

The Servant of India

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CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK.	165
ARTICLES :—	
The Indian National Congress.	168
The Indian Round Table Conference. By S. V. Ayyar.	169
REVIEWS :—	
The Expanding American Constitution. By T. G. P. Spear.	171
Agricultural Co-operation. By Gundappa S. Kurpad.	171
SHORT NOTICES.	172
CORRESPONDENCE :—	
Indian Cultural Study at English Universities. By Y. G. Naik.	173
MISCELLANEA :—	
The Round Table Method. Mr. Sastri's Views.	174
Inter-Racial Problems of South Africa.	175
BOOKS RECEIVED.	176

Topics of the Week.

A Notable Speech.

In his historic speech at the Chelmsford Club in Delhi last week Lord Irwin displayed as never before his firm and sympathetic grasp of the fundamentals of the Indian situation today. He frankly acknowledged that India had reason to be profoundly disaffected towards Britain. Time and again, as he said, the chances of mutual trust and understanding had been wrecked, "either in India or in Britain." More often in the latter than in the former, he might justly have said. The Simon Commission was a "subject of grave misunderstanding." His Excellency must admit that Indian opinion, particularly Moderate opinion, gave him ample warning of the grave blunder that His Majesty's Government were committing in constituting a purely Parliamentary Commission, to the exclusion of Indians on it. Perhaps His Excellency did not then realise the full strength of Indian feeling in the matter or weakly submitted to Lord Birkenhead. His historic statement of the 1st Nov. 1929, referring to Dominion Status as the goal of India, was attacked in England, and later he had to appease his English critics by talking of the goal and the journey. As he himself put it:

"The general note of British criticism was that any one who talked about Dominion Status in connection with India must be mentally affected and that the idea was almost too fantastic to merit serious discussion. What wonder that Indian feeling was offended and a real chance of approach was thrown away?"

No wonder the English reaction to Lord Irwin's

efforts provoked the civil disobedience in India with its harmful consequences to India and irritating influence on England. The diagnosis of the situation by those who advocate the firm hand and the strong rule and a return to the old paternal system of government Lord Irwin characterised as "superficial, distorted and wholly divorced from reality." He solemnly warned that

Great Britain will delude herself if she does not recognise that beneath all distinctions of community, class and social circumstance, there is a growing intellectual consciousness or a more truly self-consciousness which is very closely akin to what we generally term nationalism.

This feeling of national self-consciousness found expression in two principal directions: "the political and the economic, in which fields the natural demand is for political control by Indians of their own affairs and the economic development of India's resources for India's good." As regards these His Excellency said in noble words.

No Englishman can, without being false to his own history and in recent years to his own pledges, take objection to pursuit by others of their own political liberty. Nor have I ever been able to appreciate the attitude of those who might be the first in Great Britain to exhort their countrymen only to buy British goods and yet would regard a movement for the encouragement of Swadeshi industry in India as something reprehensible and almost, if not quite, disloyal.... What I am, however, concerned at the moment to assert is that any one like myself who has preached on behalf of British industry in Great Britain and advocated tariffs for its protection seems to be debarred from raising points of principle against those who would wish India to supply her own requirements from her own resources.

As regards the future of British trade in India, His Excellency said:

It is also well to remember that trade will flourish when it reposes on a voluntary mutually beneficial basis and that the more successful Great Britain can be in finding a solution of the political side of the problem, the more will she be doing by the restoration of general friendly conditions for the benefit of British trade.

The Indian case can hardly be put better.

The Finance Bill Tragedy.

THE way in which the Finance Bill was handled by the Central Legislature and the Government is hardly a matter for gratification and congratulation. The Finance Member knew full well the temper of the Legislative Assembly from the general discussion on the budget, and he did not make the path smooth for the Finance Bill when he swore that further retrenchment in expenditure was impossible and later, under pressure, began to yield inch by inch, leaving the Assembly uncertain how far they could beat him back. Finally, the amount at issue between

the Assembly and the Government was reduced to Rs. 1. 30 crores. Considering the Assembly had voted extra taxation to the tune of Rs. 13 crores in spite of the present economic depression, Government cannot accuse the Assembly of having taken up an obstructive and non-cooperating attitude. It is incredible that Government were unable to make up the small deficit by further retrenchment. If that was really impossible, it might well have been left uncovered. And for very good reasons. With the restoration of peaceful conditions consequent on the Irwin-Gandhi Agreement, improvement in the revenues may well be expected. The cant about an uncovered deficit undermining the credit of India carries no conviction. Large deficits were left uncovered during the War, and this year the Bombay Government left their deficit uncovered, without blowing to pieces the credit of the country. Sir Fazli Hussain promised the other day in the Assembly that the Government would not drive the out-going Viceroy to the disagreeable task of invoking his certification powers. And yet, Government did not hesitate to go back on their promise and press the Viceroy to certify the Finance Bill. Such a course of action at any time would have been impolitic; to adopt it now is absolutely unpardonable.

The un-official members of the Assembly do not come out better in the episode. They did not long hesitate to agree to the increases of indirect taxation, and in particular, the extra duty on kerosene. But when it came to income-tax, they put up a life and death struggle and rejected the Government's proposals in the original form and subsequently, in the form recommended by the Governor General. They might well have shown greater solicitude for the poor by saving kerosene from the extra duty.

* * *

Glorifying Murderers.

THE demonstrations consequent on the execution of Bhagat Singh and his two fellow convicts on the 23rd March do not redound to the credit of India. Briefly stated, the facts of the case are as follows. In order to avenge the death of Lala Lajpat Rai, who was injured in a Police lathi charge during the Lahore demonstration against the Simon Commission and who subsequently died, Bhagat Singh and his *confreres* shot dead a British Police Superintendent and an Indian Police Head Constable, and tried to escape. They were apprehended and put on their trial, which they obstructed in a variety of ways. Ultimately a special Ordinance was passed by which a special tribunal of three High Court Judges was set up to try the case and it was empowered to proceed with the case even if the accused declined to participate and defend themselves. The tribunal condemned them to death. Against the sentence appeals were preferred to the Privy Council, but without success. Then the accused themselves and others on their behalf petitioned the Viceroy for commutation of the death sentences. The petitions were rejected and the convicts were hanged on the 23rd March, a couple of days before the Congress started its work in Karachi.

On the merits of the case, as the Viceroy said in his Chelmsford Club speech, there was no allegation by the condemned persons that there was either a miscarriage of justice or a denial of fair trial. He could imagine no case in which under the law the penalty had been more directly deserved. The justice of this verdict is hardly contested. And yet thousands of people pleaded for the commutation of the death sentences. The Mahatma himself had pressed strongly for it, and when finally the sentences were carried out, the Nationalist party in the Legislative Assembly walked

out of the Assembly in protest. The Congress itself gave the place of honour to a resolution on the subject, and observed five minutes' silence. All over the country innumerable meetings were held to canonise the departed as the national martyrs.

Others may well reflect with Lord Irwin on the significance of Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of non-violence, as the Viceroy twitted him with telling irony, earnestly pleading the cause of the devotees of a creed so fundamentally opposed to his own. It does not appear that the Mahatma based his plea on his repugnance to capital punishment as such, in which case he would have asked for the abolition of the death penalty, and the commutation of all pending death sentences and not only those and his comrades. The Congress placed on record "its admiration of the bravery and sacrifice" of Bhagat Singh and his two companions. It is uncharitable to criticise the dead, but in view of the admiration showered on their "bravery" the painful task may not be avoided. These political murderers, however patriotic their motives, took the unlucky policemen unawares and shot them dead without giving them a sporting chance either to defend themselves or to return the fire; and after doing this "brave" (or was it dastardly!) act they fled: they did not, like some other revolutionaries, surrender themselves, after committing the murder. That so many estimable persons in the country should attempt to save the murderers from the consequences of their actions, to make national heroes of political assassins betrays a lamentable lack of a sense of proportion, political maturity and balance.

* * *

Cawnpore and Peaceful Persuasion.

The disgraceful scenes of murder, arson, pillage and communal animosities that have disfigured Cawnpore last week should set those furiously a-thinking who would stir up violent passions among the masses and exploit them for political purposes. It is understood that the people of Cawnpore, particularly the Hindus, were greatly agitated over the execution of Bhagat Singh and his comrades, and that they proposed to observe a *hartal*. Unfortunately, there was no unanimity about it and some Muslim shopkeepers declined to join the *hartal*. Whereupon some Hindu enthusiasts subjected the recalcitrant Muslims to "peaceful persuasion" with the result that what was intended to be a dignified protest against the execution of the "martyrs" by the Government degenerated into a communal vendetta between the Hindus and the Muslims. According to the Home Secretary, who gave the figures in the adjournment debate in the Assembly on Monday last, the dead numbered 141, of whom 42 were Hindus and 91 Muslims, and the wounded included 219 Hindus and 167 Muslims! The casualty figures are stunning indeed.

The responsibility for this holocaust must rest on those who made national heroes of political murderers and whipped up public passions to fever pitch. With the large majority of people thin partitions divide violent passions and violent actions. To rouse the former and hold back the latter is not given to many.

The only relieving feature in this indescribable tragedy is the magnificent heroism of the late Pandit Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi. He rushed into the thick of the fratricidal war to avert the butchery of the innocents and was himself killed in the gallant effort. Here was a truly national hero and martyr.

With the unforgettable memories of the achievements of "peaceful persuasion" recently in Benares and now in Cawnpore, the Congress is undoubtedly carrying a lighted torch into a powder magazine

when it still persists in advocating the picketing of foreign cloth shops. Granting that in the great majority of cases picketing has been peaceful during the last civil disobedience campaign, nevertheless it will not be gainsaid that one episode like Benares or Cawnpore does more mischief, creates more communal bitterness and discord than all the good that picketing did. This is not the time when the country can take risks of communal clashes when all should combine to speed the attainment of Swaraj.

If the country were really desirous of excluding foreign cloth from India, it can secure it far more effectively and with no risk to communal amity and political advancement if it will resort to tariffs. And it need not wait for long to get that power. It would be far better to expedite the attainment of that power than by immediate resort to explosive expedients imperil the political future of India and delay the wished-for consummation. The Congress and the Mahatma have not hesitated to preach patience in several matters. Would it be too much to request them to exercise some patience themselves in realising their desire to exclude foreign cloth?

* * *

Indians in South Africa.

THE country will receive with immense relief the confirmation of the news that the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Bill had been postponed pending the convocation of another Round Table Conference between the Governments of the Union and of India. Much anxiety has been caused by the recent policies followed by the Union Government towards Indians in South Africa. In the matter of the Immigration Bill, apart from the merits of the case, the procedure they chose to follow, was not only most discourteous to India but amounted to a deliberate breach of an international undertaking. It appears that the Immigration Bill was introduced without any previous notice to the local Indians or to the Government of India. It will be recalled that the Union Government undertook in the Cape Town Agreement to consult the Government of India in all matters affecting the Indians. Otherwise, there would be no purpose in the Union Government's request to the Government of India to station their Agent in the Union. It is a flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the Cape Town Agreement that a measure adversely affecting the Indian should have been introduced without giving the Government of India and their Agent an opportunity to offer their comments.

Now that the Land Tenure Bill is to be postponed, we hope the Union Government will see their way to postpone the Immigration Bill as well. The Bill is certainly not so urgent that it cannot wait. Further, it takes any one of the vested rights of the Transvaal Indians which they cherish as their Magna Charta. The Bill proposes to take away the right which the registration certificates give to Indians to enter at will and reside without challenge in the Transvaal notwithstanding that under the law of 1927 domicile lapses after an absence of three years from the Union.

This was a right promised by Lord Milner in 1904, incorporated in Act 36 of 1908, re-affirmed in the Immigration Act of 1913, and not specifically abrogated by the Act of 1927. Dr. Malan, the Minister of the Interior, contended that when the Cape Town Agreement approved of the proposal that domicile should lapse on three years' absence from the Union, and the proposal was given statutory effect in the Act of 1927, it had *ipso facto* abrogated the right of unrestricted entry conferred by the registration certificates. He entertained no doubts

in the matter until a Supreme Court decision shook his confidence. The Court held that an Indian who held a Transvaal registration certificate or a Natal domiciliary certificate could not be debarred from re-entering the Union, although he had been absent from the Union for more than three years and lost his domicile. It is to rectify the situation created by the decision of the Court that the Minister brought up this amendment. He contended that in so doing he was not going behind the Cape Town Agreement and that the Government of India shared his views and approved of them.

The crux of the question is whether it was the intention of the Cape Town Agreement, when it agreed to the lapse of domicile on three years' absence from the Union, that it should adversely affect the right to enter at will conferred by the registration certificates of Transvaal. It is evident that the Union Government holds the view that it did. We should be surprised if the Government of India shared that view. We have reason to believe that they do not. Under the circumstances, it will be wise and prudent to postpone the measure until the next Conference meets, particularly because it is to meet so soon.

The clause as drafted goes much beyond the purpose of the Minister, as Gen. Smuts pointed out in the debate. He is reported to have said that the registration certificate was the Magna Charta of the Indians in the Transvaal and the Bill made an attack on the fundamental basis of the rights of Indians to enter and reside in the Union. If the Bill in its present form were passed, not a single Indian in the country, he continued, would have security of tenure; and he appealed to the Minister to limit in all fairness the provisions of the clause specifically to those Indians who had, through three years' absence, lost their domicile.

* * *

Bihar and Orissa Excise.

ONE of the measures of lesser importance which temperance reformers are in the habit of urging is the closure of liquor shops on holidays. We see from the Excise Administration report of Bihar and Orissa for 1929-30 that some of the local Excise Committees did recommend this course of action in connection with the Dusarah and Mohrrum holidays. The experiment was tried in two or three areas, but, according to Government, proved "a failure." The reason given is that in anticipation of such action, the consumers had already provided themselves with extra stocks in good time and some enterprising ones among these even made a little business by selling from their stocks illegally. From information relating to the working of the experiment given in the Report however we find that this bogey of advance purchase and illegal disposal is somewhat overdone. That the closure would result in some loss of money to the Government could not have been unexpected by them and if this experiment cost them, as we are told it did, Rs. 6,810 in license fees and duty, it cannot be put down as a sign of its failure. Coming to the illicit sales of which so much is made in this and similar cases, we find that only seven cases of illicit sales were detected during the three days in which liquor shops remained closed in the three experimental areas! Now, we fail to see how on the basis of such an extremely small number of cases of illicit disposal of liquor the experiment can be branded as a failure by anybody. Of course it is one thing for Government to be unwilling to do a thing and quite another for it to refuse to do it because it has somehow persuaded itself that it has proved a failure. Our contention is that it is wrong to describe the experi-

ment as a failure, if what is said in this report about it is all the evidence in support of that statement. We are glad to find that an experiment in prohibition is being tried in one *thana* since 1st August 1928. The experiment had not been sufficiently long in operation by the time of the close of the official year with which the report deals for its results to be available and hence its period was, we are told, extended to 31st March 1931. We shall be interested to know what Government think of them when the next report of the department is published. The usual official condemnation of anti-drink movements is based upon the supposition that they lead to illicit consumption on a large scale. The Santals at any rate among whom such a movement started during the period of the report have falsified this contention. Inquiries were made by Government to find out if illicit practices were on the increase among them as a result of the prohibition campaign, but it is a matter for satisfaction to read that "no such evidence was found except in one village where several illicit distillation cases were detected." It is to be hoped the moral will not be lost on the Government.

* * *

Why not prohibit Holi Obscenities ?

WRITING recently about Cochin we showed how in the matter of education it was ahead of British India. There is another matter also in regard to which it can serve as a model to British India. It had apparently been the custom in some parts of the State to sing obscene songs and speak obscene language during certain festivals, all in the belief of course that the deity liked it. There has recently been considerable revulsion of public feeling against the custom, which found vent in a resolution passed by the Legislative Council asking Government to put a stop to this obnoxious practice. It is now announced that the Cochin Government have given effect to the Council's wishes by prohibiting "the singing or recital or uttering of any obscene song, ballad or words or the doing of any obscene act in or near any public place on any occasion whatsoever." We wonder why some such thing should not be possible in British India as well in regard to similar practices wherever prevailing in connection with the Holi holidays. Social reformers have always condemned such obscenities and the general public is progressively looking with disfavour upon them. But the first public protest on a considerable scale against this hated custom took shape in Bombay some twenty years ago when Mr. G. K. Devadhar conducted a vigorous campaign against it. That indeed was one of the earliest public activities to which members of the Servants of India Society put their hands in Bombay. Public opinion has since undergone a vast change in the matter and the Holi holidays are not now marked by those excesses which were, as it were, inseparable from them not very long ago. Even so we doubt not that if Government were to think of prohibiting the obscenities orthodox elements will not be slow to raise the familiar howl of "religion in danger." But advanced public opinion would be solidly behind Government in any action they might wish to take to put a stop to such wholly undesirable practices. Moreover if they can prohibit the selling of obscene pictures, why not the singing of obscene songs as in Cochin? We are not sure that an all-India measure would be a suitable way of dealing with the evil. But provincial Governments should either undertake such legislation themselves or afford all possible facilities to non-officials wishing to do so. Will not some M. L. C. in Bombay set the ball rolling by sending in a resolution asking Government to move in the matter?

* * *

Articles.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

THE proceedings of the Indian National Congress which began its preliminary debates last week in Karachi are an amazing triumph of the personality of Mahatma Gandhi. There were many who were gathered within the Congress enclosure that strongly differed from the Mahatma in one respect or other, and who did not conceal their opposition to his policies. The "Red Shirts" actually insulted him on arrival with black cloth flowers and with cries of "Gandhi: Go back." There were those who disapproved of the Delhi Pact, others who were incensed with him for his failure to relieve Bhagat Singh and his accomplices, others who never believed in his theory of non-violence and would repudiate it, others still who accused him of playing into the hands of the Indian capitalists, and who ridiculed his economic theories and khaddar mania. There were those who accused him of betraying the Congress creed of independence by interpreting it away, and by accepting the invitation to the Round Table Conference. These dissenters had mustered strong and meant trouble. But the Mahatma triumphed over all opposition, and in the end had it all his own way. He came out of the ordeal the acknowledged dictator of the Congress and all those who owed allegiance to that great institution, and they are many.

The Presidential Address of Sirdar Vallabhbhai Patel was a very business-like performance, brief and to the point. He entered on no elaborate defence of the Delhi Pact but firmly maintained that the Working Committee, the accredited representative of the Congress, having accepted it, it was not open to the latter to repudiate it, though it may pass a vote of censure on the Committee. He justified the change of front from non-cooperation to cooperation on the ground that the Congress would have put itself in the wrong by refusing the invitation to the Round Table Conference and on the further ground that the British Indian Delegation to the Conference had demanded at the Conference full responsibility for India and the British Parties had accepted the position. We are happy that the Congress President has thus publicly vindicated the policy which the non-Congressmen had adopted when they went to the Round Table Conference. In advocating Congress participation in the R. T. Conference, the President imposed no precedent conditions; he did not demand, Purna Swaraj. "Under the constitution clause of the Settlement", he said, "it is open to us to press for purna Swaraj, to ask for complete control over our defence forces, foreign affairs, finance, fiscal policy and the like." (Italics ours). He realised that safeguards and reservations would be necessary, and was willing to accept them in the interests of India. "When power passes from one to the other by agreement" he said, "there are always safeguards in the interest of the party in need of reparation

or help." He would even invoke the assistance of Britain where such help was necessary, as, for instance, in military affairs. All that he wished was that there should be no dictation by Britain. This sentiment was anticipated more than a year ago when Mr. Wedgwood Benn said in the House of Commons that British domination and exploitation of India must cease.

The Lahore resolution declaring independence as the goal of India was an awkward stile in his way, as it was widely interpreted as severance from the British Empire. The President adroitly got over it by giving it a different interpretation.

This independence does not mean, was not intended to mean, a churlish refusal to associate with Britain or any other power. Independence does not, therefore, exclude the possibility of equal partnership for mutual benefit and dissolvable at the will of either party. If India is to reach independence through consultation and agreement, it is reasonable to suppose that there will be British association.

It is crystal clear that the President means by independence exactly what is understood by the term Dominion Status, and asks for no more. It is apparent that he was led to give this more acceptable interpretation by the knowledge that "the Princes will not agree to severance."

The President referred hesitatingly to the federation of British India and the Indian States. He was however emphatic that "their association must not impede the progress of democracy" and he earnestly pleaded that fundamental rights should be guaranteed in the States as in British India and that the common federal courts should have jurisdiction in the matter of common rights. He was not equally emphatic and unequivocal with regard to the representation of the States in the federal legislature. He contented himself by saying that it was not too much to expect that the subjects of the States should be "to an extent directly represented on the federal legislature."

He threw no fresh light and gave no clear lead on the communal question. He merely repeated the confession of bankruptcy of the Lahore Congress. If as he said, it was entirely for the minorities to claim what they wanted in order to have them, the matter would have been settled long ago, and much communal bitterness, discord and bloodshed would have been avoided. Something more than this blank cheque business is necessary to solve the problem.

It will thus be seen that the Congress President abandons non-cooperation for co-operation, accepts Dominion Status in preference to independence, responsibility in the Centre subject to safeguards, does not reject federation with Indian States, and offers no solution to the communal problem. Except in the matter of federation, the close parallelism between the conclusions of the R. T. Conference and the conclusions of the President of the Congress is indeed striking. The speech is of special significance in as much as it reflects the Mahatma's mind more closely than the resolutions of the Congress.

The resolution on the constitutional question finally adopted by the Congress in its plenary session practically endorses the Presidential plea, except that it has some pepper in it to satisfy the

strong palate of the ginger group. It runs as follows:—

This Congress having considered the provisional settlement between the Working Committee and the Government of India, endorses it and desires to make it clear that the Congress goal of "Purna Swaraj" (Complete Independence) remains intact.

In the event of the way being otherwise open to the Congress to be represented at any Conference with representatives of British Government, the Congress delegation will work for this goal and in particular so as to give the nation control over the Army, external affairs finance, fiscal and economic policy, and to have a scrutiny by an impartial tribunal of the financial transactions of the British Government in India and to examine and assess the obligations to be undertaken by India or England and the right to either party to end the partnership at will.

Provided, however, that the Congress delegation will be free to accept such adjustments as may be demonstrably necessary in the interest of India, the Congress appoints and authorises Mahatma Gandhi to represent it at the Conference with the addition of such other delegates as the Working Committee may appoint to act under his leadership.

THE INDIAN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

IN the issue of the SERVANT OF INDIA of Feb. 5 the writer of the leading article made an appeal to the Congress to join hands with the Liberals to make one great constructive attempt to get as large a degree of responsible government for India as the representatives of India found possible and necessary. Since the appeal was made things have moved rapidly in India as well as in England. The Gandhi-Irwin understanding is a first class political incident in Indian history and no less important is the flutter in the Conservative camp in England about the movement of politics in India. In the India debate in the House of Commons on the 12th March Mr. Baldwin made a very interesting statement, which analysed, comes to this: that the British Conservative Party is opposed to holding the Indian Conference in India at the present time. It may be a question of time, it may be a question of tactics. But all the same it is clear, and Mr. Baldwin made it very clear himself, that there were *difficulties* in his party. He said:

Everybody knows that there are differences of opinion in our party on this subject, because there always have been, but there are large numbers of people who are genuinely apprehensive of all that is going on, and it so happens that they all belong to our Party.

Mr. Baldwin covered the bitter pill by sugar-coating it and told his hearers that whatever the policy of the Round Table Conference as it ultimately evolves, "I shall carry out the policy, and I shall carry it out in no niggardly spirit. I shall carry it out with every desire to overcome the stupendous difficulties that face us."

There is no doubt that the change in the policy of the British Government in shifting the venue of the adjourned Conference to London is largely due to the pressure of the political situation in England. But the decision to abandon the Conference in India is a political blunder. The delegates of Britain are losing a wonderful and necessary opportunity

of acquainting themselves at firsthand with the political situation in India. It is a tragedy that a great opportunity is being lost of understanding India by personal contact at the present time. The Simon Commission failed in their task because of the boycott movement from one end of the country to the other. Now that Mr. Gandhi of all persons is out for co-operation and the country is almost united in the pursuit of peace and goodwill—thanks to the statesmanship of Lord Irwin—the British authorities must have made the best of the present situation. One cannot but feel that the decision to drop Indian session of the Conference is most unfortunate.

But after all nothing in this world is wholly bad. Mr. Baldwin has unconsciously done a great service. The first Conference was more or less a mutual understanding society where the British Indian delegates at any rate had no very considerable representative character officially, and very important questions were deliberately left for later consideration. A constitution cannot be made in a day and India presents peculiar difficulties. India in an atmosphere of peace will require some time to adjust her domestic troubles and differences and British India would like to hear more from the Indian Princes about their plans to join in an All-India Federation. Undoubtedly the Princes' attitude at the Round Table meeting—especially the speeches of the Maharaja of Bikaner and the Nawab of Bhopal—revolutionised the situation in a way. We now want to hear from the Maharajas what exactly they want in the All-India Federation and what they are going to do for the Indian States subjects. The association of the British Indian democracy with an avowedly autocratic administration the States must necessarily be unnatural and cannot be to the advantage of either. It is necessary that the pick of the Indian Princes should confer with Gandhiji and some of the other British Indian leaders about the details of such political association. The problem is full of difficulties. If the attitude of the States is 'Heads I win, tails you lose', obviously British India must content herself with more practical things than an All-India Federation, however high-sounding the name may be. The great thing on which British India would like to have an understanding would be how far the Princes would be prepared to go in their co-operation with British India and how far the question of paramountcy would affect the question of independent representation of the Indian States in the scheme of responsible government in the central sphere. The very avidity with which Lord Reading and others welcomed the co-operation of the Princes without knowing how far the Princes would go must set Indian politicians thinking. British India must avoid in any case the replacement of the nominated official *bloc* in the central legislature in any form. All the difficulties of state representation would vanish if the representatives to the lower Federal House are chosen by the State Legislatures and the representatives to the Upper House are nominated by the States Governments. There is further the

question of the Federal subjects and the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. The Federal Structure Committee has had to leave many things vague. The time at the disposal of the leaders in India can well be spent in coming to some sort of an understanding on some of these vital problems.

Mr. Gandhi has promised the world that he would now turn his great energy to the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem under the new constitution and the statutory guarantees, if any, for the minorities. If any human being can be expected to bring to the solution of the question a dispassionate mind, a thorough nationalism, a practical love of humanity and a thorough absence of selfish or narrow interests, that person is Gandhiji. It can be hoped that with his great moral pressure an understanding may be arrived at on this unfortunate issue. After all, if we banish from our minds the spirit of distrust the solution cannot be difficult, and the real test of nationalism in the true sense is that the two great communities should not do anything to jeopardise the main issue—responsible government for India.

The other great question on which difficulties may and will arise is the question of safeguards for the British trading community. Those who have carefully studied the report of the sub-committee of the Round Table Conference will remember that opinion was very much divided on the nature of the safeguards to be guaranteed. The main question is whether any safeguards are necessary and if so, what possible safeguards can be thought of. The question as it resolved itself at the Conference was as to whether the 'rights of the existing European community in India' ought to be guaranteed or the 'existing rights' of the European community should be safeguarded,—there is no doubt that there is a vital difference in regard to the two positions. India need not deal in any niggardly spirit with the existing European community in India, but it is a different matter if the Government of India is to bind its hands for the future in the matter of fiscal or other legislation to improve the condition of their nationals. India must make it clear that Indian citizenship is a vital part of any scheme of privileges under the new constitution. India can never agree to allow the setting up of new industries in India by other than her own nationals so as to enable them to get the benefit of the Indian market and to avoid the Indian tariff. The Indian and European businessmen in India must co-operate in India on this matter if they really want to gain anything. No statutory right would be of any use in the face of a national outlook and a boycott of other than national goods. India's goodwill is more valuable than the protection of the law in matters of trade.

The thing that all delegates at the Round Table Conference should consider is whether any safeguard would at all be to India's interest and whether the restriction of the freedom of a responsible Indian Government would be in the best interests of even the traders themselves. There is a great necessity to be honest though it is not necessary to be foolish. Let Britain trust India and trust Gandhiji as the spirit of Modern India and all will be well. Britain's

difficulties in India are largely the result of her past policy and it is obviously not much good thinking about the past. Let all of us go forward but not at the cost of India.

S. V. AYYAR.

Reviews.

THE EXPANDING AMERICAN CONSTITUTION.

THE MAKERS OF THE UNWRITTEN CONSTITUTION. By WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO. (Macmillan, London and New York.) 20cm. 156 p. \$ 1-50.

THIS little book is a reprint of a series of lectures delivered in America in 1929. The writer has a clear and forceful style, a power of summing up a matter with an effective phrase or an epigram, and the ability of bringing out clearly the points he wishes to emphasise. He is admirably concise and judicious and quite free from party feeling.

The book is an attempt to explain the way in which the written constitution of the United States has been modified, far more than is usually realised, by custom and usage, by statutes and interpretations. The original framework remains as rigid as ever but within that framework great changes were possible and have been made. These developments have been due to a variety of causes. There is first the "expandable" phraseology of the constitution, where a few words can be made to cover the exercise of immense powers by the government. Thus the power given to Congress "to support armies," which in 1789 meant feeding, clothing and paying soldiers in the field, included during the last war the control of all railways and the proclamation of meatless and wheatless days for the whole population. Thus also the words "to regulate commerce with foreign countries and among the several states," originally applied to sailing vessels and stage coaches now includes steamships, railways, motors, aeroplanes and radios. Then, changing circumstances have developed the constitution in directions quite unexpected by its original framers. Thus the process of constitutional amendment itself, now considered the characteristic example of constitutional rigidity, was intended in fact to be easy. Four separate methods of amendment were provided, but only one has been used: what is now the cumbersome procedure of ratification by 36 States out of 48 was then the fairly simple one of ratification by 10 out of 13. Again, the device of an Electoral College in the Presidential election was intended to give the small states a chance of putting forward their nominees. The treaty power of the Senate was much less formidable when there were only 35 Senators, some of whom might be absent on account of travelling difficulties.

Another large part of the working constitution of the United States is provided by statutes, which fill in the details omitted by the constitution. For instance, the Constitution provides that the House of Representatives shall be elected, but does not say by whom. The whole structure of the Federal Judiciary was left to Congress. Statutes such as these cannot really be called part of the "unwritten constitution" since they have all the precision of articles of the constitution. Neither can they be considered part of "a flexible constitution," since they enjoy the prestige of French "organic laws," laws theoretically liable to revision by the ordinary process of legislation, but which supply a needed cog in the governmental

machine, and are therefore very unlikely to be changed.

But the most important contributions to the unwritten constitution of the United States have been the interpretations of Chief Justice Marshall, and the leadership of President Wilson. They are really only two sides of the same principle of interpretation, for Wilson only "interpreted" the Constitution in the political sphere as Marshall did in the legal. Marshall expanded the constitution by legal opinions, Wilson by executive action. By a series of legal decisions beginning with the *Marbury vs. Madison* case of 1801, Marshall established three great principles. First, the Federal Constitution is an ordinance of the whole people, not an agreement of the States, and the Supreme Court is its guardian. This established the fundamentally popular basis of the federal power, and prejudged beforehand the issue of the Civil War. Second, the powers of the national government are to be liberally interpreted, and are held to include the means of putting them into effect. Third, (which follows from the first) the national government acts by the authority of the whole people.

President Wilson declared in 1906: "The President is at liberty, both in law and conscience, to be as big a man as he can," and on coming into power six years later he set himself to exemplify his own maxim. The recent abolition of the Speaker's dictatorial powers had left a gap in the legislative leadership which Wilson hastened to fill by means of a vigorous legislative programme and presidential messages. "His mastery at the Capitol," says Mr. Munro, "was for six years unchallenged. Literally he sent his instructions and the bills came back for his signature, almost as the echoings of his voice. A leader leads, and a boss drives. Wilson did both." The result of Wilson's action may be summed up by saying that the President, without becoming a member of the House of Representatives, had, by his legislative achievement and the establishment of an executive budget system, seized both the legislative and financial initiative in the Congress. Succeeding Presidents have been less masterful, and President Hoover has experienced less favourable conditions, but the precedent once set, only the hour and the man are needed to convert it into an established practice. The President of the United States may yet become a Dictator.

Pithy, illuminating and authoritative, this little book is certainly one which ought to be read by every student of the United States. It is a valuable illustration of the way in which all constitutions are at the mercy of the circumstances in which they are born, and the spirit in which they are treated. After all is said and done public opinion is the only real safeguard of any constitution.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION.

PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS. A STUDY IN THE CO-OPERATIVE RELATIONS. By MARGARET DIGBY. (Routledge; London.) 1928. 22cm. 203 p.

THE organization of co-operative societies of various kinds by producers on the one hand, and consumers on the other, has become a common feature. The feeling that the producer does not get full value for his produce and that the consumer does not get full value for his money, and that this state of affairs is due to the existence of middlemen is also common. So far, there has not been a definite move in the direction of bringing the producers' and consumers' organisations closer together on a co-operative basis. This

book reviews the co-operative effort that now exists and from the facts, suggests a way of extending the principle of co-operation for the general benefit of the community. The ideal towards which all such attempts should be directed is the arriving at a "just price" which may be defined as "the price which accords an equivalent standard of life to producer and consumer."

The movement of co-operation started with the producers and consumers combining to protect their interests, each independent of the other. Naturally there is a certain amount of opposing interests between the two groups and in the reduction of this gap lies the future prosperity of the community as a whole. The need for linking up the organised producers and consumers seems to have been felt in England as far back as 1925 when this formed the subject of resolutions by the special committee of the National Farmers Union. The International Co-operative Congress discussed the subject both in 1924 and in 1927, although in 1913, an approach to the subject was made by a German delegate.

A detailed survey is given of the extent of co-operative organisations in the different parts of the British Empire. While the Dominions of Canada and Australia, have progressed far in their organisation of co-operative methods both in production and in sales, in India the movement has so far been confined to credit. The state of affairs outside the Empire, in Denmark, the U. S. A. and other countries has also been described. The work of the Co-operative Wholesale Society which has a membership of 1,141 registered societies, is described at length. This Society has adopted all possible methods for supplying to its members, produce of all kinds at the lowest prices. In addition to purchasing produce, it also helps in marketing commodities of various kinds. This is controlled by businessmen and is considered to be more or less an industrial organization. There is thus a certain amount of distrust on the part of farmers and farmers' organisations to combine with it. Other causes contributing to this are all described in detail. Although there is bound to be a certain amount of divergence of interests between the organizations of producers and consumers, yet the advantages are all in favour of a combination to interests. To those who are working in this field the book offers valuable information and as such is worthy of study by all who are interested in rural betterment.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

SHORT NOTICES.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE RECENT FOREIGN POLICY OF SWEDEN. BY ERIC CYRIL BELL-QUIST. (Univ. of California Press.) 1929. 24 cm. 175.

"A STATE can culturally be a great power, from which ideas go out over the world and whose judgment is respected among the large states" said Herr Wohlm in the Lower Chamber of the Swedish Riksdag, on March, 3, 1920. The book under review shows how Sweden, though a small state, played a great part in international relations during the decade that followed the War. The policy of Sweden during that period was "to create out of international anarchy" through development of "the international mind" a safer and saner world. The author points out how on many occasions her voice was drowned in the chorus on the international stage, but her example has meant even more than positive achievements. He says:

Her spirit of independence dominated by an attitude of absolute impartiality and disinterestedness has pointed a way which, if others will follow it, may do

much toward establishing those high principles in which she has expressed an almost unbounded faith.

Sweden maintained a difficult neutrality during the period of the War. At the end of it she joined the League of Nations, and her representatives at Geneva proposed amendments to the Covenant, argued for disarmament and security, and worked hard for a more definite and stable organisation for peace. By working for world peace and by a fearless and unbiased independence of action, Sweden has attracted the attention of the world and her action has called forth admiration in many parts of the world.

These aspects of the recent foreign policy of Sweden are well brought out in the book before us and we invite all students of history to go through this excellent book.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

UNHAPPY INDIA. By LAJPAT RAI. (2nd Edn. Illustrated) (Banna Pub. Co., Calcutta.) 1928, 21 cm. 565 p. Rs. 7/8.

THE late Lala Lajpat Rai wrote this book in reply to Miss Mayo's *Mother India*. This purpose it served admirably and there was not a single libel on Indian character in which Miss Mayo so freely indulged that did not receive a crushing reply from Lalaji. But the book has a more permanent interest in that it faithfully portrays our social conditions. That it is looked upon as such is clear from the fact that in less than three months, besides a reprint, a fresh edition was called for. That speaks volumes for its popularity and is a tribute to the attractive style with which the author handled the subject. The publishers deserve praise for its fine get-up and clear printing.

G. J. M.

GULAB SINGH, 1792-1858. FOUNDER OF KASHMIR. BY K. M. PANIKKAR. (Martin Hopkinson.) 1930. 22cm. 172p. 7/6.

HAVING read the book from cover to cover I do not find myself in a position to endorse the claim made by the author that Gulab Singh was "one of the most remarkable men that India produced in the nineteenth century." (p. 151) In the author's own words Gulab Singh "did not hesitate to resort to tricks and stratagems which would in ordinary life be considered dishonourable. He was trained in a hard school, where lying, intrigue, and treachery were all considered part and parcel of politics." Gulab Singh's justice was "rude", though expeditious and his ideas of administration were "primitive." Regarding the private life of Gulab Singh, the author says, "For the age and the circumstances of his time, he led a life which could in no sense be considered dissolute." Is it not damning his hero with faint praise? Notwithstanding all this, I consider the chapters, on the "Conquest of Ladak" and "The Sikh War" interesting and worth perusal.

S. P. ANDREWS-DUBE.

INDIAN IDEALS. BEING THE KAMALA LECTURES FOR 1924-25. BY DR. ANNIE BESANT. (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.) 1930. 20cm. 139p. Rs. 1/8.

THE book contains the three Kamala lectures delivered by Dr. Besant at the Calcutta University in 1924 and subsequently repeated at the Benares Hindu University and the University of Lucknow.

The subjects chosen for the three lectures are— (i) Education, (ii) Religion and Philosophy and (iii) Art. The lectures are printed on thick paper and in

bold type and this doubtless makes for the reader's comfort and convenience. Coming from a deep student and profound thinker like Dr. Besant, they are admirable and ought to be read very widely.

V. C. GOKHALE.

MY HOST THE HINDU. Williams & Norgate Ltd. IN her very readable little book, gives an intimate picture of Indian home-life as seen through the eyes of one who believes whole-heartedly in the brotherhood of humanity, and has learnt to see the other person's point of view during years of service amongst the toilers of East London.

In 1926 she paid a visit to India, when she was the guest of Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. She describes life in the Ashram, and tells how the vows of purity, truth, and non-violence taken by the followers of Gandhi find practical expression in their work amongst the villagers, whose poverty they strive to lessen by the revival of the ancient handicrafts which have fallen into decay. In brief sketches of life amongst the mill-workers and untouchables, she tells of the victims of drugs and drink, whose numbers include even the babies and young children of these workers for whom few creches are provided. These dark pictures are interspersed with brighter ones. She tells of visits paid to Shantiniketan and Gurukula, where the youth of India is being trained in the ideals of brotherhood, and of the National Congress where an attempt is made to give these ideals a practical form.

Sympathy and insight such as Miss Lester displays should help to spread a spirit of brotherhood and understanding between those two races who owe much to one another, and who in future will be marching forward side by side.

(MISS.) TODHUNTER.

EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION. ITS SUMERIAN ORIGIN AND REAL CHRONOLOGY. By L.

A. WADDELL. (Luzac & Co., London.) 1930. 23 cm. 223 p. 12/6.

SAVING the excellence of its production,—its plates, illustrations and maps indeed leave nothing to be wished,—there is very little to be said for this book. In it Mr. Waddell has "sought to meet the requirements and expressed wishes of Egyptologists by supplying them with a statement in full of the new evidence as to the real date and origin of the Nile Valley civilisation," which was touched on incidentally in the author's recent work on *The Makers of Civilisation in Race and History*. Mr. Waddell must have rated the credulity of Egyptologists very high before he could have brought himself to write a work of this character. It would be good as a joke; but the trouble of it is that Mr. Waddell is not joking; he is quite serious. It is obviously beyond the scope of this review and of the present writer to discuss the details of Mr. Waddell's 'new evidence.' However, here is an example of the method adopted. A verse in the Mahabharata runs:

"Manasyurabhavat-tasmā-ochuraseni-sutah prabhuh Prithivyāscaturantaya goppta rajivalochanah."

This innocent verse means, for Mr. Waddell: "(From him was born) by his wife Acchuraseni a son named Manasyu of the line of the Prabhu (Pharaoh) the royal eye of Gopta (Kopt or Egypt) and of the four ends of the earth." No 'real chronology,' in fact nothing real, can be raised on such foundations and it can be said with perfect safety that not one of Mr. Waddell's conclusions is ever likely to be accepted generally by scholars, at any rate on the evidence adduced by him in this book.

K. A. N.

Correspondence.

INDIAN CULTURAL STUDY AT ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—A plea for Indian cultural studies to be represented by the dignity of a chair in at least one of the English Universities is signed and circulated by eleven men of authority and standing in England; prominent among them being Mr. Henry Balfour, Curator, Petit Reves Museum, Oxford; Mr. W. G. Constable, Assistant Director of National Gallery; Sir Atul Chatterjee; Mr. W. G. Ormsby-Gore; and Sir William Rothenstien, Principal, Royal College of Arts, London. This proposal is forwarded with a view to nurture an understanding of Indian culture, in very comprehensive sense of the term, in England. The suggestion is as good and shrewd as it is an opportune one. At no time was India so sensitive about its prestige and status, as all adolescent nations, like individuals, are bound to be. An academic and critical study of Indian culture, therefore, will do a good deal to help the understanding of the psychology of the Indian people, for the present is but the sum total of the past, even in the case of a country like India, where life did not "slowly broaden down from precedent to precedent." In spite of all the breaks in historical continuity and co-mingling of several races during the course of centuries, none can deny the fact that in the innate instincts and aspirations of the present-day India 'lives the wonted fire' of a great ancient culture. The knowledge of it will also help to solve the riddle-like problems, both political and social, of today.

Apart from this utilitarian view, the ancient Indian culture deserves attention of all savants of learning, by virtue of its greatness, and the decisive influence it wielded upon Pan-Asiatic culture. For six centuries or more of the Christian era Indian Universities, like Nalanda and Taxsila, were breeding grounds of all Asiatic culture. It may be, at present, a matter of speculation, as to what extent Indian culture influenced Greek civilization and consequently the whole of European life and thought. But students in any European University will find the study of Indian learning profitable in more ways than one; indeed it is no exaggeration to say that to know it in its manifold aspects is a liberal education. Having realised this fact many continental Universities have given a place of honour to ancient Indian culture. It is a matter for regret to see that British Universities, with the London University as an exception, have neglected to pay proper attention to this branch of learning. The London University, under the able guidance of Sir E. Dennison Ross, has done much to foster the study of Eastern culture in general and Indian in particular; and one notes with great satisfaction that even Indian Archaeology is a recognised option in Honours subjects in its syllabus.

Indian learning has another claim upon the British public. In no other non-English-speaking country English literature, and consequently English culture, is loved, admired and studied as in India. An average university student in India finds no difficulty to feast with Beowulf in Hrothgar's Banquet Hall; to herd sheep with Coedman, listening to his pastoral Muse; to join the motley cavalcade of the Pilgrims with Chaucer; to see 'life steadily and see it whole' along with 'sweetest Shakespeare' sitting in his 'Wooden O'; to bewail the loss of Paradise 'dropping some humane tears' with Milton, with

hope to regain it by following 'the Son of Man'. Peter Pan, Wendy, Danber and the Forsythes along with Falstaff and Sir Roger are his 'good companions' who daily walk and talk with him. He never tries to conceal that the unworldly spirit, which he inherits as a Hindu, is nowadays greatly toned down by the impact of the spirit of English literature, which, Augustine Birrell rightly points out, is 'heartly love of honest earthly life, devotion to friends, kindness to dependents, obedience to duty'. He, therefore, never grudges to send yearly lotus festoons for the laurelled heads in 'the Poets' Corner'. It will be, therefore, in the fitness of things to honour the learning of those, who in their goodness, have gone ahead to love and appreciate English literature—study of the English literature the rulers can impose but they cannot compel the ruled to love and appreciate—which is, as all literature is bound to be, interpretation of English culture. We hope the British Exchequer, in spite of all its difficulties,—and they are many at present—will not fail to find means to realise this 'paper scheme', forwarded by men, who have proved themselves, by virtue of this proposal, as 'eyes among the blind'.

Yours, etc.
Y. G. NAIK

Poona, March 30.

Miscellaneous.

THE ROUND TABLE METHOD.

MR. SASTRI'S VIEWS.

The following report of Mr. Sastri's recent speech at the Y. M. C. A. in their Round Table debate is taken from the HINDU:—

THE Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri who was observing the course of the debate then made a few observations on the value of the Round Table method of conference to solve national and international problems. He said he had attended more conferences than one some of which could be described as international in character. There was one thing common in all those conferences and that was that the delegates were all on a footing of perfect equality and that was indeed all that in a conference they need ask for. That the people of England and the people of India, meeting in London to settle the disputes that had arisen, were upon an unequal footing from start to finish went without saying. But that situation was not one brought about either by what the British did at the Conference or what the Indian delegates did there. That situation was there already. Given that disadvantageous situation how did the Indian delegates comport themselves? Had they the skill, the circumspection, the courage and the patriotism to turn an essentially disadvantageous situation into as advantageous a situation as possible? Did they use their opportunities of speech and of private negotiations to the best advantage of India or did they merely exalt themselves in the eyes of those who had something to give them in London? (Hear, hear).

Now that was what they should be clear about, Mr. Sastri continued. There was no use in asking the 80 and odd people that represented India at the Conference during the past few months: "Did you put right what has gone wrong in India these centuries? Well, we gave you a few weeks; why didn't you put everything right?" No. That would not be fair. Even although they did not belong to the Congress organisation and he would grant that in their eyes it was a great handicap, it was not their fault

that the Congress did not come in. They should have been very happy if in their own places or alongside of them Congressmen had chosen to conduct the negotiations. Whatever others might say and whatever impression might be created from a study of the newspapers, he asked them to believe him when he said that most of them were happy because now the negotiations were in the hands of those who could give them the most advantageous shape. The Indian delegates at the Conference used well and profitably what was happening in India. They all wanted that the unparalleled difficulty created by the civil disobedience movement in India should be ended. The welfare, prosperity and contentment of a people depended upon the permanency and upon the depth and profundity of the peace that reigned among men. Sometimes, alas, war had to be made; and risings and mutinies had to be brought about. Yes, but what did they want, who stirred up the people in those ways? Did they want the disturbances to continue for ever and ever? When they had brought the struggle up to a certain stage of intensity and demonstrated the earnestness and sincerity of their convictions or of their demands as the case may be and when in their judgment the other party to the dispute had been brought to the ways of listening to reason, they stopped the struggle and wished that the national struggle should once more come to the normal.

UTILITY OF ROUND TABLE TALKS.

Coming to discuss peace, the question arose whether they would sit at a Round Table, equals to equals, or whether they would send merely diplomatic despatches. When they sent a number of persons, representatives of different shades of opinion, so that among them there was sufficient and varied experience to deal with any emergencies, then certainly all their problems in all their aspects would be present and be made available as and when required to be explained or expounded. Nothing in the world was a detached phenomenon; much less could the Round Table Conference be. Certainly, therefore, the Round Table Conference could not be detached from the civil disobedience movement of which it was the direct outcome. And he, for one, like his friend Mr. Pannirselvam had never hesitated to say not merely that the civil disobedience movement was there, but they contended, every time it was open to them, that the civil disobedience movement was conducted from beginning to end by those who were just as good as themselves; by those who were not trouble-makers by instinct or by profession; by those who did not specialise in the art of creating discontent where there was none; but by those who felt impelled by the difficult circumstances of their time to make disturbances in the country. And he said at the Round Table Conference more than once that the people of England made a mistake in supposing that in transferring political power to the people of India they would put it all in the hands of wrong individuals, men who were professional agitators or enemies of Great Britain. He nearly convinced all those who heard him that the facts were that they were dealing with a set of honourable people who were actuated purely by patriotic motives, who had high notions as to what the country wished for and to whom therefore the exercise of political power will not be an accession of power to be taken mean advantage of, and that they were people in whose hands political power will be used not merely with benefit to India but with entire justice to the British people.

Now he wished to say that this Round Table method was no doubt a new discovery of modern times. Formerly they used to have the dilatory method of sending out embassies and receiving em-

masses; and men, no doubt of great ability and culture and representative character, but men who somehow or other spoke with bated breath, liking the larkness of the Chamber instead of the publicity given by the press of modern times—they were men who always spoke with plenty of reserve. But at the Round Table Conference, the method lately discovered, they obeyed no rules except those of ordinary debate; they got up their legs the moment they felt they had something to say; and then the great advantage was that they had left behind, he hoped forever, the old reserve and reticence and, if he might say so, deceptions and diplomacy. Indeed if any of them had been to the Round Table Conference and listened to what each one of the delegates there said, he would have exclaimed "Why, in this place apparently men can speak the truth!" (laughter).

It was not for him to appraise the work of the Round Table Conference, Mr. Sasriar concluded, but for the moment confining himself to the terms of the resolution, he would say that the method of the Round Table Conference certainly had, during the short time it had been in operation among the races of mankind, proved itself largely successful. He knew in one or two instances it had not been successful. But the methods were after all only methods. If the mentality be such as to make peace, they succeeded; but if it be not to make peace, however free or equal they were they could achieve nothing.

True, at the Round Table Conference held in London recently they had left a good deal of work undone. But therein lay its merit. They knew that things done in London without the united wisdom of India, the wisdom coming from the civil disobeyers as well, would only be partial. Upon every side the desire now was that the Round Table Conference should resume its sittings, with added strength upon the Indian side, perhaps sometimes in India, perhaps sometimes in London; but the wish all-round was that the Round Table methods should not be abandoned. Such success as they have had—he admitted it was partial—would be completed and they would have that which India was entitled to have and that for which they had all struggled each in his different way and which being granted to India will leave her contented and prosperous, but leave Great Britain also contented and prosperous and make of the Commonwealth, of which India was going to be an equal member, what it was not at the present day, but what, thanks to the co-operation of India and her people, it was going to be—a real brotherhood of equal and free nations, coming to help and work with each other not merely for their benefit but for the benefit of the whole of the world (Loud applause).

INTER-RACIAL PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The following Memorandum on the Inter-Racial Problems of South Africa has been issued by the Society of Friends at Cape Town:

BELIEVING, as we do, that the Christian teaching provides a way of life and a guide to conduct, both personal and national, we feel that the race problems of South Africa should be considered in the light of that belief.

The Society of Friends does not claim any monopoly of truth, nor does it suggest that it alone can interpret the Christian teaching, but it has made especially its own that aspect of the Christian faith, known to Quakers as the doctrine of the Inner Light which claims that there is in every human being

some part of the divine life which makes sacred every human life and gives to every human being and personality infinite possibilities of development and service. Upon this belief, the policy of the Society of Friends has been founded; through it, the Society has made its particular contribution to the world. It is with the application of this doctrine to South African affairs that we are concerned.

The race problems of South Africa are many and complex. We cannot but appreciate the great difficulty of the task of those upon whom have fallen the responsibilities of Government. We must regret the sense of strain that still too often characterises the relations between the two main elements in the European population of South Africa. In spite of the statesmanship which attempted to build a harmonious community out of the elements recently at war, much bitterness and misunderstanding remain. There is a great need here for sympathy, forbearance and goodwill. A greater willingness is needed on the part of both Dutch and British to respect the other's language, custom and tradition. The problem of race relation which is really the problem of how peoples of different belief, custom, tradition and economic standards can so adjust their differences as to make possible a homogeneous and harmonious community, is not, in South Africa, confined to those races that are differentiated by colour.

In approaching the race problems of South Africa we must at once dissent from the use of the term "native problem." The South African native is not in himself a problem; or is not any more a problem than any one human being is a problem to his fellows. What is presented to us in South Africa, in an acute form but in comprehensible degree, is the problem of race adjustment prevalent in many parts of the world.

The Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light, our belief in the sacredness of every human personality, makes us dissent at once and entirely from any general belief and policy which is based on the assumption that any one race is necessarily and permanently superior to another. We are fully aware of great differences of development and culture: we know that these differences constitute the problem that we have to face; but, we believe that superiority must rest in character, in knowledge and in service to one's fellows; it cannot rest in the colour of the skin.

We believe that civilization with all its defects is a good thing and therefore to be shared with those who have not yet come within its sphere. We believe that all the wealth and tradition of western civilization that we have inherited should be held by us in trust for those who desire to participate in its benefits. We cannot feel that civilization may be withheld from those who wish to share it, and we believe that western civilization, still very imperfect, may be enriched by the contribution of those who come to participate in it. Therefore, while recognising that it may be, in some cases, desirable for different races to develop each in its own community, we could not assent to a permanent and enforced system of racial segregation.

We regard the franchise as being at once the right and responsibility of every member of a civilized community and should be shared by all civilized persons without distinction of race. We should regard with apprehension the stimulus to dissent and conflict that would be involved in any system of permanently separated representation.

We regard with thankfulness and appreciation the policy of encouraging the development of agriculture among the native peoples of South Africa as shown in the successful experiments in the Transkei and the present policy of establishing native agricultural colleges in the provinces, and look with

hopefulness to the time when large numbers of native people may become independent agriculturists and a most valuable element of the South African community. To the native, Indian and coloured person engaged in industry and civilised pursuits we trust that greater knowledge and ability will bring greater reward. We believe that the economic development of South Africa depends on the development as producers and consumers of all the members of our population.

The meeting of civilisation with barbarism, the meeting of western civilization with eastern civilization, gives rise to many difficulties and necessitates many adjustments. The situation is fraught with dangers and perplexities. It must not be expected that such wide differences can be adjusted without trouble. Disappointments and apparent failures are to be expected. There is great need for patience and steadfast goodwill. There will be those who, impatient of the time which necessary adjustment takes, or sensing injustice, will show bitterness and distrust. Such bitterness must be met by understanding. Contempt and repression are signs of weakness and lead to greater troubles.

Particularly we must deprecate the setting aside of long cherished civil rights by the Riotous Assemblies Act. To invest a minister with power over a subject that belongs to a court of law is to set aside rights which our civilization has struggled long and arduously to achieve and which cannot be abandoned without the risk of grave consequences.

The introduction of large numbers of people accustomed to simple tribal life in the country to the complexities and difficulties of civilised town life gives rise to many problems. It is important that individuals and public bodies should be conscious of the many needs that arise and be quick to meet them, particularly by supplying the necessary housing accommodation both for families and for individuals and the means of recreation, of education and the helpful use of leisure.

In framing any regulation that may seem to be necessary for the proper ordering of life in towns it is important that the wide gulf that separates the civilised from the uncivilised native should be remembered. Regulations perhaps wisely applicable to the uncivilised if applied to the civilised may give rise to grave injustice, and cause grievous hurt in people already rendered acutely sensitive.

A wide field of service is open to all people of goodwill. On Joint Councils and in Welfare Societies; in Medical and in Health services; in educational and recreational work, there is unlimited opportunity for service and we are glad to think of the many men and women giving themselves to these tasks with selfless devotion.

In the light of prevailing prejudice, social intercourse between members of different races presents great difficulties. We must not, however, forget that, particularly in the case of cultured Indians and educated and civilised natives, the refusal of social contact involves cruel hurt. The civilised native, cut off from the tribal life of his own people by his own advancement, suffers cruel isolation unless he can find a place in the society of those whose way of life he has been led to adopt. While wilful flaunting of general opinion is to be deprecated we cannot admit that difference of race can set limits upon our friendship.

We have upon all of us a great responsibility in our attitude and conduct towards the members of

other races. Whether we wish it or not we have to be, in ourselves, examples of our civilisation and our Christian faith. People who, for generations, have lived in barbarism and heathen fear, people who come from the civilisation of the east, meet western civilisation and Christianity for the first time in us; and, by our conduct, our civilisation and our faith are judged.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- PORTO RICO AND ITS PROBLEMS. By VICTOR S. CLARK & OTHERS. (The Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1930. 23cm. 707p. \$5.00.
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