

Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Red Revolution.

MR. GANDHI has expressed his deep pain at the happenings at Chittagong, where a band of some hundred insurgents, fully equipped with modern arms and revolvers, raided the railway and police armouries, burnt the telephone exchange, cut the telegraph wires, gutted the armouries and shot dead seven men. A train was derailed by the removal of fishplates. The Viceroy at once promulgated an Ordinance restoring to the Government of Bengal the powers that they surrendered recently by which they could detain people without trial. The Chittagong affair is even more serious than the disorders that occurred in Calcutta and Karachi. But Mr. Gandhi is unrepentant: he does not propose to drop his campaign. He took responsibility for Chauri Chaura but Chittagong he will pass by with averted face. If the country is imbibing the Mahatma's creed of non-violence in some measure, the Mahatma himself is becoming more and more callous to violence.

Mr. Aney goes over.

THE Berar Responsivists under the presidency of Mr. M. S. Aney have decided to throw in their lot with the Mahatma and to enlist under the banner of civil disobedience, boycott, and picketing. If reason had anything to do with their conversion, they have taken quite a long time to see it. We fear however that they have taken

the step much against their better judgment; and for prudential considerations. They were not moved so much by the resolutions of the Congress or the indifference and antagonism of the Government, but by the response which the Mahatma's call for salt satyagraha evoked. Swim with the tide is a prudent policy; to stand against it requires more than average courage.

On arrival at Etansville Mr. Pickwick came upon a crowd shouting; and he promptly joined in the shouting. When his companion enquired as to the occasion for it, Mr. Pickwick replied that he had not the faintest notion what it was about, but it was prudent to join the crowd. Then queried his disciple as to what he should do if there were two crowds. "Shout with the largest" said the consummate politician.

* * *

"Heading for Anarchy".

THE "Hindu" has chosen to misunderstand the point that Dr. Annie Besant made in her article "Heading for Anarchy" in "New India." Certainly the "Hindu" cannot be unaware at this time of the day that Mr. Gandhi's opposition to the salt tax was not inspired by his repugnance to that particular tax. Since he arrived in India from South Africa until the other day he obeyed the law, and never made it the basis of a quarrel with the Government. The Mahatma made up his mind to destroy the present Government in the first instance; and by an unhappy process of reasoning came to the conclusion that the Government could be injured only by injuring the people's respect for law; and having decided on civil disobedience he gave weeks of earnest thought to select the particular law to be broken. He chose the salt law, for tactical reasons, merely to exploit the mass psychology the more effectively. If the breaking of another law paid him better, he would have chosen it in preference to the salt law. There is all difference in the world between passive resistance of laws disagreeable to one's conscience and the Mahatma's present campaign. Pacifists and anti-vaccinationists and others of the type objected to particular laws and disobeyed them, but took care not to lower the prestige of law or respect for it. Mr. Gandhi himself followed that policy in South Africa: he objected to certain laws, and disobeyed them, but did not aim at subverting the South African Government or at inculcating disrespect for law. In his present campaign the exploitation of the

people's grievances has far other aims than their redress; and that is where the movement is fraught with great mischief. Already some people are talking of disobeying the forest laws; some have embarked on the breach of the Sarda Act: Mr. M. S. Aney finding it difficult to attack the salt law in Berar is engaged in the search for another law to defy it is a general movement for breaking of laws that is being preached, not the redress of particular grievances. Mr. Gandhi has identified respect for law with the prestige of the present Government, and if he must break down the latter he must blow up the former too.

* * *

Indian Muslims and Palestine.

SINCE the Balfour Declaration, however well-meant it might have been, has proved to be a great stumbling block to peaceful life in Palestine, it behoves His Majesty's Government to review the whole situation and reshape their policy in that "home of the Jews." The Commission appointed to inquire into the riots has frankly stated that until some form of democratic government is established non-Jewish interests should have some outlet for the expression of their views. Considering the way in which Muslim interests are sacrificed in Palestine it is not surprising that an All-India Muslim Conference should have been called in India to protest against the present policy and to set forth the Muslim demands. The Conference met in Bombay on Saturday night and was presided over by Maulvi Mahamad Yakub, Deputy President of the Assembly. Maulvi Mahamad Yakub at the outset showed the utter absurdity of the plan of settling the whole Jewish nation in a small country which had already a large population with civil and religious rights. In his opinion the chief objection of the Arabs is not inspired by racial or religious feeling but had an economic and legal basis. And he said that the Arab will resist the dream of a Jewish conquest to the end. His recommendations for establishing better relations between the Jews and Arabs are the establishment of a democratic government representing all the communities proportionately, the abandonment of an administrative policy directed solely to the establishment of a Jewish National Home, political and economic equality to all races and creeds and the administration of all sacred places in a way to assure freedom of worship for all communities. We do not see however why the Muslim Conference in one of the resolutions should have raised an objection to the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to discuss the question of the Wailing Wall through the good offices of the League of Nations. If the Commission is international its decision ought to be welcomed by every one concerned. The Conference made it clear that the Muslims cannot tolerate any changes in the status quo before the War in connection with the administration of their holy places.

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Transvaal Congress Statement.

THE Transvaal Indian Congress has published a statement prepared for presentation to the Select Committee of the Union Parliament recently constituted to consider the licensing question in the Transvaal. According to the information collected by the Congress, there are 36 wholesale merchants of more than ten years standing whose aggregate capital amounts to something like £3,000,000. Retailers in the City of Johannesburg number some 800, with an approximate capital £320,000. Besides, there are some 73 retailers in the Proclaimed Area. The Congress, however, does not indicate in its statement how many of these are now really threatened notwithstanding the protection afforded by the law of

1919 to all vested interests as on the 1st of May, 1919. It cannot be that all these traders are now in danger.

The principle point urged in the statement is that at no time since the earliest anti-Indian legislation was passed in the Transvaal in 1885 was there ever any intention of limiting the freedom of Indians in the matter of trade: the restrictions on Indians were limited to residence and for sanitary reasons only. Indians were allowed to acquire trading rights even in prohibited areas without let or hindrance. But whatever be the legal position or the practice in vogue, the moral considerations are today greatly in favour of Indians. The genesis of anti-Asiatic laws in the Transvaal was the feeling that Indians were alien coolies with habits repugnant to the sanitary tastes of the Boers. Now that over 80 per cent. of the Indians in South Africa were born in the Union, and that their habits and modes of life have greatly changed since 1885, and that they now approximate to the European standards, the bottom is knocked out of the old grounds for even residential segregation of Indians. On the top of it all, stands the Union Government's undertaking to uplift the permanent Indian population in the Union. It is futile as it is unworthy to go back to the past to search out the infringements of the old repressive laws, and to restore to its pristine severity and ruthlessness the old repressive policy, particularly when such justification as it had then has now ceased to operate. Every new step must now be judged by the policy underlying the uplift policy in the Cape Town Agreement.

* * *

The Triplicane Cooperative Society's Jubilee.

WE have just received the Souvenir of the Triplicane Urban Cooperative Society's silver jubilee celebrated in January of this year. The Society has been one of the most prominent pioneers of the Cooperative movement in Madras and this celebration marks an important event in the history of that movement. The number of members to-day is nearly six thousand and the total sales amount to nearly 11 lakhs; the deposits amount to nearly 2 lakhs and the Reserve Fund is Rs. 84,000. Besides this fund there is a Common Good Fund which is utilized for opening reading rooms, starting a laundry and organising a piece-goods department. The organizers of the Society have kept it free from the influence of Government control and the responsibility of its management entirely devolves upon non-officials and they pray that the Society in future may be guided by the motto "Festina Lente". The Souvenir contains a number of excellent articles on the various aspects of the Cooperative movement in India as well as elsewhere. His Excellency the Governor of Madras presided on the first day of the jubilee celebrations and laid the foundation stone of the Silver Jubilee Hall of the Society which will provide ample godown accommodation and a meeting hall. It is significant that messages have been received from various foreign Cooperative unions and associations congratulating the Triplicane Society upon the position it holds as the premier society on cooperative lines in India. The *National Guild of Cooperators* of Manchester say in their message "when the people of every nation have learned to control the business side of supplying their own common needs the pathway will be open to that common ground where the peoples of the world will meet on terms of real equality". Another cooperative guild in London in its message advises Indian people to support the co-operative movement in India as a bulwark against the system of private vested interests; the last phrase is really significant. Mr. J. Gray, Labour Commissioner, and formerly Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Madras, testifies to the Society

being the most successful of its kind in India and says that its long career of unbroken progress has attracted the attention and emulation of cooperators throughout India. Mr. H. L. Kaji hopes that the Triplicane Society will stimulate the consumers' movement in other parts of India.

Baroda Administration.

THE Baroda Administration Report for 1928-29 displays a commendable amount of activity in what are called nation-building departments and the stimulus for reform is noticeable in all spheres of social life by state-action. One important piece of legislation of the year is the Infant Marriage Prevention Amendment Act passed in order to enforce strictly the provisions of the original Act; it declares marriages in which either the bride or bridegroom is less than 8 years old to be void unless the Court grants exemption in certain cases in which the interests of the girls themselves require the performance of marriage. In addition, persons bringing about such marriages and those abetting them are made liable to punishment up to one month's imprisonment or a fine of five hundred rupees. It is a shame that the number of marriages below the legal age is still one third of the total number of marriages. A Record of Rights Bill on the British model is published for public criticism and opinion. The expenditure on the maintenance of the Army appears to us moderate, amounting to Rs. 23.13 lakhs. It is creditable that the percentage of literates among the police has risen from 59.8 to 61.4; it is equally creditable that although the income of the State is 20 p. c. as compared with that of the Bombay Presidency it manages an efficient police department with an expenditure of 7 per cent. of that incurred by the latter. We are glad to note that the State has inaugurated intensive socio-economic studies of villages in order to study the different aspects of rural life; so far nine studies have been completed and they will be published for general information. There is not a word in the Report about working for Prohibition or about propaganda in favour of temperance; this is in our opinion a serious lacuna which ought to be filled up. The Local Boards have a substantial income of Rs. 47 lakhs and have spent as much as Rs. 6 lakhs on civil works; we do not see however why the Subas or Collectors should continue to be the presidents of the district boards and would recommend to the State the adoption of the principle of elected presidents prevailing in British provinces. In spite of the good work done by the agricultural farms we believe that the total sum of Rs. 72,000 spent on these is rather meagre and ought to be augmented as finances permit; nothing can be a greater blessing for an agricultural country than a well organized experimental farm. The cooperative movement is progressing satisfactorily, the number of societies having increased from 900 to 975 and the working capital having increased by Rs. 15 lakhs. With regard to the stores required for State Railways we should like the Report to show how much money was spent on Indian goods and how much on foreign goods. Education as usual is the forte of the Baroda State and we find in the Report clear signs of steady progress. The courses in the Kalabhavan have been modernised and a more efficient system of practical instruction has been instituted; the Institute trained 456 pupils during the year under report, as many as 173 coming from the rest Bombay Presidency. Steps have been taken to link up this institution with the industries of the State and scholarships have been sanctioned to attract artisan pupils. As a result of the inquiry into the wastage in primary education single teacher schools have

been eliminated either by amalgamation or the provision of additional teachers. The district and village libraries circulated as many as 2 lakhs of books during the year and the expenditure of the library department was Rs. 1.12 lakhs.

Irrigation in Bengal.

A BOOKLET recently issued as part of the "Desha-bandhu Series" on current Indian problems contains a scathing criticism of the Irrigation Department of the province of Bengal which "with its riotous career has become bankrupt and burdened the poor taxpayers with the payment of several lakhs of rupees per year practically in perpetuity with no return whatsoever." The Author, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, after an exhaustive review of the schemes and works during the last decade shows that proper irrigation works occupy quite a minor position in the activities of the department. The account of the Grand Trunk Canal given by Mr. Sarkar reveals that Bengal too has its wild-goose chases corresponding to the Bombay Development Scheme. A committee of inquiry was appointed by the Bengal Government in the spring of 1927 to enquire into the correctness of the estimates of this scheme, and after two meetings the Government suddenly decided to abandon the scheme unceremoniously without even informing the Committee. Within a year however the scheme was revived on the recommendation of the Consulting Engineer to the Government of India whose note, according to Mr. Sarkar, was "a mere gramophone record" of the original data and arguments of the Chief Engineer of the department of irrigation, the original author of the scheme. Mr. Sarkar is clearly of opinion that the yield of 13.2 per cent on the capital of this scheme, estimated by the Chief Engineer, is a grand illusion. The seriousness of the financial position is shown by the fact that out of the important statutory liabilities of the province amounting to nearly Rs. 17 lakhs, irrigation alone accounts for nearly Rs. 16 lakhs. Mr. Sarkar points out that, in spite of the recommendation of the Lindlithgow Commission to include a foreign expert in a committee to make a general survey of irrigation possibilities and to consider the advisability of setting up a Waterways Board, the Bengal Government have appointed one without such an expert "who will be familiar with the management of the deltas of large rivers in other countries, such as, for example, that of the Mississippi." Mr. Sarkar's opinion is that the principles of the Act of 1926 passed in the Union of South Africa to provide for the establishment of a permanent Irrigation Commission should be applied to the requirements of Bengal; and he gives in an appendix the important points in the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Canals and Navigation of the United Kingdom, which he thinks should inspire the corresponding legislation in Bengal. According to him, the Waterways Board should have power to raise loans and should be an independent unit like the Port Trust and should have executive authority instead of being merely an advisory body. Mr. Sarkar remarks that Indianisation of the department has not only stagnated but there appears to have been a deliberate disregard of the policy and he apprehends that for years to come the entire fabric of the Irrigation department will be supported by European officers to the detriment of Indian talents. If all that Mr. Sarkar says is true the department offers a woeful spectacle of hopeless inefficiency and wanton disregard of finances. The total charge for productive works is nearly Rs. 29 lakhs while that for unproductive works is nearly Rs. 7 crores for the simple reason that navigation preponderates over irrigation.

Articles.

SWADESHI, BOYCOTT AND PICKETTING.

WE have not the least doubt that the "Hindu" was inspired with the best of intentions, by anxious concern for the political future of the Servants of India Society when, in its issue of the 17th inst., it administered a benevolent admonition to that body. But we fear our contemporary was badly served by its special correspondent in Bombay. While it is true that the Society strongly dissented from Mr. Gandhi's law-breaking movement, it is utterly incorrect and unfair to say that the Society "had decided not to join the Swadeshi movement as it is 'being hopelessly mixed up with extreme politics'". The "Hindu" and its special correspondent in Bombay have done the Society grave injustice in thus traducing it.

The Society, we may repeat if that will help the "Hindu" to shake off its misconception, is wholeheartedly in favour of swadeshi, not only in the matter of cloth but in other matters as well. We have consistently pleaded for stimulation of Indian industries of all kinds and not of textiles only, for discriminative protection and state-aid for them; we have pleaded that the Government departments in purchasing their stores should give preference to Indian manufactures even at a sacrifice in order thereby they stimulate production in India. Indianisation of the services is another form of swadeshi for which we have always agitated. It is just the reverse of truth to represent us as against swadeshi.

What we are opposed to, at any rate for the present, is boycott, not so much because of its political implications as for its economic consequences. As we have stated in a recent issue, boycott of foreign cloth inflicts a hardship on the poorer sections of the people. If boycott succeeds, it will cause scarcity of cloth, prices will go up, merchants will profiteer, and the poor will be mulcted—until local production catches up with the demand and internal competition brings down the prices. It is far better to stimulate production first. If local manufactures are cheaper than foreign stuff, they will displace foreign goods even without propaganda. Japan did not carry on a big emotional agitation in favour of her goods in the Indian market, and yet she was able to compete with Indian mills and Lancashire and capture the Indian market. If we are opposed to boycott of foreign cloth, it is not because we are against swadeshi, but because it will cause hardship to the poorer classes of Indians, the infliction of which is not justified in the present circumstances. The Mahatma realises this danger to the poor. In the last issue of "Young India" he says that boycott by itself is a mischievous activity, and if it succeeds, and the millions of the poor discover that they have no cloth to wear or the cloth they can get is too dear for their purse, they will curse the boycott movement. His formula, therefore, is "discard foreign cloth and make

your own khadi and wear it." It cannot, however, be that the Mahatma means this literally: he cannot mean that a person should first discard the foreign clothes on his person, and start making khadi for his own use and in the meanwhile remain naked! Foreign clothes can be discarded only when there are khadi clothes available: local production must precede the abandoning of foreign stuff. We would, therefore, emphasise local production, and we are confident that even without political hatreds and emotional fireworks, swadeshi will prevail over videshi, without injuring even the poorest among the consumers.

It is for similar reasons that we regret that the Mahatma has revived his plan of picketting of liquor and foreign cloth shops, and has allocated that work to women. We strongly disapprove of women picketting liquor shops. A drunkard thwarted in his purpose sinks far below his own normal behavior, which is none too chivalrous and respectful to women, and ugly incidents are sure to develop which will inflame the people. It is an unkind act of the Mahatma to ask women to picket liquor shops. We hope the Mahatma will vary his advice and that women will choose other tasks.

Apart from the agency employed for the purpose, we fear picketting is in itself unwise and unfair. As far as liquor prohibition is concerned, it is open to us, if we send our best men into the provincial legislative councils, to bring about prohibition in a short time and more effectively. It is true we have to find other sources from which to replace the drink revenue, and that involves some sacrifice. But does the alternative method of picketting save us from that sacrifice? We can also by working the machinery of provincial governments and legislatures stimulate the production of Indian cloth, even of khaddar. There is a large number of Indians engaged in the liquor trade and in the foreign cloth business; they have invested tons of their monies in the trades. If the picketting succeeds, they will be put to great losses. If public interest requires that these two trades should cease, it is only fair that the traders affected should be compensated. It will be fair if the stocks of foreign cloth are bought up and adequate compensation paid to the dealers in liquor for the losses they would sustain if they closed their business. But no such proposal seems afoot; there is no talk of raising funds to buy up their interests and then to tell them to choose professions other than the forbidden ones. It is not even proposed to buy up liquor stocks and empty them in the gutters. It will be more effective than picketting, for there will be no liquor to drink. The object of picketting is, we fancy, to eliminate these two trades and but not to ruin those who are already engaged in them for no fault of theirs. Is it not too much to expect that the traders who have invested large sums of money in stocking foreign cloth will now make a bonfire of their stocks and invite financial ruin on themselves? They will have no capital left to undertake a trade less objectionable to the Mahatma? It should not be surprising if they resorted to all kinds of tricks to defeat the honest picketers and buy up the others.

It has since been reported that the Mahatma admitted the justice of compensating the traders but desired than to wait for the Swaraj Government to come into being and to hope that that Government would compensate them. The traders have obviously not developed enough confidence in that prospect. The Mahatma and the Congress might attempt to raise money by taxation or by loans for the purpose, and that will incidentally be a measure of the confidence their promises inspire.

While picketing, if successful, involves the spoilation of vested interests without compensation, it is not even an honest endeavour to wean away people from drink and foreign cloth. If that were the object, picketing would never have been suspended by the Mahatma after its first start ten years ago. Picketing would have been a normal feature even as temperance societies are. Drink and consumption of foreign cloth did not become less objectionable during the interval. And as we said above, the interests of prohibition and swadeshi will be better served by legislative action than by picketing. The latter is solely and purely meant to embarrass the Government: it is political through and through without any admixture of motives of social benevolence. It can succeed only in reducing Government revenue, and only a month ago the Government of India did not hesitate to increase the taxation to the tune of some five crores; they may do it again. Picketing can only ruin our merchants; it cannot save our people, nor seriously hurt the Government.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.

AN illustrated *brochure* has been issued by the International Labour Office in commemoration of the first decade of its work of bringing about a newer civilization and better social order. It contains five articles by men intimately connected with the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and the Central Office, Geneva who are in a position to speak with authority; and one is impressed, after reading them, with the remarkable measure of success obtained by the I. L. O. in realizing the ideals which it has placed before itself. The purpose of the I. L. Organization has been explained by Senator Fontaine as the improvement of the conditions of labour by investigating actual conditions, by bringing them to the notice of the public and by embodying measures to remedy suffering and injustice by a system of international conventions. The collection of data has been successfully accomplished by I. L. Office and Senator Fontaine gives a high mead of praise to M. A. Thomas and his collaborators for their initiative, creative enthusiasm and systematic activity. The Office now possesses a body of information which is centralized and is available for everybody including the governments. The Legislative series published by the Office contains translations in English, French, and German of the chief acts and regulations relating to working conditions in all countries of the world. The preparatory documents for the Conferences are

of great interest and represent the result of considerable labour. During the decade twenty nine Draft Conventions have been prepared and the number of ratifications registered or authorised has been 419 out of which Europe alone is responsible for 357. Reviewing the whole progress of ratifications M. Fontaine thinks that the results obtained are very encouraging in view of the difficulties inherent in any system of international legislation and he points out that even when conventions are not ratified they have a great moral effect by the fixation of standards. He sums up by saying that the first decade of the existence of I. L. O. has accomplished valuable work for social justice and peace.

In the second article Signor Olivetti justifies the representation of Governments by double the number of members representing the groups of workers as well as of employers, since in his opinion it has secured greater moral sanction to the decisions of the Conference by allowing the Governments a position corresponding to their responsibility. He agrees with those members of the International Commission on Labour Legislation who held that it was not coercion that was desired but rather "knowledge of the facts and goodwill". As regards conventions it was ultimately decided that they must be submitted to competent authorities but that there was to be no obligation to carry them out unless approved by them. Signor Olivetti believes that it is only the slow action of persuasion and conviction that can overcome the legitimate resistance and diffidence of the various governments and he has no doubt that the I. L. Organisation has created a healthy ferment of scientific research, and legislative reform and has aroused a general movement of social progress in every part of the world. In spite of the fact that the initial period of the I. L. Organization has coincided with a time in which political passions have been most vivid and the contrast between possibilities and aspiration has been most acute he is convinced that the work of the Office has been a source of beneficial results in the field of social justice. It is quite true, as Signor Olivetti says, that mere discussions between classes with opposing interests and between representatives of States with different conditions have contributed to produce a wider, more complete and more objective realisation of the reasons and repercussions of every social reform. Mr. Poulton asks the question:—Is the I. L. O. by its work not only in its annual conference but in its every day tasks earning a prominent place among world institutions? and answers it in an emphatic affirmative. The agenda of the Conference is in his opinion a testimony to the fact of the determination to put into actual practice the declaration contained in Part XIII of the Peace Treaty and he regards it as a tribute to the growth of an international outlook that 27 Conventions and 28 Recommendation have evoked an agreement upon methods, procedure and plans for dealing with the subjects contained in them and upon which national legislation is to be built. Mr. Poulton hopes that the I. L. O will become the great clearing house for information upon industrial questions and

that by using its power wisely it will make it more and more possible for workers to attain to better conditions. He recommends the establishments of an increasing number of offices in the principal cities of the nations linked with Geneva whereby first-hand information may be obtained by all those interested in seeing real progress made by the nations; such offices would reduce the possibility of misunderstanding between nation and nation and thus create the conditions necessary for the full and frank consideration of those questions, the solution of which would make for progress and happiness throughout the world. The setting up of the Indian branch of the I. L. O. at New Delhi testifies to the interest taken by Geneva in social developments in the East; it may be noted that branches have also been opened in Nankin and Tokio. The I. L. O. (Indian branch) at New Delhi admit that but for Geneva the public interest in labour questions in India would not have been so rapidly and effectively mobilised.

M. Albert Thomas suggests, in view of the difficulties of the procedure for amendments of conventions, that the written constitution should be made more pliable by unanimously adopted customs or established precedents as has happened in various States. He bestows high praise on the young and loyal team of workers without the labours of which the work of the Conference would have led in his opinion to mere confusion and inevitable friction. M. Thomas notes with pleasure and pride the fact that the Organization enjoys in a steadily increasing measure the confidence of Governments, representative assemblies, of administrative bodies, industrial organizations and even of the mass of the people of all nations; and he notes with satisfaction that the Office has not been reduced to the cramped and confined existence of a small bureaucracy but has continued to breathe hope. He notes the constant desire of co-operative organizations in every country to enter into close touch with the I. L. O. and hopes that the latter may never turn a deaf ear to the appeals from various workers. Finally he emphasizes the creed of Part XIII that labour is not to be regarded merely as a commodity and its inherent dignity must be respected and emphasizes the fact that the workers have understood that the indispensable guarantee for moral and intellectual culture consists in the equitable and humane conditions of work which are solemnly promised them by the Treaties.

V. N. G.

THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES.

II

MR. PAUL proposes two remedies against administrative discriminations; the adoption of conventions sanctioning proportional allotment of posts to the various communities as in Madras and the establishment of Minority Bureaus to secure equity and justice to the minorities. We are surprised that the sound nationalist that he is, Mr. Paul approves of the proportional system of recruitment of the services. Once that system is adopted does he

entertain any hope of its being ultimately abandoned? Though he does not say it in so many words, he approves the allocation of funds also after the same fashion. And yet he wishes the backward classes should be shown generosity, should be given more than their mere proportion justifies. At whose expense is this generosity to be shown?

More interesting, however is his proposal for a Minority Bureau after the fashion of the one with the League of Nations. The problem of minorities in Europe is a fascinating subject for study. It appears that the League of Nations approached the question from a different point of view. In the first instance, the League of Nations had not in view the object of obliterating the minority complex of the minorities created by the re-mapping of Europe after the War. The League starts with the idea that the minorities, which it created, will continue to exist as separate entities, and concerns itself with the safeguards necessary to reconcile them to their new citizenship. Quite the reverse is the case of the United States of America, where there are more minorities than in any single state in Europe. The dominant idea there is assimilation, Americanization of aliens. In India even the communalists look forward to the day when the sense of national solidarity will displace the communal outlooks of the minorities. It is Americanization rather than Balkanization that India seeks to attain.

Apart from this vital difference in the ultimate object, the League safeguards refer solely to what may be called cultural autonomy of the minorities on the positive side and the prevention of discrimination against the minorities on the negative side. The League guarantees the minorities rights of nationality; right to life, personal liberty and freedom of worship, not inconsistent with public order and public morals; right to equality of treatment before the law, in the matter of civil and political rights; right to the use of its language; right to an equitable share of public funds. These are all in the nature of fundamental rights of all citizens in a civilised state, and all that League asks for that they shall not be denied to a minority. But in no case has the League guaranteed preferences to minorities, nor the allocation of administrative posts and public funds in proportion to the population strength of a minority, nor the creation of separate and special electorates. The Hungarian Law, for instance, quoted by Mr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in his book on the Rights of Muslim Minority in India, specially states that "the fact that they belong to any racial minority cannot give them any privileges nor expose them to disabilities." But our Muslim minority in India is not content with the rights that the League stipulates: they want the constitution to guarantee a fixed proportion of posts in every department of public life, Government departments, Universities, local bodies and others; separate electorates and excessive representation, and so on. And the constitution should be guaranteed, advocates Mr. Khan, by the British Government, which by the way, will be an infraction from Dominion Status.

Mr. Khan is evidently satisfied that in practice the League guarantees worked through the Minority Bureau are giving good results. He quotes with satisfaction that in Czechoslovakia the Magyar population, which does not exceed 20 per cent. of the population, secured 22.5 per cent. of the whole sum spent on elementary education. He does not say if that is so because the constitution of the State stipulates for it or the League secures it or because of the good sense of the majority community. Satisfaction with the working of the League in the matter of minorities is not so universal as Mr. Khan makes out. The "Living Age" (March, 1930, p. 8) refers to the subject and gives an extract from "a strong leading editorial" from the "Manchester Guardian" expressing dissatisfaction with the way the League was carrying out its obligations towards the minorities. "It is no overstatement," remarks the "Manchester Guardian", "to say that the 'minority treaties' might as well not exist, that the League has failed almost completely as warden of the rights it was to have upheld."

It appears, therefore, that the analogy of the League of Nations is not very encouraging. The objectives, the character, the machinery and the results of the League's policy towards minorities are far different from the problems that face India.

BHISHMA.

Our European Letter.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN BRITAIN.

TO realize the extraordinary complexity of the political situation in Great Britain today it is necessary to comprehend the economic conditions. The country is now in the throes of a trying economic adjustment which has come to a climax. This upheaval has been aggravated by the appearance of Germany, Japan, and the United States as competitors for world trade and the adoption of the protectionist system by a very considerable number of nations, but there are also other factors responsible for it. Right from the beginning of this century, various Governments of differing political complexions compromised with the increasingly influential Socialists by taxing the wealthy and extending the social services. The Trade Unions preferred to strengthen their bargaining power even at the cost of acquiring political prestige unlike in some of the other European countries. Where war debts were concerned, on the other hand, the British refused to compromise for obviously political reasons. No form of inflation was resorted to with the result that the strain on the economic system has been augmented.

The full effect of this dislocation was not felt for some time after it had taken place because revenues from previous investments abroad enabled the country to keep the old flag flying. But the change was sure to leave its mark. In some respects, on account of altered world conditions, the change is a permanent one, and in others, the individualistic

habits of British employer and worker alike came in the way of the swift adjustment to the new needs of industry, now commonly known as rationalization.

Whether it was fortunate or unfortunate that this critical period should coincide with the coming into power of the Labour Government remains to be seen. So far, except in the international sphere (the outcome of the London Naval Conference will almost certainly make it necessary to qualify even this assertion), the Labour Government has had to meet difficulty after difficulty, specially with regard to increasing unemployment and decreasing trade. But they are products of world conditions and past policies of all Governments, and by no means of its own making. Conservatives may argue that the action taken by the Government of shortening the hours of the miners, of extending benefits under the Unemployment Insurance Act, were prompted not by economic considerations but by election pledges and have contributed to the uncertainty affecting the general situation. But then their economics are also Conservative, and every political party has to make certain initial sacrifices at the altar of its policy and of its past.

The significance of the present situation, however, is not in the difference between Labour and Conservative policies but in the lack of any certain policy in either of these two major parties. The Conservative party is torn between those who believe protection is the only remedy for the national ills and those who gravely doubt whether protection can solve the problems of a country which can only exist by selling immense quantities of manufactured goods in world markets and who see recovery only in reducing taxation and increasing competitive power. It is further divided between those who are convinced that it can never succeed so long as Mr. Baldwin is the leader because in their view he cannot make up his mind.

The Right wing of the Labour Party made up of the front benchers, the elder statesmen, has already moved to the view that the way forward is to reorganize industry, and nationalization, which those of the Left wing urge, must remain an ideal. Mr. MacDonald is repeatedly at pains to explain that he has not abandoned his belief in Socialism but is waiting and working for the country to share in it as much as he. The Left wing is not now very strong but should there be continued lack of appreciable results from this administration it is possible, and even probable, that the chances of the Maxton-Wheatley group are bright at the next turn in the political wheel. It may well be that the spectre of unemployment is such that boldness and dash will obtain a premium and an untried group will be given a chance to fulfil its promises. On the other hand, political conditions may be such that England will show its characteristic distrust of ideology.

The new Labour-Liberal *entente* would seem to indicate in any case that Mr. MacDonald has taken the last-mentioned possibility into reckoning and is eager to avert it. He evidently hopes that if he gets the chance of security of tenure for two or three

years he will have sufficient time for the results of his policy to mature. He may even hope, if the report of the *entente* is true and electoral reform is taken in hand, that in the long run Labour stands to gain by it. It may be that if he appeals to the country right now, as the left wing would have it, Labour will obtain a majority, but the present plight of the Conservative party, in comparison to their position in the last House, should be a moral to all those who wish to exploit the existing electoral system.

However that may be, the present time is one of transition not for England only but for the Empire in general and its influence on world politics. The silver lining in the cloud of this confused situation is that its very nature should favour conciliation and adjustment with regard to all outstanding issues. The aftermath of the Naval Conference will be felt in Geneva perhaps just as much as in London and Washington. Then there are the Egyptian Treaty, the Imperial Conference, the Round Table Conference, the Palestinian settlement, the Iraqi settlement, and possibly also an international Russian settlement. Every one of them is an issue of first-rate importance needing to be settled in a pacific spirit.

R. RAGHUNATHA ROW.

Reviews.

GANDHISM—IN THEORY AND ACTION.

THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH. Vol. II. By M. K. GANDHI. TRS. FROM GUJARATI BY MAHADEV HARIBHAI DESAI AND PARELAL NAIR. (Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad.) 1929. 24cm. 608p. Rs. 5/8.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S IDEAS. By C. F. ANDREWS. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 22cm. 382p. 12/6.

THE STORY OF BARDOLI, BEING A HISTORY OF THE BORDOLI SATYAGRAHA OF 1928 AND ITS SEQUEL. By MAHADEV DESAI. (Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad.) 1929. 22cm. 363p. Rs. 2/8.

GANDHISM has been so long in the air and is now in intense action. The movement is so pregnant with grave consequences for India and the world in general that its progress is being watched with anxious interest both here and abroad. Making a broad survey of the trend of events about us and the general flow of world-thought and tendencies it may not be a far-fetched observation to say that the centre of gravity of world-thought and culture is fast moving towards the East. If this is true, India is again destined, as of yore, to play a prominent part in the moulding of the future of civilisation and humanity. The ever-increasing attention which India is receiving of late in the eyes of modern world also lends confirmation to this view. Mahatmaji, more than any other living Indian, has helped India to recover her soul and reassert her spiritual sovereignty over the whole world. The active sympathy, admiration, and homage that his movement has evoked in some of the best minds of the West and the East also gives support to the view that western war-distressed humanity has found in his non-violent gospel some rays of hope for peace and progress in the future.

We have no space to expound here at length how Mahatmaji's teachings may help to place humanity on a new moral order and solve some of the vexed questions like disarmament, unemployment, labour, imperialism and world-brotherhood. It is enough for our purpose to point out here that it is no exaggerated claim that the adherents of the Gandhi make when they say that by his personal life and teaching he has pointed out the only path of redemption for the modern world by making the necessary readjustments in the religious, political, social and economic spheres of life. Those who have not so far made any earnest attempt to fully understand and assimilate the teachings of the Saint of Sabarmati will find no richer or more reliable literature to study than the books before us.

It is one of the signs of greatness that it never grows stale. Like truth, on which it is based, greatness is ever fresh and inspiring. In the vast ocean of world-literature there are not many books like the auto-biography which can stand the test of repeated readings. Nor are there many lives, even of those ranked as great, that can stand the light of public scrutiny into the most secret and ordinarily unrevealed, because purely personal, episodes of private life. But it is the unique feature of Mahatmaji's life and literary work that they stand these tests in a remarkable manner. From his high moral eminence Mahatmaji reveals without any reserve the darkest corners of his mind, and the smallest detail of his inner struggles with Satan and selfishness. The result of it is not a cheapening but a heightening of moral and spiritual values of life in the readers mind and a steady accession of confidence in the Mahatma as an unfailing friend and guide of even the lowliest and the lost. The appeal of Mahatmaji's words and methods is strength to the heart, and that explains the secret of his wonderful hold on millions in India and many of the best minds in the world outside.

It is needless to deal here in detail with the contents of the books before us. The chapters of the Auto-biography have long ago appeared in print, serially, in 'Young India'. It need only be observed here that time has not dimmed the spiritual lustre or moral grandeur of the record. Same is the case with much of the matter in Mr. Andrew's study. Mr. Andrews has intended his book for the benefit of the foreign students of Mahatmaji's life, teachings and work. His object is, in his own words, "to explain, with documentary evidence, the main principles and ideas for which Mahatma Gandhi has stood in the course of his eventful career." And it must be said that in the accomplishment of his self-imposed labour of love, the Deenabandhu has bestowed considerable care, energy and wisdom so as to present to the western world an eminently clear and illuminating idea of Gandhiji's life-principles. The picture presented in the book is made all the more reliable and inspiring by the striking humility with which Mr. Andrews keeps his own personality as author in the background and leaves Gandhiji to portray himself in his own words. This requires artistic skill of no mean order. The value of the book for foreigners is distinctly enhanced by the brief, but interesting, introduction in which Mr. Andrews gives a short sketch of Gandhiji's life. Mr. Andrews divides his work into two parts, the first giving the religious environment, and the second, the historical setting of the life work of the great personality. The study of the religious environment is made under the following main heads. The background of Hinduism, the Hindu-Muslim problem, the Christian contact, the place of Jesus, the Ashram of soul force, the religious meaning of swadeshi, the teaching of ahimsa, the ethics of khaddar, and the curse of untouchability. In the

second part the evolution is traced of the Mahatma from the Satyagrahi in South Africa to the leader of the Swaraj movement in India. Throughout the book one feels the presence of the sacred bond of personal friendship between the author and the subject of the study. But this has not made Mr. Andrews blind to some of the defects and inconsistencies that he finds in Mahatma's gospel and how in some of the seemingly narrow or exclusive aspects of a negative creed it suffers by the side of the broader and inclusive cult of internationalism preached by the Bard of Santi-Niketan. The study is, on the whole, profoundly instructive and highly useful to all students of Gandhism. It would be useful to give here the conclusion which Mr. Andrews has come to as a result of his study. In the last chapter of his book he observes:—"William James has explained in a famous essay that one of the great psychological need of the world is to find the moral equivalent of war. The more I have seen Mahatma Gandhi's programme of soul-force in action the more I have been convinced that what he has so wonderfully effected on a comparatively small scale could be employed on a much larger programme and for the solution of far wider issues. In that case the special technique of the new movement would have to be worked out afresh in every detail. A thoroughly scientific treatment of the subject would be required in order to show both points of weakness and points of strength in its present development, thus making possible on a large scale the very same principles that he himself has used. In this sense as well as in many others his whole active life could be shown to be one Great "Experiment with Truth."

Mr. Mahadev Desai's production does not require any elaborate notice at the end of an already long plea for the serious study of Gandhism in all its aspects. The Bardoli struggle has proved to the world the wonderful efficacy of satyagraha, which is Gandhism in practical action. Mr. Desai tells us in his simple and restrained manner how exactly the Gandhian Gospel was worked out in Bardoli amidst illiterate peasants by Mahatma's lieutenants. It is impossible to describe here the remarkable revolution in life and thought that was effected in Bardoli in the course of the struggle by the 'uncrowned King of Gujerat.' The book gives the story of a thrilling episode of a peaceful and determined stand by a mass of poor peasantry against tyranny. A perusal of the volume should serve to remove all doubts and fears from the mind of sceptics as to the efficacy of the weapon of satyagraha as a method of securing justice and freedom. We have no hesitation in recommending the volume to the reader. The book is valuable to the student of satyagraha as a description of the technique of soul force in action referred to by Mr. Andrews in his 'conclusion' extracted above.

M. R. RAMASWAMY.

THE NEW MORALS.

MARRIAGE AND MORALS. By BERTRAND RUSSELL. (Allen and Unwin.) 1929. 20 cm. 254p. 7/6.

BERTRAND Russell, a mathematician, has now become one of the foremost writers on social problems. The author has his own way of saying things though there is practically nothing in this book that has not been said by other advanced writers before. He thinks Judge Lindsey's idea of Companionate Marriage would be a step in the right direction, but that it does not go far enough. "I think that all sex relations which do not involve children should be regarded as a purely private affair... I should not hold it desirable that either a man or a woman should enter upon the serious business of a marriage

intended to lead to children without having had previous sexual experience. There is a great mass of evidence to show that the first experience of sex should be with a person who has previous knowledge. The sexual act in human beings is not instinctive... and apart from this argument, it seems absurd to ask people to enter upon a relation intended to be lifelong, without any previous knowledge as to their sexual compatibility. It is just as absurd as it would be if a man intending to buy a house were not allowed to view it until he had completed the purchase." This disposes once for all the old ideal of one man to one woman and vice versa. "I do not know how it may be with savages, but civilized people have to learn to perform the sexual act. It is not uncommon for doctors to be asked by married couples of some years' standing for advice as to how to get children, and to find on examination that the couples have not known how to perform intercourse".

Religion has done a great deal of harm in this as in every other sphere. Religious people are obsessed with sex and the pretence of celibacy of the christian clergy led to perversions. "Bishops lived in open sin with their own daughters, and archbishops promoted their male favourites to neighbouring sees... The writers of the Middle Ages are full of accounts of nunneries that were like brothels, of the vast multitude of infanticides within their walls, and of that inveterate prevalence of incest among the clergy, which rendered it necessary again and again to issue the most stringent enactments that priests should not be permitted to live with their mothers and sisters".

Considering divorce, which is not recognized by Christianity though marriages may be annulled for a consideration, he does not regard adultery as a ground for divorce if it is only casual and does not involve a deliberate preference for another person. He thinks adultery is perfectly natural both for husband and wife when they have a vigorous constitution and are separated from each other for months together, and condemns jealousy. "In the system which I commend, men are freed, it is true, from the duty of sexual conjugal fidelity, but they have in exchange the duty of controlling jealousy. The good life cannot be lived without self-control, but it is better to control a restrictive and hostile emotion such as jealousy, rather than a generous and expansive emotion such as love. Conventional morality has erred, not in demanding self-control, but in demanding it in the wrong place." On the whole, however, he thinks that the need for self-control should be reduced to minimum. "The use of self-control is like the use of brakes on a train... No one would maintain that a train ought always to be run with the brakes on, yet the habit of difficult self-control has a very similar injurious effect upon the energies available for useful activity."

Turning to sex education, he remarks that censorship makes it impossible, since even a book "giving in dignified language the elementary facts of sex for children", written by Mrs. Dennet, a social worker and a mother of two children, was condemned as obscene in America, and she was "faced with a possible sentence of five years' imprisonment and \$1,000 fine or both", unless the court of appeal is more sensible. "It is difficult to change the law, since most elderly men are so perverted that their pleasure in sex depends upon the belief that sex is wicked and nasty. I am afraid no reform can be hoped for until those who are now old or middle-aged have died."

"The word 'obscene' which occurs in this Act (Lord Campbell's Act of 1857, on which English ideas of obscenity are based) has no precise legal

definition. In practice a publication is legally obscene if the magistrate considers it to be so, and he is not obliged to listen to any evidence by experts..."

"Homosexuality between men, though not between women, is illegal in England, and it would be very difficult to present any argument for a change of the law in this respect which would not be itself illegal on the ground of obscenity", since the "Well of Loneliness" was condemned merely because it dealt with homosexuality. "Many subjects can be discussed in long technical words known only to highly educated people, which cannot be mentioned in any language understood of the people. It is permissible with certain precautions to speak in print of *coitus*, but it is not permissible to employ the monosyllabic synonym for this word...Mrs. Sanger's pamphlet on birth control was declared obscene on the ground that working women could understand it. Dr. Marie Stopes's books, on the other hand, are not illegal, because their language can be understood by persons with a certain amount of education." This impossibility of teaching birth control to the lower classes leads to their faster breeding, which Eugenic Societies deprecate. "Conventional men are of opinion that such things (indecent photographs) are extraordinarily injurious to others, although hardly one of them will admit that they have been injurious to himself...Nine-tenths of the appeal of pornography is due to the indecent feelings concerning sex which moralists inculcate in the young; the other tenth is physiological, and will occur in one way or another whatever the state of the law may be...I am firmly persuaded that there ought to be no law whatsoever on the subject of obscene publications".

"The taboo against nakedness is an obstacle to a decent attitude on the subject of sex. . . . It is good for children to see each other and their parents naked whenever it so happens naturally. . . . There is only one way to avoid indecency, and that is to avoid mystery. . . . There are also many important grounds of health in favour of nudity . . . out-of-doors in sunny weather . . . The proper place for nudity is out-of-doors in the sunshine and in the water."

The modern cry for a single standard of morality is taken by professional moralists to mean that the traditional ideal of 'purity' so far applied to women is now also to be applied to men, while the younger generation quite rightly take it to mean that women are now to have the same liberty which has so far been the privilege of men. They do not say so, of course, but quietly act on it. The old morality has become impossible. It will not be enough to enforce ignorance on girls and tighten censorship in order to make it possible, but absurd precautions will have to be taken. "It must be illegal for an unmarried woman under fifty to possess a motor-car, and perhaps it would be wise to subject all unmarried women once a month to medical examination by police doctors, and to send to a penitentiary all such as were found to be not virgins...I think, however, that in order to avoid the risk of certain abuses, it would be necessary that all policemen and all medical men should be castrated..."

Speaking of prostitution, he says: "So long as the virtue of respectable women is regarded as a matter of great importance, the institution of marriage has to be supplemented by...the institution of prostitution." The sentimental objection to it is worth nothing. "Marriage is for women the commonest mode of livelihood, and the total amount of undesired sex endured by women is probably greater in marriage than in prostitution." He refers to vigilance people as "those who stimulate the appeals to harry prostitutes and those who secure legislation nominally against the White Slave Traffic, but really

against voluntary and decent extramarital relations." The decay of prostitution presupposes, however, the decay of the old morality. "The young man who would formerly have been driven to occasional visits to prostitutes is now able to enter upon relations with girls of his own kind, relations which are on both sides free. . . ." These conditions exist in Europe and America, but our local vigilants would do well to remember that till such conditions prevail in this country, all their underhand efforts to get rid of prostitutes are doomed to failure. They cannot have both. If they want to get rid of prostitutes, they must try actively to get rid of the old morality. But they will not see it. To quote the author, "This is only another illustration of the well-known fact that the professional moralist in our day is a man of less than average intelligence."

R. D. KARVE.

STATE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY.

ECONOMIC CONTROL: AUSTRALIAN EXPERIMENTS IN "RATIONALISATION" AND "SAFEGUARDING". By NEIL SKENE

SMITH. (King, London). 1929. 22 cm. 306p. 15/-. THE policy of *laissez faire* is dead or dying; J. M. Keynes has already written its epitaph in a striking tract. *Laissez faire*, as a policy, was never a potent influence except in England, and even there its active life hardly extended for half a century. A stringent policy of State regulation preceded it and an (in some ways) equally stringent policy of state control has supplanted it. Even before the War such control was spreading its hands over the many branches of economic life; and its influence had been keenly felt in agriculture, transport and even in industry. During and after the War state control extended enormously in many directions; and after the War tariff has been employed to safeguard 'key' industries. To-day, as every newspaper reader knows, a vigorous attempt at 'Rationalisation' is going on in England under the aegis of the state.

The book before us describes in great detail the Australian experiments at state control of industries. The author is a Commerce Graduate of the London School of Economics, who has dabbled in business and has travelled extensively in Australia. He is a confirmed believer in what he calls "the conscious control over the economic system"; and according to him this view is amply borne out by the experience of Australia. During the last few decades that Dominion has actively pursued a policy of state control in economic activities. It tried public *ownership* in the case of a few industries, and public *control* in the case of many; and a partial control has been attempted in regard to all industries by means of tariffs and bounties, and by indirect methods such as effective regulation of transport agencies, the provision of banking facilities, the protection of labour and the spread of industrial and general knowledge.

It will be conceded that these efforts of Australia have led to a rapid economic development of the country; for, under a system of *laissez faire* the Dominion might possibly have remained an undeveloped agricultural territory with hardly a place in the industrial world. But having admitted so much, it must be pointed out that control has been overdone in some cases, and that such efforts in many directions have placed on the tax-payer a far heavier burden than is justified by the results actually achieved or likely to be achieved. The Australian sugar industry is a case in point. The Dominion spends over £ 3, 000, 000 per annum for the sake of that industry; but the beneficiaries are 7,000 sugar

growers; and the consumer pays an additional penny for every pound of sugar consumed.

In the first two parts of the book, which cover 88 pages, the author gives a masterly analysis of the theory of economic control which he calls the "true, though but recently recognised, branch of economic science." This, to my mind, is the most valuable part of the book. Indian readers may also learn much from the experience of Australia. Though India stands on a very different plane from Australia, yet, in the particular field surveyed in this book there are lessons which we might very profitably learn from our southern neighbour.

P. J. THOMAS.

UPLIFT OF THE NEGRO

THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO. By SIR GORDON GUGGISBERG and A. G. FRASER. (Student Christian Movement, London) 1929. 20cm, 152p. 4/6.

THE volume under review has the merit of being written by two persons who have very closely identified themselves with the development of the African race. As an administrator Sir Gordon Guggisberg is responsible for the new angle of vision in the approach to the African question. He has also most successfully envisaged a future where the Negro will play his part as a responsible and noteworthy member of the commonwealth of nations. 'Alex Fraser,' as he is familiarly known in intimate circles, is another writer whose work in Ceylon has made a notable contribution to the creation and growth of wholesome ideas regarding education. He, as readers will remember, was the chairman of the Village Education Commission which revolutionised the methods in missionary educational institutions.

Two considerations should be borne in mind while we pursue the study of this volume. The African is no longer the pigmented commodity, an article of merchandise. By virtue of his innate intelligence and the remarkable capacity for hard and persistent work he has made a place for himself in the world—a status thus acquired cannot with impunity be denied him. Having attained to this position, the Negro is anxious, and so are his friends, to define and make clear the extension of that status. Sir Gordon says, "the attainment of equal rights of citizenship so far as justice and opportunity are concerned, is a task well within the Negro's power to accomplish. In securing equal justice with the white man the Negro has still far to go." Just here the difficulty arises. "The Negro has to prove to the white that, race for race, he is as good a citizen as the latter with regard to conduct and character, and that he is equally able to contribute to the economic and spiritual life of the United States." It will be difficult to gain the assent of people to this statement. For its implications are many and dangerous. Who is to be the judge? So long as man's greed is there it will be useless to wait for justice. As the writer admits in a later paragraph, the situation is aggravated by the fact of colour prejudice. "In America it is a real disease, which, though showing signs of decreasing here and there, is generally deep-rooted." And Sir Gordon says that there is no drastic cure for the disease of colour prejudice.

In the second part of the book the author attempts to consider the 'twentieth century spirit of African administration.' The policy adopted in the administration is the now famous one of trusteeship. There are difficulties in the application of the

principles of trusteeship. The country is divisible into two kinds—those unsuitable for permanent habitation by the white races and others where climatic conditions have permitted the influx of a large white population. Complications arise in the case of the latter. It is frankly said that "the fact must be faced that past events make it impracticable today to apply the principle of trusteeship in its fullest sense without causing as much injustice to the white settlers as the neglect of the principle would cause to the indigenous races." But Sir Gordon entertains the hope that in course of time it will be possible for the Negro 'to live without friction alongside the white inhabitants'—a hope which many may find it difficult to share.

Another element which is referred to is the tendency to eliminate the fundamental conceptions of social life forgetting the fact that these rules have been evolved to meet the changing needs of the age. This tendency to destroy with little thought of adaptation does very often militate against the very objects which reformers have in view.

The major portion of the book is devoted to the discussion of the system of education best suited to the attainment of the objectives of the administrator and the reformer. The chief pitfalls are mentioned—the failure to pay due regard to the stage of development of each race, insularity or parochialism, the fallacy, long exposed but still dying hard, that the African peoples are incapable, through some serious, undefined, mental limitation, of benefitting by anything but the most elementary education, the belief that because an African may have no literature in the vernacular, we must give education in an alien language, and the tendency to regard education as the exclusive monopoly of Government.

In outlining a policy of education the most advanced views on educational matters are brought into play. Here is a very pointed sentence. "The kindergarten is not a day nursery for the convenience of mothers, but the most important section in primary education." Emphasis is rightly laid on the fundamentals of sound education as, for instances, the need for the most suitable teachers and the most modern equipment. At the commencement it may not be possible to secure good African teachers. But as days go on non-Africans should be steadily replaced by adequately trained African teachers. In the inauguration of the Achimota Prince of Wales College none played so important a part as the late Dr. Aggrey, an African-born but truly international personality. And Sir Gordon would have everyone interested in the question take this lesson to heart that "the true test of the administration and of the education offered lies in the capacity of the African to evolve for himself that art of discrimination between what is good and bad for them in an alien civilisation".

Mr. A. G. Fraser reiterates the principles laid down in the earlier section of the book from the rich experience of a tried educationist. The vocational system, according to Mr. Fraser, has been over-emphasised. The vocations for which schools have been training students are full up. The remedy is not the introduction of other branches of vocational training. The immediate aim is to train the young Africans so as to develop character and initiative so that they may early become "dependable, useful and intelligent". This is a volume modest in proportions but rich in the approach to an exceedingly difficult problem.

H. C. BALASUNDARAM.

Correspondence.

THE LIBERATION OR FRAGMENTATION OF INDIA.

TO THE EDITOR, THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—The *People* of March 6th has devoted its leading article to a comment on my "Woe, I have won!" article in the *Servant of India* of February 27th. The writer, out of a new-born solicitude for the Indian Liberal Party, warns the latter not to endorse the "ridiculous" views propounded by me: and I am the first to agree that these views would be the most ridiculous balderdash, if I had ever propounded what *The People*—for "clarity's sake"—summarises and paraphrases as "the essential ingredients" of my political "creed."

For those who are not under the need of fogging the issue, the latter of course is very clear and simple—to wit, that there are three parties to the problem of Indian Emancipation: the Indian people, the Indian princes and the British. Indian Liberals have been the first and the only ones for a long time to bring the Princes into the picture as lions in the path of freedom. Our Extremist friends on the contrary have for long contended that the struggle is merely between Brown and White, and they are naturally now a trifle embarrassed to find that the Princes are only too willing to place themselves on the side of the British against their own and the people of India in general.

The reason for this divergence, I believe, must be sought in the fact that the Extremists are primarily swayed by racial considerations, whilst the Indian Liberals oppose not a race, but autocratic rule. That there are many people amongst the Extremists, who have no use whatever for democracy but only desire the substitution of brown autocrats (themselves for choice) for White autocrats, is I suppose uncontested: on the other hand I gladly admit that there are amongst them also not a few who are democrats at heart, but who believe that if, Bania-like, one does not shout for twice as much as one wishes to receive, one will get nothing.

My article addressed itself particularly to this class of people and meant to point out that, if the Independence Movement were successful or even only looked like succeeding, the British would automatically be driven into the arms of the Princes and, unable to keep the whole loaf, would make very sure that at least half of it remained in their hands; whilst if a democratic England felt secure in the support of a democratic India, as indissoluble partners in fighting autocracy at home and abroad, it is the Indian Princes and not the Indian People, who would be put down by the other two partners in this Indian political triangle. Put in a nutshell: if the Indian People will not make joint cause with the England of the Bennis and Irwins, the England of the

Birkenheads and Readings will make joint cause with the Indian Princes.

The suicidal policy of the Extremists therefore even if it were to achieve India's Independence, would simultaneously lead to its Fragmentation. This is the "essential ingredient" of my belief, as I think it must be of anyone who has the courage to look facts straight in the face and who refuses the wish-fancies born of the Extremists' will, not to see.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- HISTORY OF KERALA. Vol. II. By K. P. PADMANABHA MENON. (Author, Ernakulam.) 1929. 25cm. 582p. Rs. 8.
- UP TO NOW: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By ALFRED E. SMITH. (The Viking Press, New York.) 1929. 24cm. 434p. \$5.00.
- THE LAW OF ELECTIONS IN INDIA. (First Edition.) By R. N. SANG. (Author, Rawalpindi.) 1929. 24cm. 261p. Rs. 10.
- EVOLUTION OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BOMBAY. By R. P. MASANI. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1929. 23cm. 421p. Rs. 15.
- THE BUREAU OF PROHIBITION: Its History, Activities and Organization. By LAURENCE F. SCHMEOEBLER. (The Brookings Institution, Washington; To be had in India of the City Book Company, Madras.) 1929. 22cm. 325p. \$2.00.
- THE ENDLESS ADVENTURE. Vol. 1, 1710-1727. By F. S. OLIVER. (Macmillan, London.) 1930. 22cm. 428p. 15/-.
- THE GROWTH AND DECADENCE OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT. By J. ALLEN SMITH. (Henry Holt & Co., New York.) 1930. 27cm. 300p. \$3.00.
- THE IRISH FUTURE AND THE LORDSHIP OF THE WORLD. (2nd Edn.) By C. J. O'DONNELL. (Cecil Palmer, London.) 1930. 22cm. 265p. 5/-.
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