

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU was by force of circumstances obliged to play at Cawnpore the incompatible rôles of advocate and opponent of responsive co-operation at the same time. He is going to blossom into a Sinn Feiner at the end of March or possibly even at the end of February, but in the two intervening months he is determined to continue his policy of co-operation albeit under the alias of obstruction. Anyhow he showed himself obstinately unwilling to come out of the Skeen Committee or to ask Mr. Patel to leave the Assembly chair. Of the retention of these two places in the gift of Government he is reported to have made a vigorous defence, which is only another way of saying that he made himself a vigorous advocate on behalf of Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar against Pandit Motilal the non-co-operator. Mr. Patel's acceptance of the Speakership he defended on the ground that the Viceroy could not remove Mr. Patel from the chair, thus showing that his tenure of office was independent of Government's favour or disfavour. Naturally he slurred over the fact that Mr. Patel owed his appointment to the Viceroy, and that his election by members of the Assembly, in which, be it remembered, the official members participated, could take effect only after the Assembly's choice had been confirmed by the Viceroy. If this confirmation was a mere matter of form, a similar claim cannot be advanced in favour of Pandit Motilal's own nomination on the Skeen Committee. His selection was due both in theory and in fact to Government's absolute pleasure and

unfettered discretion. That such an office he cannot relinquish even when the Sinn Fein fever is on shows that there is a lot to be said for responsive co-operation after all.

His work on this official Committee presided over by an officer in the pay of Government, he declared, has proved a veritable eye-opener to him. Would anyone believe that he has now free access to confidential papers relating to a subject which has so far been a sealed book to our public men? But that is a fact. He is now in possession of facts to which he would have been a stranger as a non-co-operator. He felt, therefore, that he had no right to deny to his country the advantage which co-operation alone, call it responsive co-operation, you will, could secure. Unanswerable logic, this, though it sounds rather strange that to such a veteran politician as the Pandit it should have come as a perfect revelation that confidential documents are occasionally placed at the disposal of members of Committees and that useful work could be transacted through that channel. But with what greater effect could the same reasoning be advanced in favour of the acceptance of Ministerships?

Any confidential documents in their own or in reserved departments can by right be demanded by them; in fact no paper can be withheld from them as some may be from members of Committees. Again, the function of Pandit Motilal and his colleagues is merely to advise; but that of Ministers is to decide. Pandit Motilal cannot even complain if his recommendations are set aside by Government. There is nothing out of the normal if this happens. But in the rare cases when Ministers are overruled by the Governor, constitutional crises are produced, which can only be ended, provided that the Ministers have a solid backing of the Legislature, by the Governor giving way. The Ministers are again the accredited agents of the elected representatives of the people. Pandit Motilal is a pure nominee of Government. If his devotion to the common weal makes it impossible for Pandit Nehru to forego the comparatively slight advantage of his being able to recommend what he considers to be the right military policy, never mind if the recommendation is immediately thrown on the scrap heap by Government, is it any wonder that some others find it hard to throw away opportunities not of recommending, but of carrying out, sound education and temperance policies, in accordance with popular sentiments? Has it been proved that all such men are inspired by mere love of money and empty pomp in accepting office?

In suggesting the formation of an Overseas Department of the Congress, Mrs. Naidu said in her presidential speech, "I cannot conceive how we have allowed ourselves to be so heavily handicapped by the lack of an official publicity campaign. A reliable

The World Outside  
and Congress.

foreign news service should be established to transmit to all the chief countries of the world the correct version of Indian affairs, and friendly embassies appointed to foster feelings of goodwill and understanding between India and the people of other lands." On this the *Guardian* has some very acute observations to make. "It is singular," it says, "that Mrs. Naidu cannot conceive how her party handicapped itself in this manner, seeing that surely she, along with others, voted at the time against a continuance of the Indian Publicity Bureau of the Congress in London. Since she went to South Africa herself, the value of 'friendly embassies' seems to have become obvious to her; one can only regret that her voice was not raised to the same purpose, when Mr. Srinivasa Sastri went on exactly such a 'friendly embassy' round the other Dominions and was reviled for doing so by all the self-styled 'patriots' of this country. Evidently, at that time, she had not yet realized what a heavy handicap the logical application of Mr. Gandhi's Sinn Fein policy constituted. Well, better late than never. Our best wishes to Mr. Benarsidas Chaturvedi in his heavy task of organizing an Overseas Department in the Congress: we are afraid, his will be no bed of roses, if, as we know he will, he takes his work seriously."

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#### A Dog in the Manger Policy.

THE dog-in-the-manger policy of the Swarajists, who will not do any constructive work themselves and will not let others do it, has recently received downright condemnation at the hands of such a sincere non-co-operator as Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. Since the Congress went into pawn with the Swarajists at Patna, a real non-co-operator can have little heart in the Congress proceedings; it is, therefore, small wonder that Mr. Rajagopalachari elected to stay away from the Congress this year. But his love of politics is not dead in him; and as the revival of non-co-operation is now out of the question, he advises the Swarajist party to leave off their sterile policy of obstruction, which again at the present time exists only in name, and to take up constructive work. His idea of constructive work is not so narrow as to exclude everything else than spinning. He, therefore, calls upon the Swarajists to concentrate for the present on prohibition in the Madras presidency and counsels the electorate not to elect men who have obstruction or Sinn Fein on their lips, but rather to elect those that will pledge themselves to work for prohibition, to whichever party they may belong. Such advice naturally becomes unpalatable to the Swarajists, for they know that if any piece of constructive work like compulsory education or prohibition is substituted for obstruction as the election programme their claim to be returned to the Legislative bodies becomes very shadowy indeed. To this suggestion, that prohibition should be made the election cry, the Swarajists of Madras have given a definite refusal. "With us," they say, "problems like education and temperance occupy a very subordinate place; Swaraj alone is to us the important issue."

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Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is, however, not a man to be hoodwinked by such phrases. It may perhaps be possible for a member of the Assembly to take up the position that he will give no heed to mere details of administration, but will attend only to Swaraj—though the Swarajists in the Assembly are not not known to give practical effect to this idea—but for members in the provincial legislatures to say that Swaraj alone will be their concern is sheer hypocrisy. "What is it in the Madras Council,"

asks Mr. Rajagopalachari, "that you are going to do if you don't come down from the general to the particular, if you won't accept office, won't put any others in office, won't take up a crying question like drink abolition? Why stand at all then for this Council?" The Swarajists are unable to answer this question satisfactorily, but the argument they use in their defence run thus: "It is absolutely impossible to have or enforce prohibition in this country till we have Swaraj. Therefore the whole attention of the nation must be concentrated on the single issue of Swaraj, not only for prohibition, but for the nation's very existence. Any other issue is a distraction." But why is prohibition impossible without Swaraj? Because, foresooth, you cannot enforce it on sister provinces nor on Native States. But will you be able to enforce it under Swaraj? The supreme issue, therefore, should be not Swaraj, but autocracy, not only in British but in Indian India. Again, how is one to fight for Swaraj in the provincial Councils? And, thirdly, if Swaraj is the one issue in which Swarajists will interest themselves, why is their leader, Pandit Nehru, working not for the establishment of a military college in India but working for a recommendation to this effect by a certain Committee? And why does he stand by the side of Government in supporting the Contempt of Courts Bill? Did this Bill contain a proposal for the establishment of Swaraj? Let Sinn Fein methods materialize when they will, but for the present Swarajism affords a very decent excuse for masterly inactivity in every sphere on the ground that the party is engaged in hastening the advent of Swaraj.

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THE second session of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Conference passed off successfully in Bombay last Sunday. Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasad Tiwary was elected President, who delivered a very valuable address, making exceedingly useful suggestions based on his long experience of labour employed on the railways. Discussing the mill situation, he said, the cut in the wages of mill workers could have been avoided if a part of the enormous profits made by the employers had been placed to the reserve fund to be used in years when the industry did not prosper. He said: "During the war period from the year 1917 to 1922 the mills had made huge profits: of 92.69% on capital invested in 1919, of 102.98% in 1920, of 92.73% in 1921, and 98.46% in 1922. These are very huge profits and I suggest for the consideration of the mill-owners that on similar occasions it would be prudent for them to keep a large portion of such abnormal profits in reserve instead of distributing them among the shareholders. This they should do for the stability of the mills themselves. The reserve thus kept would be very useful in balancing the dividends in lean years and giving a stability to the mill industry. This would avoid violent changes in the share market which often prove ruinous to speculators. I make this suggestion for the consideration of the directors of the mills. A precedent for this procedure will be found in the practice of the Indian Railway Companies. The Directors of the B. B. & C. I. Railway Company give a regular dividend year after year, whether the profits of a particular year be abnormally low or high. Had the textile mills of Bombay made such a provision in the unusually prosperous years, the necessity of cutting down the wages of the poor workers would not have arisen under the adverse conditions of the mill business and this year we should not have seen the painful spectacle of the biggest strike we witnessed recently in Bombay." The address abounded in such useful and practical suggestions, some of which were embodied in resolutions.

## HINDUS AND MUSLIMS.

By V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

SIR ABDUR RAHIM'S speech is a challenge to Indian nationalism. The most rigid vow of silence must now be broken. It is a deliverance of first class moment. Sir Abdur Rahim has filled high positions and is a recognised leader of his community. India can never forget his great services at the time of the Islington Commission on public services. High culture and wide experience are united in him to a perception of India's need which has been tested, and fearless patriotism which cannot be doubted. Nor does his outburst stand alone. He was followed in clear tones by Mr. Jinnah, who has at last defined his position, by Sir Ali Imam and Mr. Mahomed Ali, both of whom have gone back after a few years of nationalism to their original separatist attitude, and the latter of whom has thereby sharply and decisively sundered himself from his passionately-loved *Guru*. The recent session of the Muslim League at Aligarh is indeed a thunderbolt.

I have in a humble and respectful spirit endorsed Mr. Gandhi's resolve not to speak or write on the Hindu-Muslim problem. I have occasionally lapsed from the resolve, but none the less I recognise its wisdom. There is none so pure but he will be suspected; there is none so high but his authority will be questioned, if he touches this problem. It is difficult to do any good, but it is fatally easy to do irreparable harm. The members of our Society are sworn to the service of all Indians alike, irrespective of caste, community or religion. We have held ourselves precluded by this vow from joining sectarian or communal organisations. Discrimination being impracticable and attended with serious risk, we have avoided all such movements, good, bad and indifferent. Once only did Mr. Gokhale allow himself to deviate from this rule. That was when he permitted a Muhammadan member, now no longer on our roll, to assist the promoters of the Muslim University. When he was asked to depute a member for similar assistance in the formation of the Hindu University, he firmly declined. It is, therefore, with the utmost trepidation that I join this controversy. I do so in the interests of the future nation. My only desire is to help.

I gladly recognise that many Moslem leaders sincerely believe that the advent of Indian nationality will be furthered and hastened by yielding to the separatist desire; and so winning the confidence of the minority. They believe that they are only gratifying a temporary aberration on the part of their community and expect it to be abandoned with the growth of national unity. Unfortunately, I do not share this belief. It seems in flat contradiction of our experience since 1909. The separatist feeling grew and grew after that year until the Indian National Congress, after some years of resistance, actually recognised and embodied it in the now

famous Lucknow pact. At the time of that pact both Hindu and Muslim nationalist patriots devoutly hoped that it was only to be for a time and confined to the apportionment of seats in the Legislature. Alas, for the vanity of human hopes! Like rank poison it quickly spread; it got into Municipalities and Local Boards; and when Sir Muhammad Shafi was Education Minister, it defiled even the sacred places of learning. From the followers of Islam it infected other communities, European, Anglo-Indian, Indian Christian, Sikh. It then performed a miracle in history. From being the shield of minorities it became in South India the battle-cry of an overwhelming majority. Now communalism is the God whom most people openly worship in India, including a great many who profess themselves to be the votaries of unity and of nationality. At this very moment when the progressive parties have apparently put forward a united national demand for home rule, the most striking and wide-spread political phenomenon in the country is the large number of caste and communal conferences at which all the emphasis is laid on separate interests, and little, if any, on national interests. Every now and then the public peace is broken by disturbances which in some cases swell into riots, attended by ill-feeling and bloodshed out of all proportion to the immediate provocation. Public offices too have become a prolific cause of bitter contention among the communities, so much so that fitness, efficiency and the needs of the State are no longer the principal considerations in recruitment and promotion, and the public services show a decline of morale which must in its turn weaken and debase the national character. No wonder the Anglo-Indian and British Press heaves a sigh of relief and notes this phenomenon with feelings ranging from genuine commiseration to open glee. Even if it be wrong to attribute the whole of this evil to the presence of communal electorates in our franchise system, we cannot help looking upon it as the main contributory cause and it becomes our duty to think seriously of remedies and palliatives.

The Lucknow pact, as embodied in the present constitution, proceeded on the theory, then an article of creed among the Mussalmans, that their community, although dispersed among the provinces in uneven proportion, was nevertheless one integral unit, and that deficiency of representation in some provinces would be accepted if balanced by excess in others. If, however, that article of creed no longer commands the faith of the community and a revision of the pact is demanded, there is no alternative to that principle except representation according to numerical proportion. In strict justice this proportion should be based on the relative voting strength, not on absolute population figures. But this is likely to disturb notions of majorities and minorities

long fondly cherished, and we shall all do well to abandon such correctitude. "Adequate and effective representation of minorities" is not sufficiently determinate. If it means the maintenance of the present weightage or excess in certain provinces, it is inconsistent with the other principle, viz. the maintenance of majorities. As a member of the Reforms Enquiry Committee observed when the proposal was made before that body, the Muhammadan demand would amount to "Heads I win; tails you lose." No durable settlement can be based on it.

The next demand is in the nature of a safeguard for minorities: when in a legislature or other elective body three-fourths of the representatives of a minority community oppose a bill or resolution it should be dropped. Such a provision found place in the Lucknow pact. At the time of the enactment of the present constitution it was found to be so impracticable that it had to be put aside. Some minorities are so very small that three-fourths of them may well be a tiny knot of individuals, and it would be dangerous to endow them with a practical veto on legislation or administration. Assuming, however, that the veto was to be confined to certain large minorities, it would still have to be further restricted in respect of the subject matter of legislation or resolution. And a referee or other arbitral authority would have to be devised for settling whether a certain bill or resolution or which part of it came within the scope of the safeguard. Even so hedged round, it might in practice create more difficulties than it composed.

The ideal arrangement in which there is a general register of voters and the candidate's birth, race or religion is not taken into account is impossible in the present circumstances. The proper course then is to depart as little as possible from the ideal. The plan that satisfies this condition is that of a general register and general voting qualified by reservation of the necessary number of seats for the benefit of the minority. This plan has so far met with unceremonious rejection at the hands of our Muslim brethren on the ground that the numerical disparity between the communities being very great, the successful Muhammadans would be practically returned by the Hindu voters and can only be regarded as their representatives. In the first place, this fear cannot exist in the provinces where Moslems are in a numerical majority. Yet even there the franchise registers are different and the voting is also separately by each community. The Hindus there have not at any time asked for separate electorates. In the second place, in the provinces where Muhammadans are in a minority and the fear above expressed exists, it is an exaggeration to say that Muhammadan candidates finally chosen will vote agreeably to the wishes of the majority even in cases where the interests of their community are clearly at stake. In the third place, this disadvantage to the Muhammadan community, in so far as it is real, is a much smaller evil than the damage to national interests and the hindrance to

the growth of an Indian nationality which the present system obviously causes. This is the plan embodied in the Commonwealth of India Bill.

Should this plan prove acceptable to the Muslim community, it would be possible to concede some weightage or excess of representation and, though I am more diffident on this subject, to tolerate the veto on legislative or administrative proposals which may be obnoxious to three-fourths of the Muhammadan members of the Legislature. In the event, however, of Muhammadan opposition to this idea proving insuperable, I would propose as the next alternative that one-half of the representation of the Muhammadan community be raised on the above plan and the other half raised on the present plan, namely, separate electorates. We should thus provide for both communities trying to forget their differences, in certain places at least Hindu candidates appealing to Muhammadan voters and Muhammadan candidates appealing to Hindu voters. This mixed system was proposed in 1908, but was rejected on insufficient grounds.

The principle of separate election must be scrupulously kept out of the sphere of education, the provision to this effect in the case of the Dacca University being cancelled. It should also be definitely understood that it will not be extended in future in the sphere of local self-government. In cases of chronic injustice resulting from mixed elections the plan of reservation of seats may be adopted.

Another proposal which is worth serious consideration is that we should erect a second House of Legislature in the provinces as well as in the centre, the larger House to be wholly elected on a democratic franchise, the second or the smaller House to include representatives of interests and of minorities. Wide as this departure would be, it is sound in theory and in the direction of advance, provided it commends itself to our Muslim brethren. Conflicts between the Chambers might be frequent and troublesome. But most modern constitutions provide for the termination of deadlocks and time and experience will show how we can best manage such crises without serious dislocation.

So long as communal electorates are being maintained two correctives must be introduced. It is true they are only a concession to theoretical propriety, but where a vicious system blinds us to vital necessities it is essential to provide in the law itself constant reminders of the ideal and the direction in which improvement must be sought. One is that all constituencies, even communal ones, must be allowed unfettered choice of candidates. They will rarely favour an outsider, but it is good to trust them with entire freedom. The other corrective is to let members of a minority community choose whether they would belong to the general register of voters or the communal register. The present system involves a double wrong. It deprives the State of the loyal services of good citizens who would rather belong to it than to a

part of it. It likewise deprives such good citizens of the privilege of State citizenship and compels them to narrow their sympathies.

### THE CALCUTTA LIBERAL FEDERATION.

THE newspapers have given very inadequate reports of the Calcutta session of the Liberal Federation held last week. True, it had not the same number of delegates as the Congress at Cawnpore, nor were its proceedings enlivened by an exhibition of internecine quarrels between the various wings of the delegates; but it represented once more the sound commonsense of the thinking section of the people, which, if not immediately effective, is sure to have its way in the long run. Bengal has been for some time the storm centre of Indian politics. The proceedings in its Legislative Council, the personality of the late Mr. C. R. Das, the tortuous tactics adopted by the Swarajists during the last two years, the keenness of the Hindu-Moslem question, the intensely imaginative though somewhat unpractical temperament of the Bengalees have made Bengal a somewhat unpromising field for such a matter-of-fact point of view as the Liberals have always through good report and bad placed before the people. It was therefore somewhat venturesome for the Bengal Liberals to undertake the responsibility of holding the sessions in Calcutta, but we are glad to say that the meeting was a great success. Perhaps it might have been better advertised and tickets of admission might have been more freely distributed as the main objective of such gatherings is the education of the people in current politics. The delegates from other provinces especially the Central Provinces and Berar and U. P. were quite numerous as such gatherings go and the Reception Committee had done well in admitting free many members of the classes called backward in Bengal and depressed or untouchable in other parts. The arrangements for the delegates were quite satisfactory and those that did the journey to Calcutta came away with a feeling of satisfaction at good work done in watering the plant of Indian political progress.

The void caused by the death of Surendranath Banerjea was deeply felt by all and his disappearance from the field of Indian politics made the work of the Chairman of the Reception Committee somewhat difficult owing to the inevitable comparison that would arise in the minds of every body. But Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra by an address worthy of his sturdy independence and religious fervour rose to the occasion and charmed every one present. His address will be considered as among the very best of similar addresses at such gatherings. He did well to recite the actual results achieved by our political agitation when the whole country is full of pessimists. It does no good to shut our eyes to solid achievements, even though we want these to increase in number. The President of the gathering, Sir Moropant Joshi, had just laid down his high office of a member of the Executive Council of the

C. P. and has been one of the prominent leaders of public opinion both in politics and social reform for nearly forty years. It will be remembered that he had sent a dissenting note to the report of the C. P. Government on the Reforms and had advocated the grant of full provincial autonomy. His address was not expected to imitate the poetical flowers of Cawnpore but was marked by a practical realisation of the state of affairs in the country. Knowing the actual working of diarchy from the Executive side, he agreed with the Minority report of the Reforms Inquiry Committee in pointing out its defects but he gives an adequate answer to those who contend that it should be done with even if it should mean reverting to the pre-Morley-Minto stage. "The Reforms, though of little value in accomplishing the main purpose, have been and are of considerable value in enabling the Indian members of Government to achieve things which would have been well nigh impossible under the old constitution. The working of the reforms has proved the ability of Indians to administer departments, reserved and transferred, and thus weakened if it has not demolished the argument, I trust for ever, of the administrative incapacity of Indians and their inaptitude to work democratic constitutions for the general benefit. So the reforms have achieved some good." He made a strong plea for unity of all parties which approximately think alike on political questions like Liberals, Independents, National Home Rule Leaguers and Responsive Co-operationists.

The resolutions passed by the Federation were on the usual lines and many good speeches were made by well-known leaders. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, whose appearance on the platform is to be heartily welcomed as a presage of more vigorous work in Bombay, made an inoivise speech in proposing the election of the president and another closely reasoned one on the Meston Settlement. Mr. Chintamani spoke vigorously on the resolution on reforms, criticising the Majority Report and the speeches of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and fixing the responsibility for the present position of Indian politics on the futile waywardness of non-co-operators. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Kunzru spoke with knowledge, responsibility and eloquence on the question of South Africa and Kenya. Dr. Paranjpye spoke on the military question and he and Mr. N. M. Joshi spoke on the question of the depressed classes. A delegate from Burma voiced the grievances of Indians in that province and among new resolutions that were passed may be mentioned one on the need of Liberals taking up social work, the desirability of trade unions and the necessity of putting the relations between tenants and landlords on a sound basis. A Poona delegate can pass no opinion on the speeches in Bengalee which were numerous, but they appeared to be greatly appreciated and effective.

It was decided to work vigorously during the whole year an active campaign in the Liberal cause and though such decisions have been made before,

the steps contemplated by the Federation in its Subjects Committee and its Council meeting raise hopes of better results in the new year. Mr. Chintamani's work as Secretary of the Federation was gratefully appreciated and we hope it will be possible for him to devote his whole time to the organisation of the party during this critical year.

Perhaps the most important feature of the Calcutta gathering was the informal discussion with the Bengal Independents on the possibility of co-operation between them and the Liberals and though no final conclusion was reached the ground has been cleared a good deal. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal was very prominent in this connection and at the special request of the President he made a welcome and vigorous speech on the Reforms resolution in which he severely castigated the futile policy of the Swarajists. The differences between the Independents and the Liberals in Bengal are very difficult for outsiders to unravel, but they appear to be mainly personal in their nature. Perhaps one side fears to incur the supposed unpopularity of the name "Liberal" and wishes to invent distinctions where there are none. There appears to be too much anxiety to appeal to popular prejudices and passions at the expense of principles. But the manifesto of the Bengal Nationalist Party in the Council does not differ from the Liberal programme except in a certain amount of lip service to passive resistance, which is said to be different from mass civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes which it expressly opposes. The Independent party has not much of an organisation outside the Councils at present. In spite of difficulties, however, we hope some working arrangement will be reached at no distant date. In any case no hypercritical difficulties will be made on the side of the Liberals, who wish to work towards dominion status by constitutional methods and are prepared to co-operate with everybody who casts aside the vain pursuit of magic and miracles and are ready to advance, always keeping on the solid ground of practical possibilities.

## UNIVERSITY REFORM IN BOMBAY.

### TWO MINOR RECOMMENDATIONS.

WHEN considering the report of the University Reform Committee, one must never forget the difference in the nature of the work before this Committee and that before the Calcutta University Commission presided over by Sir Michael Sadler. This latter body investigated the problem of University Reform in Calcutta irrespective of financial considerations; while the Committee in Bombay could at no stage of its discussions get this spectre out of sight. Apart from the proverbial close-fistedness of Government in educational matters, there is now the powerful demand on Government purse for the universalisation of primary education; and the Committee had to bear in mind that its recommendations would be accepted by the Legislative Council only in so far as they helped the cause of primary education or at least did not appreciably hinder

its progress. From this point of view the recommendations of the Committee can be easily sorted into two main groups. (I) The creation of new universities on a linguistic basis, the liberalisation of the Senate and an impetus to post-graduate studies, especially the study of local culture, local history and local vernacular, are steps which directly or indirectly help the spread of education in the masses; while (II) co-ordination of undergraduate work in different colleges, their concentration in one locality, compulsory residence of students in college hostels and creation of the faculties of Technology are expensive items and he will be a bold minister who will propose to spend on them before the car of primary education is safe on its way. There is also a third group of recommendations (III) dealing with the reform of secondary schools, encouragement to indigenous systems of medicine and Indian music, training of teachers, school of Journalism, physical culture, etc. which should have been left out of its programme by the Committee. Not that the questions are unimportant, but—I mean no disrespect to the members in saying it—the Committee was not qualified enough to express an opinion on all these questions and its recommendations in this respect will as a rule go unheeded.

I have already shown that as regards group I, the views of the Committee are based on sound commonsense and, whatever be our differences in details, deserve to be seriously considered. I have no wish to waste space over group III. It is, however, necessary to discuss two of the recommendations falling under group II. I call them minor recommendations, not because I consider them as in any way less important than others, but because, as shown above, they are not likely to be practicable measures for some years at least. They are: (1) the concentration of the colleges in one area to help the co-ordination of undergraduate teaching; and (2) the establishment of a Technological Institute at Matunga with a Department of Applied Chemistry at the Royal Institute of Science.

The first proposal is estimated to cost about Rs. 9,60,000 and if this be the only cost of regrouping the colleges in one area, I would readily support the proposal apart from the difficulty of persuading the Wilson and the St. Xavier's Colleges to give up their excellent sites. But nothing will persuade me about the correctness of the estimates in spite of the fact that they are approved by the Executive Engineer of the Presidency. It is difficult to convince ourselves of the possibility of adapting the Secretariat building or the Watson Hotel to the requirements of a College. A gentleman who is a great authority on engineering matters whispered to me the other day that perhaps Rs. 29,00,000 would be the right estimate of the cost of this proposal. But in all these estimates there is a serious flaw which even a layman can detect. When the St. Xavier's and the Wilson Colleges are located in the Watson Hotel and the Secretariat building, it is commonsense that room must be found elsewhere

for the Hotel and the Secretariat. The Hotel, of course, will look to its own convenience; but the responsibility of properly housing the Secretariat will be on the Government and no provision appears to have been made in the estimates for this. The figures have been worked out on the assumption that Government would make a free gift of the Secretariat building to the University but the Report does not state the authority for this assumption.

It is difficult to understand why the Committee gives such prominence to these proposals for the concentration of colleges in one area especially when it has recommended that the teaching functions of the University should for the present be confined to post-graduate studies only. The University is not going to enforce co-ordination of undergraduate teaching and the colleges do not at present feel the necessity. Where is, then, the need of undertaking this expensive scheme a decade before the demand is likely to arise? When the post-graduate departments are working in full swing and have a reflex effect on the Honours work in B. A. and B. Sc. classes, the colleges will have to seek co-ordination and the question of their concentration will become urgent then and then only. To raise it now is only to throw an unnecessary obstacle in the path of University Reform.

The case of the Technological Institute is slightly different. A high-class Technological Institute is a pressing need and the estimates of the Committee are tolerably adequate. But it is difficult to understand why the Committee recommends a Technological Institute at Matunga when a beginning is already made in this direction at the Poona Engineering College, where provision is made at considerable cost for the training in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering. Will it not be better to spend what we can on this institution rather than start another in Bombay and allow both to starve for want of funds?

Of course I anticipate the contention that a Technological Institute should preferably be situated in or near Bombay and am prepared to accept the force of this contention. It would, therefore, not be amiss to repeat here the suggestion I had made to the Secretary of the University Reform Committee in January last when the scheme of the Poona University was being discussed. The very absurd suggestion was made, and curiously enough it has been incorporated in the report, that the Engineering and the Agricultural Colleges in Poona should continue to be affiliated to the University of Bombay even when Poona is recognised as the centre for the Maharashtra University. It does not require much intelligence to understand that the reasons given in defence of this absurd suggestion are not the real ones that have influenced the Committee in making it. The real reason is that the members of the Committee who are residents of Bombay could not bear the idea of the infant university at Poona having more faculties than the parent University of Bombay. They would not so much

mind the faculty of Agriculture passing out of its hands; but the University in an industrial centre like Bombay to be without the faculty of Engineering! The very idea was unbearable.

I had, therefore, suggested a compromise. The Engineering College in Poona conducts classes in Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering and Electrical Engineering. My proposal was that the classes in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering should be shifted to Bombay and that they should form the nucleus of the proposed Technological Institute. The University of Poona will thus have the faculty of Civil Engineering and the University of Bombay will have the faculties of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering. I make this suggestion here again. It has a three-fold advantage.

1. The anomaly of the Poona Colleges being affiliated to a University other than the Poona University will disappear.

2. The estimates for founding the Technological Institute will be considerably lowered and there will be no need to maintain two Technological Institutes, one in Bombay and the other in Poona.

3. A Technological Institute, if it is to be maintained in an efficient condition, will entail much recurring and non-recurring expenditure, considerably more than the present estimate of the Committee. An Institute situated in Bombay will have better chances of securing this financial help both from the Government and the public.

When the Technological Departments at the Poona Engineering College are thus shifted to Bombay, I would suggest the transfer of the Civil Engineering College to the Deccan College building and the Deccan College to the Engineering College Building. This would bring the three Arts Colleges within easy distance of one another and the Deccan College will be better fitted—as proposed by the Shiksha Vihar Mandal—to accommodate the offices of the new University and be the centre of post-graduate work in Poona.

The proposal for the establishment of an Applied Chemistry Department at the Royal Institute of Science which is estimated to cost about Rs. 1,00,000 per year in addition to Rs. 5,00,000 as nonrecurring expenditure is again a vague suggestion. Applied Chemistry embraces all problems from the manufacture of soap to synthesis of rubber and may require anything from one lakh to one crore of rupees per year according to the nature of the problems undertaken. The question will have to be carefully considered by men who have experience of this kind of work in other countries and it should come before the public in a more definite form. A good beginning, however, can be made at a very small cost by instituting a University Diploma for higher analysis (commercial as well as scientific) and providing facilities for this kind of work at the Royal Institute of Science. If the Institute be relieved of its burden of coaching the F.Y.A. and I.Sc. students, the space and the funds thus released will probably suffice to make a sound beginning in this direction.

M. R. PARANJPE.

## REVIEWS.

## PLATO'S PHILOSOPHY.

WESEN UND BEDEUTUNG DER PLATONISCHEN AKADEMIE. By PAUL LUDWIG LANDSBERG. (Verlag von Friedrich Cohen, Bonn.)  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ . pp. 100. Mk. 2.50.

LANDSBERG'S essay is the first of a series entitled *Schriften zur Philosophie und Soziologie*, ed. by Max Scheler, o. oe. Professor der Philosophie a. d. Universität Köln. Scheler is a philosophical writer of note, and let it be said at once that the book under review does credit both to the writer, Dr. Landsberg and his *guru* Scheler.

In the foreword the editor of the series draws attention to the changed view-point and method in studying and treating philosophers and their works in general. It should be considered, it would seem, as a step forward that both the subject and object of study, the student as well as the philosopher and his work to be studied, are looked at both from the individual and the universal, social point of view. Thus out of philosophical study and writing grows Sociology.

This principle, the writer says in his Introductory Remarks, has been applied to the study of Plato, the philosopher and his work alike, in the present publication. To give a background that may determine and at the same time explain Plato in his life and system, Landsberg sketches Socrates's person and method from the same standpoint of philosophy and sociology. In the first chapter of the book the author treats mainly of Plato's growth out of the Athenian commonwealth. But by growth we would have to understand here the physical and intellectual origin, the development by imitation and opposition, assimilation and substitution of the inherited by newly created factors. The second chapter deals with three fundamental doctrines of Plato, the migration of the soul, the imprisonment of the soul in the body, and the ideas. The redemption (of the soul) through the Platonic philosophy—not the philosophy of the book but of life—is the topic of the third chapter. Logically enough, the road to this redemption leads over the freedom of the soul from the body. The sociological shape of the Academy with its theory, teaching and realization of the ideal it had set to itself, is given in the fourth and last chapter.

That Plato's personality and philosophy should have been examined from a sociological point of view is but natural. For sociology is the pet of the day, and Landsberg by his essay proves his own words (page 2, note 2) that "there is no opinion that may be entertained on a philosopher which has not been expressed about Plato." It would indeed be strange if the noble and most human, certainly the most artistic figure in the history of Greek philosophy, had not come in for a sociological scrutiny, and it is gratifying to see that the work has been done with such erudition, clearness, and independence. It may just have happened that an idea here and there which appeared as a discovery to Landsberg is not so, that the sociological aspect has been a little too much emphasized, and that thus the whole representation of Plato's philosophy is a trifle out of focus. But such a fault, if it be any, was inevitable under the circumstances in which the book was written. That man is a social being, has been stated by Plato's greatest disciple in his classical phrase—a truth which Aristotle, equally great as a follower and as a critic of his master, had no need to discover but only to develop from what he had learnt in the Academy. It is perfectly out of question that the

great truth of the solidarity between man and man should have been a mere dead letter with Plato and around him. All the same, important as the sociological factor may be in Plato's system and school, it is not the end but only the means to it.

It is no small praise for the book under review to say that its philosophical views are sound, that a definite stand has been taken against ephemeral fashions and inveterate errors of thought alike. The writer has produced something worthy of his talent, and it would be no surprise if the book in its turn had done good to the author. There are statements all over the essay which every philosophical mind can thoroughly enjoy. The reader, however, who is not prepared to partake of solid intellectual fare had better not take up the book at all. German learned language, the philosophical style in particular, has improved since the days of Hegel, yet it has to go still a long way till it may reach English or French classics, at any rate if Landsberg's "Akademie" is a fair representative of the style of his philosophical countrymen. This does not mean that the language of the book is not clear or careful, it is only a little heavy, generally.

As for the form of the publication, the author would do well to remember that a table of contents and an index are always, and not least in an essay of 100 pages of really solid matter bristling with quotations and references, an act of charity towards the reader and a means greatly to enhance the value and ready use of a book. That after chapter one chapter two follows is fairly obvious; not so clear from such merely arithmetical headings will it be what either of them contains. From a typographical point of view the book is a treat.

R. ZIMMERMANN, S.J.

## BRITAIN IN EGYPT.

EGYPT UNDER THE EGYPTIANS. By MURRAY HARRIS. (Chapman & Hall, London.) 1925.  $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ . pp. 240. 12s. 6d.

THIS is a reprint of Mr. Murray Harris's articles on Egypt published in the *Times* some time ago. Curiously enough the book has no preface or foreword to explain what was the occasion for the articles in question. Indeed except for the author's very brief acknowledgment of the *Times*' permission, the reader would hardly have known that the book was a reprint.

The title of the book—"Egypt under the Egyptians" appears to us to be somewhat misleading. The author surely did not want to bring out a history of Egypt, nor is his book a history. At the same time it is wrong to speak of Egypt as being "under the Egyptians"; for it is well known that since the Occupation, Egypt has been only nominally so, the real masters being British officers sent out from England. Anyway the title excites the reader's curiosity for information as to how Egyptians are managing their own affairs; but the book provides hardly any means of satisfying that curiosity. An attempt—and a clumsy one at that—to gloss over the drawbacks of British administration in Egypt, "Egypt under the English" would perhaps have been a more suitable description of the contents of the book.

"The East understands and respects force, whatever form it takes, but parleying and concessions are invariably looked on as a confession of weakness. The admirable continuity of policy of our Foreign Office has steered England through many critical days; but of late there has been too much bargaining and latitude generally, and the first principle of Eastern policy, the pith of which is contained in



Lord Dufferin's phrase 'the masterful hand of a resident would soon have bent everything to his will' appears to have been forgotten." (p. 158) This is what the writer thinks generally of all Eastern peoples and Eastern countries. Evidently he is one of those narrow-minded Englishmen who have different codes of political principles for application on either side of the Suez Canal. An Imperialist every inch of him, his motto seems to be "annexation". British statesmen may proclaim any pious principles they like, but apparently to Mr. Harris and people of his way of thinking, success in war which is unaccompanied by any permanent territorial additions to Great Britain's possessions, is really no success. The grant of self-government to any Eastern people by Great Britain is to them incomprehensible. No wonder that in reference to Britain's recognition of the Egyptian claim to independence, Mr. Harris pathetically exclaims: "Thus has England given all and gained nothing." (p. 6.) Such people look upon all blood and treasure expended upon war as so much investment, which, to be sound, must yield handsome interest by way of adding some new territory to the Empire over which the sun never sets.

Mr. Harris feels that war offered to Great Britain a splendid opportunity of settling the Egyptian problem, that is to say, by annexing Egypt to the British Empire. Need it be mentioned that "protectorate" he only considers as a half measure? He is positive that if annexation had been effected during the war, it would not have caused any opposition on the part of Great Britain's Allies; and is extremely sorry that such a valuable opportunity was lost! This indeed is the burden of his song, to which he recurs again and again and sheds tears of grief. Thus, within the very short space of the first seven pages of the book, we find him paraphrasing the following sentiment not less than three times: "The loss of treasure and life, incurred by Great Britain can never be made good. In the way of indemnity, all we have to show is the Mandate over Palestine, which has an illusory sentimental value in cementing the friendship of the Jews the world over which is already ours, and the Mandate over Mesopotamia, which in theory is one vast oil well, but in practice a well for the taxpayer's money. *Egypt, on the contrary, would have been worth while and not one of our Allies would at that moment have disputed our claim to absolute sovereignty.* The lien from the point of view of International law was established and if British control had been put on a permanent footing, it is impossible to gainsay that foreigners and natives alike would have benefitted in the material sense. Regarded then from the point of view of strict morality, material expediency or international legality, *the case for annexation appeared unassailable.*" (p. 7.) (Italics ours). Luckily for the world, people holding such "all-absorbing" views evidently do not form a majority in England. Else it would have been a standing menace to world peace.

If in undertaking the publication of this book, it was the author's intention to stand up for the British Government, it seems to us that he has somewhat overdone his part. In his anxiety to whitewash the drawbacks of British administration, he seems to have in several places lost his balance and his remarks based apparently on his anti-Egyptian bias strike the reader on occasions as too one-sided. Take, e.g., what he writes about the education condition of Egypt. Now, it is admitted on all hands, even by Sir Valentine Chirol, that much of the blame for the educational backwardness of Egypt rests with British administrators. Mr. Harris, however, thinks otherwise. According to

him, it is not the lack of educational facilities provided by British administrators but the unwillingness on the part of Egyptians to put their hands into their pockets that is at fault. Not having first-hand knowledge of Egyptian conditions, it is perhaps well on this point to leave him to fight it out with his friend Sir Valentine Chirol as best he can. The author is not aware of any country where education is "exclusively the affair of the State." We do not know and cannot say if this is true of Egypt; but can he mention any civilised Government which spends, as the Egyptian does, only a paltry 2 p. c. of its revenues on "educational purposes"? We have it on the authority of Sir Valentine that even such comparatively backward countries as Balkan States were spending even before the war much more than that. But in trying to whitewash the British Government's failure in Egypt, we fear Mr. Harris has been scarcely fair to himself. For in one place (p. 80) he talks somewhat disparagingly of "literary education", which results in the East in "the manufacture of demagogues". If that is so and if he is keen on preventing 'the manufacture of demagogues', his proper course would be to press for the abolition of such facilities—however limited—as unfortunately exist in Egypt for "literary education", of course only in so far as Egyptian, and not English, children are concerned. For in the case of English children, whether brought up in Eastern or Western countries, the same literary education evidently does not have that undesirable result. We hope Mr. Harris will take his courage in both his hands and not merely urge the closing of such English-teaching schools as already exist, but advocate a complete ban on English education in all Eastern countries and in the case of all Eastern people.

D. V. AMBEKAR.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### CAWNPORE AND CALCUTTA.

THOSE who expected nothing from Cawnpore, have certainly not been disappointed. Our Nightingale sang, our Panditji split hair, the sheep bleated assent: everything in fact went according to programme. True, there were a few goats—naughty little goats from Maharashtra—among the sheep: but what are a few of them among so much doolity?

Bitter? We should say that it is extremely difficult, not to be bitter and cynical about this last meeting of our National Congress of such illustrious ancestry, which under its present leadership (whereby we neither mean that of last year's nor of this year's President) has plumbed the uttermost depths of pathos. When the Mahatma carried India off its feet, by promising them Swaraj by the working of a charm, he certainly captured the imagination of the masses. This is often hailed as Gandhiji's greatest achievement, since thereby he is said to have for the first time turned the minds of the masses in a political direction. But as against such achievement surely must be set the introduction of the baneful poison of self-deception, which has prevented the politically-minded masses from realizing that Swaraj cannot be achieved except by parliamentary methods. Ever since the gospel of non-co-operation found acceptance, our people have been taught to despise parliamentarianism. Excluding child-faith in magic, this can only mean that they have been taught to put their trust in direct action. But direct action by way of violence being out of the question, year after year attempts have been made to find new ways of action, which should be both non-parliamentarian and non-violent. Year after year these attempts have failed, having led to nothing more than the coining of new terms, high-sounding but devoid of all practical meaning. Still the evil spell persists, still the Congress will not come to grips with reality, still the pretence

of an embargo on parliamentarianism is persisted in. Yet there is not a man or woman in the Congress, outside the handful of true charkha-devotees, who does not know that no way is possible but by parliamentarianism—yet the cowardly deception and self-deception goes on, without deceiving anybody. Could anything more pitiful be imagined and does one not right to be bitter?

If such is the plight to which the Swarajists have brought the once illustrious Congress, that of the "Independants" is really hardly better. They too know that there is no way but that of parliamentarianism: but believing, that to say so frankly would be unpopular, they assume the superior attitude of outside critics. Now, candidly, we have no use for Independency, whether ecclesiastical, political or national. Salvation is necessarily a corporate affair, since man is a social as well as an individual being. In politics one must be of a party, to pull one's full weight; and if parliamentarianism is right, then one's party must be the Liberal Party; if it is wrong, then let it be the party of the Non-Co-Operators or of the Communists. But to stay out of the Swarajist Party out of consideration for principle, and out of the Liberal Party, simply on personal grounds, seems to us quite wrong. A political party should be chosen on account of its principles, its platform; not on account of the people who sit on the platform. If all voters who believe in parliamentarianism joined the Liberal Party, they could decide who should or should not sit on the platform. Some people charge the Liberals with being a lot of old fossils or even of place-hunters. Very well, then, we say, come in and turn out the "old gang". But to sit outside the Hall on a fence and jeer at the people going in, is, to say the least, not very helpful.

We in this country suffer politically more, we think, from lack of putting principles first, than from anything else. At the moment the issue is simply—parliamentarianism or direct action. Then what sense is there in having the parliamentarians divided into several parties, not because they quarrel about the principles, but about persons? If the principles are worth anything, it is *their* victory that we should aim at above all things. It is the principles surely which ought to be the end and the persons the means. But, alas, with us, it is mostly the lamentable fact that persons are the end and principles the means. The only people who are really pleased about this are those from whom we want to wrest Swaraj and how is Swaraj to come to us that way or be preserved by us, if we will not have done with this insidious canker which eats the vitals of our politics?

We know only too well that the mere principle of parliamentarianism is not enough; that soon enough within the parliamentarian party there will be a new cleavage between those who really believe in democracy, whether in politics or in industry, and those who really believe in oligarchy. When that point is reached, a genuine, a legitimate cleavage into two parties will eventuate: legitimate, because the cleavage will again be on principles, not on personalities. But as a matter of fact, we do not anticipate that cleavage very soon within the Liberal Party, because, if only all parliamentarians will join that party, those who are handicapped by large capitalist and feudal interests, will soon drop out and discover that they really do not want Swaraj at all, if Swaraj means democracy, with the result that the Liberal Party would soon gradually and naturally become the true party of democracy. That, we repeat, is quite feasible the moment our voters will honestly face the question as to whether or not they believe in Swaraj by parliamentary methods: and if they do, draw the logical conclusion of joining the Liberal Party, which latter will then become exactly what they will choose to make of it.

And that, we venture to think, is the lesson of Cawnpore and Calcutta. But is anybody prepared to learn it?—*The Guardian*.

## THE LIBERAL FEDERATION'S RESOLUTIONS.

*The following is the text of the more important resolutions adopted by the Calcutta session of the Liberal Federation:—*

### CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of disappointment at the Majority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee which is against the volume and weight of evidence placed before it and warmly approves of the Minority Report of the Committee. It records its sense of appreciation of the patriotic service rendered by the signatories of the Minority Report, three of whom, it notes with gratification, are among its ex-Presidents.

(b) The Federation is deeply disappointed at the position taken by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in their speeches of July and August respectively, and by the Government of India in the resolution moved by the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly in September which position is against the unanimous opinion of all parties in India.

(c) While according its general support to the amendment to the Home Member's resolution, which was adopted by the Legislative Assembly, the Federation affirms its conviction of the necessity of a reform of the constitution without delay on the lines indicated below:—

(1) Provincial governments should be responsible to the respective provincial legislative councils which should be wholly elected.

(2) The Central Government should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the whole sphere of internal civil administration.

(3) Control of the foreign and political relations of the Government and of the military, naval and air defence of the country should remain vested in the Governor-General, for a definite period, after the expiry of which the position should be reviewed by a commission on which Indian opinion is adequately represented.

(4) During this period a fixed amount should be allotted for expenditure on the departments controlled by the Governor General, who should be free to spend up to that limit notwithstanding an adverse vote of the Assembly.

(5) When the Governor-General certifies that an emergency has arisen which requires additional expenditure for the safety of the country, he shall have authority to incur such expenditure; but he shall apprise the Legislative Assembly of such expenditure at its next sitting.

(6) Indians should be trained for and freely admitted to all arms of defence and such financial provision shall be made for their training as the Legislative Assembly may decide.

(7) The principle and conditions of recruitment for all All-India Services shall be laid down by, and the control over such services shall vest in, the Government of India; the actual recruitment being made by an independent statutory body like a Public Services Commission.

(8) All subjects not specifically vested in provincial Governments should be under the control of the central Government.

(9) The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished, and his position should, as far as possible, be made analogous to that of the Secretary of State for the Dominions.

(10) The strength of all legislative bodies should be increased, the franchise widened and lowered and adequate provision made for the representation by election of the backward, depressed and labouring classes.

(11) Alike in respect of franchise and of eligibility for membership of legislative and local bodies as well as for the public services, women should be placed on an equality with men.

(d) The National Liberal Federation of India urges that His Majesty's Government should make an early announcement of the appointment of a Commission, to report on the aforesaid proposals and that Indian public opinion should be adequately represented thereon.

**INTERMENT AND DEPORTATION.**

(a) The Federation protests against the continued detention of many persons in Bengal under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925, and urges in the interests of justice that they should either be set free or tried under the ordinary criminal law.

(b) The Federation is further of opinion that the said Act should be repealed.

(c) The Federation urges once more that the Regulations of 1818, 1819 and 1827 which empower the Government to deport any persons for reasons of State should also be repealed.

**EXCISE DUTY.**

The Federation gratefully welcomes the suspension of the collection of the excise duty on Indian cotton goods and the assurance of his Excellency the Governor-General that proposals will be laid before the legislature to repeal the duty from the next financial year.

**JUDICIAL REFORM.**

The Federation strongly urges the immediate and complete separation of judicial from executive functions, the recruitment of the judiciary from the bar, and prompt action on the report of the Civil Justice Committee so as to expedite the disposal of suits.

**BACKWARD AND DEPRESSED CLASSES.**

(a) The Federation re-affirms its deep sympathy for the so-called depressed classes, reiterates its abhorrence of the ungodly and unsocial sentiment that any section of humanity is untouchable and calls upon the Hindu community to exert to the utmost of their power to undo this grievous and impious wrong against those so treated, and to take all possible steps to ameliorate their condition economically, socially and educationally.

(b) The Federation is in full sympathy with all legitimate efforts of all backward classes to improve their condition—educational, social and economic—and urges that the Government as well as the relatively advanced classes should give them full support in their endeavours.

(c) The Federation is of opinion that whenever communal facilities are granted either in the matter of representation or in service or in educational institutions, the backward classes should be allowed to participate in such facilities.

**PROTECTION OF LABOUR.**

The Liberal Federation places on record its opinion the conditions of labour in India including wages, housing sanitation, education and provision against sickness, unemployment, old age should receive constant and sympathetic attention of the Central and Provincial Governments.

The Federation also recommends all the Liberal Associations in the country to help the working classes to organise themselves into unions for the protection of their interests.

**PROVINCIAL FINANCE.**

The National Liberal Federation has noted with grave concern the financial embarrassment of Provincial Governments which have severely handicapped ministers and Legislatures in developing beneficial services and contributed to the unsatisfactory working of the Reforms in the provinces, and urges the Government of India to abolish the system of provincial contributions, and to set up an independent Committee to reconsider the division of sources of revenue and taxation between the Central and Provincial Governments, so as to leave to everyone of the latter, adequate sources of revenue for the efficient discharge of their responsibility.

**KENYA AND SOUTH AFRICA.**

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its indignant protest against the anti-Asiatic Bill now before the Union Parliament, which is the most offensive and oppressive of the Union Government measures against the loyal and inoffensive Indians settled in that Dominion and which, if passed into law, will make conditions still more intolerable for them, and strongly urges that if the Union Government should finally reject the proposal of a round table conference, the Government of India should move His Majesty's Government to advise the Crown to disallow the Act under sec. 65 of the South Africa Act, 1909, and further, should not hesitate

to take whatever retaliatory action may be feasible to mark the deep resentment of the people of India.

(b) The Federation reiterates its strong protest against the anti-Indian policy of His Majesty's Government in Kenya, and urges that the Government of India should not acquiesce, directly or indirectly, in the policy of the segregation of races in separate areas in that territory.

**DEFENCE POLICY.**

(a) The Federation is deeply disappointed at the Secretary of State's decision to adhere to the so-called scheme of Indianisation of eight units of the army, which is grossly inadequate as well as unsound, and has noticed with gratification that opinion of Indian military officers expressed before the Committee on Military Training accords with Indian opinion generally on this matter.

(b) The Federation expresses the hope that the Committee on Military Training will recommend adequate measures for the provision of facilities in India for the training of Indians in all arms of defence and for all ranks.

(c) Indians should be eligible for employment in all branches and ranks of the defensive organization of the country.

(d) The recommendations of the Committee on Non-Regular Forces should be promptly carried into effect, adequate financial provision being made therefor in the Budget for 1926-27.

(e) The strength of the Indian Army should be determined with reference to India's requirements and not upon consideration of the needs of Britain's Empire in Asia and any excess of troops stationed in India for the latter purpose should be paid for by Britain.

(f) Military expenditure should without delay be brought down to Rs. 50 crores as recommended by the Inchope Committee, and as the Federation believes that even at that figure it will be excessive and beyond India's capacity, it urges that an early examination should be made of the possibilities of a further substantial reduction.

**SOCIAL WORK IN RURAL AREAS.**

This Federation is of opinion that Liberal Organisations, provincial and district, should, wherever possible, do social work for the improvement and uplift of the people in rural areas, and the Federation urges all Liberal party associations and leagues to apply themselves to such work.

**MEDICAL AID IN VILLAGES.**

The National Liberal Federation impresses upon the Government the necessity of providing adequate medical aid to the rural population by establishing more hospitals and dispensaries in villages.

**RELATIONS BETWEEN TENANTS AND LANDLORDS.**

The National Liberal Federation recommends that the relations between the tenants and landlords in various provinces should be improved so as to give free scope to the advancement of the masses of the country who are dependent upon agriculture.

**EDUCATION.**

The Federation also desires to impress upon the people and the different Governments—central and provincial—the importance of establishing educational institutions, higher as well as secondary, for imparting agricultural, commercial, technical and industrial education.

(a) The Federation urges upon provincial governments the urgency of measures for the introduction of universal compulsory elementary education among both boys and girls of all classes and communities, and is of opinion that special encouragement shall be given to spread it among women and the depressed and other backward classes.

**IMPROVEMENT OF LABOUR CONDITIONS.**

The Liberal Federation places on record its opinion that the condition of labour in India including wages, housing, care of health, education, provision against sickness, unemployment and old age and general welfare of labour should receive the sympathetic attention of the central and provincial Governments.

The Federation also recommends to all Liberal Associations in the country to help the working classes to organise themselves into unions for the protection of their interests.

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