence in rhetorical prolixity. M. Albert Thomas naturally has a great deal to say, and this is his opportunity for saying it: and the temptation to quote from his Report is correspondingly great. But here we must restrict ourselves to the primary point—whether the Organization is really making good or whether it is not being sabotaged and gradually brought to a standstill by the Governments of the countries of which it is composed. What has the 1924 Report to say on this vital question?

The Director makes no bones about it that many Governments merely keep the I. L. O. in their shop window, so to speak, in order, as he puts it, "to attest outside their boundaries and before international public opinion their desire for progress" (p. 8). That in itself bespeaks the emergence of a new kind of "prestige" which is altogether to the good. Far worse is the "indifference" (p. 40) to the vital needs of the Organization, shown by so many Governments even in the mere matter of supplying information asked for (p. 157). And worst of all of course is the downright hostility manifested by so many other Governments, who refuse "to carry out the undertakings to which they have subscribed by becoming Members of the Organization" (p. 110)—some of whom actually "failing to respect strictly the engagements under which they are bound to submit Draft Conventions or Recommendations to the competent authorities" (p. 135); whilst the rest barefacedly put every

new obstacles in the way of ratifying the very Conventions agreed to by themselves. "What will become of the Organization if these obstacles which hinder all endeavours to establish international labour legislation cannot be effectively overcome, and if the great States refuse to ratify Conventions? Can the maintenance of the Organization be guaranteed if its activities are confined to the work of information and scientific research?" (p. 72). These are searching questions indeed and one feels that the caustic remarks levelled by M. Thomas at the Russian Government ("the diplomacy of chicanery and volte-face pursued by the Soviet Government whenever it is not negotiating with communists" (p. 30) are at least as much deserved by the "Great Powers" in their attitude over the ratification of the eight hour day convention, to mention nothing else, when "negotiating with" the I. L. O.

Not that we would be reckoned amongst those "who cry down the international civil service which has been set up during the last six years" as an "international bureaucracy": we wholeheartedly agree that "without it international relations would have remained as they were, intermittent and inadequate; that the provisions of the Peace Treaty would already be forgotten and the States by now have returned unconsciously to their old habits of selfishness and of giving exclusive attention to their own interests" (p. 358). The crux of the whole matter is—and with this quotation let us close—

So long as the sovereign States believe that they can solve their common difficulties by their own independent efforts, so long will the League of Nations remain a backwater of the stream of international life: but the day the conviction that there can be no stability and peace but through its organization triumphs, the League will become the living thing that it ought to be. In the same way, the International Labour Organization will only grow to its full stature when the various States and the individuals who are in control of industry realise that social justice, on which alone industrial peace and efficient production can be based, can only be founded on the solid mutual guarantees provided by such organization. It is the duty of all friends of peace and justice to devote themselves to propagating this belief and to demonstrating that the International Labour Organization is capable of realizing the hopes which went to its creation. (p. 366.)

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

## MISCELLANEA.

### BOMBAY PROVINCIAL LIBERAL CONFERENCE.

#### TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS.

*The following are the more important resolutions passed at the fourth session of the Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference held at Poona on the 29th and 30th August.*

#### CONSTITUTIONAL ADVANCE.

(a) This session of the Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference records its sense of profound dissatisfaction at the recent pronouncements of the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy as embodying a misleading view of the working of the present system of government in India and reducing to a *non possumus* the question of constitutional advance and the virtual acceptance of the Majority Report and the rejection of the Minority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee and, generally speaking, conclusions which offer no satisfaction to the wishes and aspirations of the people of India, nor any solution of the difficulties actually experienced in the administration of the system now in force.

(b) It is the deliberate conviction of this Conference that the interests of good government and efficient administration and the well-being and advancement of the people

alike demand that without any loss of time His Majesty's Government should accept and carry into effect the principal recommendation of the Minority of the Muddiman Committee, viz. that steps should be taken forthwith by the appointment of a Royal Commission or otherwise to put the constitution of British India on a permanent basis with provisions for automatic progress in the future.

#### COMMONWEALTH OF INDIA BILL.

This Conference accords its cordial support to the main principles of the Commonwealth of India Bill and recommends it to the consideration of the Government, the Liberal Federation and other political bodies in India.

#### SELF-DEFENCE.

Having in view the responsibility of the British Government for the deplorable position of Indians in the Army and the use that is being made of that position to withhold from them the right of self-government, this Conference condemns the attitude of the Secretary of State to the national demand for the Indianisation of the Army. The scheme of gradual Indianisation that has been adopted involves intolerable delay and is hopelessly inadequate. The Conference hopes that the recommendations of the Skeen Committee will result in the provision of satisfactory facilities for the highest training of Indians in adequate numbers in all branches of the Army, including the Artillery and the Air Force.

#### INDIANS OVERSEAS.

(a) This Conference records its indignant protest against the outrageous anti-Indian Bill lately introduced in the Union House of Assembly by the Minister of the Interior, with the object of making it impossible for Indians to live and carry on business in that Dominion and explicitly treating them as "aliens." This measure is the latest and most offensive attempt of the Union Government against Indians and this Conference strongly urges the Government of India to represent the unanswerable case of Indians with the strength and determination which a national Government would have shown and further to take retaliatory measures to mark the resentment of the people of India of whose interest and honour the Government ought to be the custodians.

(b) This Conference requests the Indian delegation to the forthcoming session of the League of Nations in Geneva to raise before that Assembly the question of the disabilities of Indians in the mandated territory of Tanganyika in pursuance of the resolution passed in the Indian Legislative Assembly on the subject in the last Delhi session.

#### PRIMARY EDUCATION.

(a) This Conference earnestly asks Government and the Local Authorities in the Presidency to take immediate steps for the introduction of free and compulsory primary education.

(b) That, while appreciating the anxiety of Government early to put the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1923 into operation by the transfer of the control of primary education to local bodies, this Conference strongly protests against the attempt to saddle the local bodies with financial burdens till now borne mainly by provincial revenues.

#### THE CIVIL SERVICES.

This Conference strongly protests against the decisions of His Majesty's Government to give effect to the recommendations of the Lee Commission regarding the future of the civil services independently and in anticipation of any decision on the subject of constitutional advance with which the question of the services is intimately and inseparably connected. In the opinion of this Conference the action that is being taken by the Government is utterly incompatible with the basic idea of responsible government, which is the declared policy of Britain.

#### THE BOMBAY MILL INDUSTRY.

(a) This Conference strongly disapproves of the decision of the Government of India against the immediate repeal of the excise duty on Indian cotton goods and regards it as calculated to harm the industry.

(b) This Conference urges Government to appoint a committee forthwith to inquire into the condition of the industry

with a view to find out whether it cannot hold its own against foreign competition without assistance from Government.

(c) This Conference is of opinion that the decision of the millowners in Bombay to reduce the wages of the mill operatives from September next is harsh and unjust and should not be carried into effect.

#### REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN INDIAN STATES.

While welcoming the steps that have been taken by the rulers of some Indian States to introduce representative institutions for the better government of the States, this Conference urges the rulers of all States to take effective steps to associate their subjects in the government as the best means of improving their moral and material condition.

#### EXCISE POLICY.

(a) This Conference, while expressing its satisfaction at the adoption by the Bombay Government of total prohibition as the goal of its excise policy, puts on record its feeling of dissatisfaction that (1) they are not prepared to specify any period of time within which they would seek to achieve their goal, (2) that they have rejected the policy of local option by means of which mainly prohibition should be brought about, and (3) that they do not commit themselves to a continuous reduction of the supply of liquor year after year till prohibition is attained.

(b) This Conference accords its general support to the bill on this subject which Mr. R. G. Pradhan is seeking to introduce in the Council.

#### THE MEDICAL SERVICES.

This Conference disapproves of the policy announced by the Secretary of State in regard to the future of the medical services in India and urges that the military and civil medical services should be wholly separated and that the recruitment for the former should be made mainly and for the latter entirely in India, by means of competitive examinations.

#### RACE-COURSE BETTING.

This Conference urges, especially in the interests of the poorer sections of the community, that (1) bookmakers in connection with horse-racing in this Presidency shall in no case be re-allowed; (2) the running of third class race specials be discontinued; (3) the third enclosure on the race courses in Bombay and Poona should be closed, and (4) the minimum stake should be raised from Rs. 3 to Rs. 10.

#### SWADESHI.

This Conference strongly urges upon the people of the Presidency the urgent need of bringing into greater practice the doctrine of Swadeshi and calls upon them to make it a point to use Indian made goods only wherever possible.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- SHARING MANAGEMENT WITH THE WORKERS. By BEN. M. SELEKMAN. (Russell Sage Foundation, New York.) 1925. 8 x 5½. pp. 142.
- THE CHARACTER OF RACES. By ELLESWORTH HUNTINGTON. (Charles Scribners' Sons, New York.) 1925. 9½ x 6. pp. 383. \$ 5.
- THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN ITALY. By E. A. LLOYD. (The Fabian Society, London.) 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. 136. 4s. 6d.
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