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THE INDIAN REVIEW

[Vol. XXX.] January, 1929 [No. 1]



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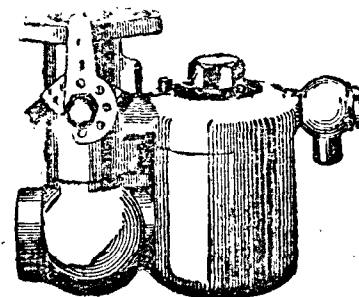
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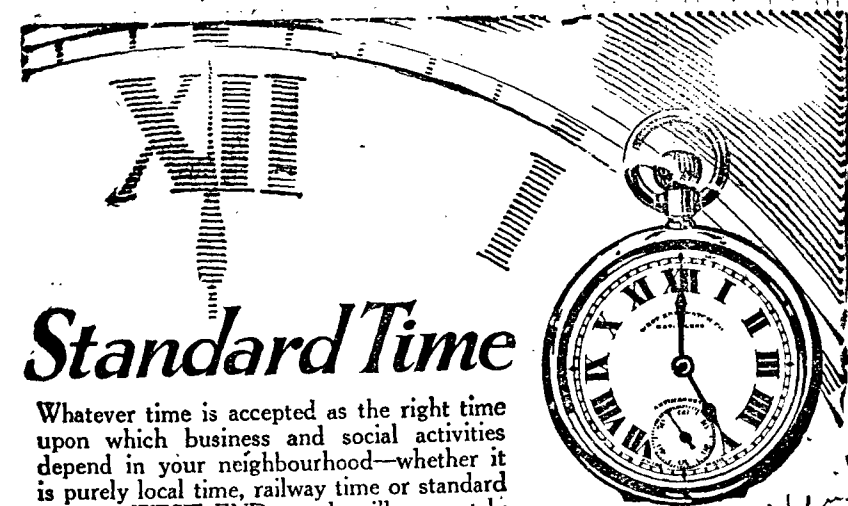
EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESA

Vol. XXXI

JANUARY—1929 :—DETAILED CONTENTS. N.

[No. 1.]

	PAGE.		PAGE.
A THOUGHT	1	INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA	
By Sir RABINDRANATH TAGORE	...	Indians in British Guiana	76
A NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY	2	Indians and the Philippines	76
By Mr. H. P. MODY, M. A., LL. B.	...	Mr. Sastri's Farewell to S. A.	76
ENGLISH HEGELIANISM	3	Indians in Fiji	76
By Prof. A. R. WADIA	...	INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCE	76
COMMUNALISM; A STUDY IN COMPARISONS	5	India's Raw Material	77
By Prof. NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA	...	Prospects of British Trade in Africa	77
THE CALCUTTA CONGRESS	7	AGRICULTURAL SECTION	77
By Mr. HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE	...	The Indian Land System	78
MODERN JAPAN AND ITS PROBLEMS	9	Importance of Veterinary Science	78
By Mr. S. V. RAMAMURTY, I.C.S.	...	Educating the Ryot	78
UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG THE MIDDLE CLASSES.	11	MEDICAL	78
By Dr. P. J. THOMAS, M.A.	...	All-India Medical Conference	79
WHAT NEXT IN CHINA?	15	SCIENCE	79
By Prof. J. J. VAKIL, B.A., (HONS.) OXON.	...	Man's Place in Nature	80
CANADA AS A BRITISH COMMONWEALTH	18	Sir J. C. Bose's Birth-day Message	80
By Mr. FRANK YEIGH	...	Honour to Dutch Astronomer	80
BIRTH CONTROL FOR INDIA	22	DEPARTMENTAL NOTES	80
By Mr. HON'BLE MR JUSTICE RAVESAM.	...	LITERARY	81
THE DECEMBER GATHERINGS	25	EDUCATIONAL	82
THE ALL-PARTIES CONVENTION	32	LEGAL	83
THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS	38	PERSONAL	84
THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION	42	POLITICAL	85
THE KHILAFAT CONFERENCE	44	SPORT	86
ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE	46	GENERAL	87
ALL-PARTIES' MUSLIM CONFERENCE	47	DIARY OF THE MONTH	88
ALL-INDIA CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE	48	PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS	
NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE	49	Sir Rabindranath Tagore	2
MAHATMA GANDHI'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY	56	Mr. H. P. Mody	2
LOVE IN DEATH (A poem)	57	Prof. A. R. Wadia	3
By Mr. LELAND J. BERRY	...	Mr. Frank Yeigh	18
THE WORLD OF BOOKS	58	Dr. M. A. Ansari	25
Extra Territoriality in China	59	Mr. Yakub Hasan	27
The Life of General Lord Rawlinson	60	Dr. Annie Besant	28
Life and Times of C. R. Das	60	Sir Ali Imam	28
The Universal Aspects of Fascism	61	Mr. Jinnah	29
India in the Crucible	61	Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru	30
From Paris to Locarno and After	61	Pundit Motilal Nehru	34
Raj. Brigand Chief	62	Subash Chunder Bose	37
Datura	62	Mr. C. Y. Chintamani	38
"Chastity"	62	Mahomed Ali and his Brother Shaukat	42
Kathakopanishad	62	Maharajah of Mahmudabad	44
Short Stories of to-day and yesterday	63	H. H. The Aga Khan	46
Wellington	63	Mr. M. R. Jayakar	48
Aids to Scouting	63	Mahatma Gandhi	49
My Lady of the Indian Purdah	63	Joan Coi quest	62
The rest of Young Men	63	Emperor Akbar	65
BOOKS RECEIVED	64	Dr. Rushbrook Williams	67
TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS	65	Mr Yusuf Ali	69
INDIA IN PERIODICALS	65	Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru	73
QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE	65	H. H. The Maharajah of Alwar	75
The Trade Union Congress	73	Dr. G. V. Deshmukh	79
UTTERANCES OF THE DAY	73	Sir Rabindranath Tagore	81
The Viceroy's Warning	74	Prof. S. Radhakrishnan	81
INDIAN STATES	74	H. H. The Junior Maharanees of Travancore	82
The Maharaja of Alwar	75	Mr S. Srinivasa Aiyangar	83
The Princes and The Nehru Report	75	Sir B. L. Mitter	83
Women's education in Baroda	75	The Late Raja of Panagal	84
The Maharaja of Nabha	75	Sir Abdur Rahim	85
		Miss Helen Wills and Miss Eileen Bennett	86
		Mr. K. F. Nariman	87
		Sir Basil Blackett	88



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MON.	... 7 14 21 28 ...	... 4 11 18 25 ...	... 4 11 18 25 ...	1 8 15 22 29 ...
TUES.	1 8 15 22 29 ...	5 12 19 26 ...	5 12 19 26 ...	2 9 16 23 30 ...
WED.	2 9 16 23 30 ...	6 13 20 27 ...	6 13 20 27 ...	3 10 17 24 ...
THU.	3 10 17 24 31 ...	7 14 21 28 ...	7 14 21 28 ...	4 11 18 25 ...
FRI.	4 11 18 25 ...	1 8 15 22 ...	1 8 15 22 29 ...	5 12 19 26 ...
SAT.	5 12 19 26 ...	2 9 16 23 ...	2 9 16 23 30 ...	6 13 20 27 ...
	MAY.	JUNE.	JULY.	AUGUST.
SUN.	... 5 12 19 26 ...	... 2 9 16 23 30 ...	... 7 14 21 28 ...	... 4 11 18 25 ...
MON.	... 6 13 20 27 ...	... 3 10 17 24 ...	1 8 15 22 29 ...	5 12 19 26 ...
TUES.	... 7 14 21 28 ...	... 4 11 18 25 ...	2 9 16 23 30 ...	6 13 20 27 ...
WED.	1 8 15 22 29 ...	5 12 19 26 ...	3 10 17 24 31 ...	7 14 21 28 ...
THU.	2 9 16 23 30 ...	6 13 20 27 ...	4 11 18 25 ...	1 8 15 22 29 ...
FRI.	3 10 17 24 31 ...	7 14 21 28 ...	5 12 19 26 ...	2 9 16 23 30 ...
SAT.	4 11 18 25 ...	1 8 15 22 29 ...	6 13 20 27 ...	3 10 17 24 31 ...
	SEPTEMBER.	OCTOBER.	NOVEMBER.	DECEMBER.
SUN.	1 8 15 22 29 ...	6 13 20 27 ...	3 10 17 24 ...	1 8 15 22 29 ...
MON.	2 9 16 23 30 ...	7 14 21 28 ...	4 11 18 25 ...	2 9 16 23 30 ...
TUES.	3 10 17 24 ...	1 8 15 22 29 ...	5 12 19 26 ...	3 10 17 24 31 ...
WED.	4 11 18 25 ...	2 9 16 23 30 ...	6 13 20 27 ...	4 11 18 25 ...
THU.	5 12 19 26 ...	3 10 17 24 31 ...	7 14 21 28 ...	5 12 19 26 ...
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Index to Advertisers in the "Indian Review."

	PAGE		PAGE
Addison & Co., Ltd., Madras	7, 25	National Insurance Co., Madras	... 32
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Anglo-Indian Drug and Chemical Co., Bombay	4TH COVER	Pelman Institute, Delhi	... 1, 2
Bailey Bros., Ootacamund	... 14	P. & O. and British India Companies	... 8
Beehive Foundry, Madras	... 26	Prabuddha Bharata	... 13
Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Calcutta	... 11	Prince Studio, Mount Road	... 36
Bennett Coleman & Co., Ltd., Bombay	... 27	Quaker Oats	... 5
Biswas & Sons, Calcutta	... 28	Rane Ltd., Bombay	INNER CONTENTS
Bombay Chronicle	... 18	Remington Type-Writer Co., Madras	... 25
Bose, S. N., Calcutta	... 35	Sadhana Ausadhalaya, Dacca (Bengal)	... 34
British Electric Institute, England	... 15	Sanatogen	... 13
Calcutta Astrological Syndicate, Calcutta	... 37	Sen & Co., B. L. Calcutta	... 31
Carnatic Paper Co., Madras	... 24	Sen & Co. C. K.	... 19
Carr & Mahalanobis, Calcutta	... 31	Shaw, M. L. Calcutta	... 24
Central Bank of India—Reading Matter	... 31	Sondhi & Co., B. R. Bhagwara	... 39
Chirological Society, Calcutta	... 15	Specific Co., D., Bombay	... 37
Curzon & Co.	... 3	Spencer & Co.	17, 40
Das. N. K. Dr. Calcutta	... 32	Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada, Madras	... 10
Dilawar Watch Co., Bombay	... 35	Superior Watch Co., Madras	... 37
Dwarkan & Son, Calcutta	... 13	Surajmal Lallubhai & Co., Reading Matter	... 17
English Electric Co., Ltd., Madras	... 22	Tamil Nesan, Kuala Lumpur	... 36
Erasmic, London	... 4	Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar	... 34
Flit, London	FACING INNER CONTENTS	Titaghur Paper Mills Co., Ltd., Calcutta	... 21
Formamint	... 6	United Trading Co., Calcutta	... 14
Gajjar's Ionic Pharmacy	... 35	"Welfare"	... 16
General Supplies Co., Karachi	... 26	West End Watch Co.	INNER CONTENTS
Govt. of India Central Book Depot.	1st COVER	Wilson & Co., Madras.	... 22
Guardian, Calcutta	... 38	Wilson Watch Co., Bombay	... 10
Horlick's Malted Milk	... 28		
India School of Accountancy	2ND COVER		
Indian Daily Mail, Bombay	... 29		
Indian Mechanical Works	... 38		
Kalidas Motiram, Rajkot	... 28		
Kaviraj N. N. Sen & Co., Ltd., Calcutta	... 38		
Kerala Soap Institute.	... 36		
Klein & Peyerl, Madras	... 26		
Lajpatrai & Co., Karachi	... 6		
Limaye Brothers	... 31		
Macmillan & Co., Madras	... 12		
Madras News Agency, Madras	... 30		
Madras Mail	... 9		
Madras and Southern Mahratta Ry. Co.	... 23		
Madras Warehouse	... 33		
Maniklal Chatterji, Benares City	... 35		
Massey & Co., Ltd., Royapuram	... 30		
Modern Machinery Co., Madras	... 30		
Mohini Flute Co., Calcutta	... 16		
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Narottam Morarjee & Co., Bombay	... 12		

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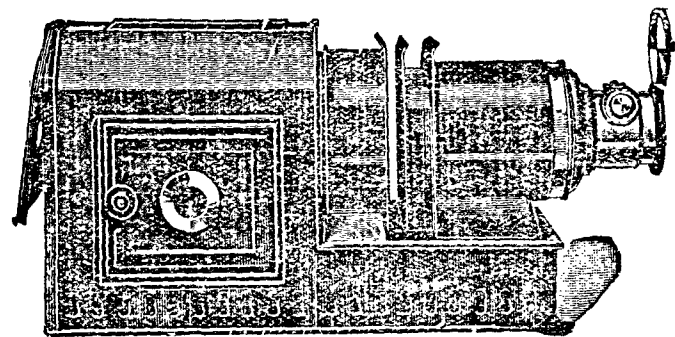
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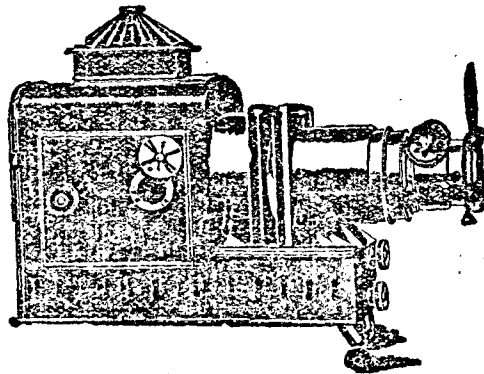
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THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY

BY MR. H. P. MODY, M.A., LL.B.

THE struggle for political freedom has helped India in a variety of ways. It has led to a tremendous awakening in many spheres of pub-



MR. H. P. MODY

lic and private activity. In the domain of economics, the consciousness has grown up that unless India is allowed to pursue a strictly national policy calculated to actively promote her trade and industries, the material condition of the people must continue to be very unsatisfactory. The Fiscal Commission, after a careful investigation of the subject, came to the conclusion that a policy of "discriminating Protection" was imperatively called for. In the years which have elapsed, the Tariff Board, which was instituted in accordance with the recommendations of the Commission, has examined the claims of various industries to Protection, and a measure of relief has followed, but it cannot by any means be said that a national policy is being pursued directed towards the single object of promoting India's Nascent industries. The manner in which even the meagre measure of Protection recommended by the Textile Tariff Board was turned down by the Government of India, bears convincing testimony to their policy and outlook in matters of such vital concern to the country. Halting as this policy has been, it seems to have been enough to upset the mental balance of a certain class of people in England and India, who profess to see in

the trend of events in this country a spirit of hostility towards British interests—a sort of a colour warfare in the sphere of economics. It would be uncharitable to remind these critics of the many acts of deliberate betrayal of Indian interests, which have disfigured the pages of British-Indian history, and which, let us hope, the growth of public opinion in India will render, if not impossible, at least more difficult in the future. My object is merely to emphasise that the policy which Indian opinion demands is inspired by no spirit of vindictiveness, but is dictated by the vital needs of the situation.

It must be obvious to every one that, if India is to emerge from her comparatively primitive economic condition, her trade and manufactures must be developed by a vigorous national policy. The agricultural population of the country is exceedingly poor; its assets consist of "its capacity to live where others might starve," to quote the expressive phraseology of Lord Curzon. The Currency policy of Government has aggravated the troubles of the agriculturist, and of the trades and industries which depend on his purchasing power. A large part of his income, when Exchange was at 1s. 4d., was usually absorbed in the payment of interest at exorbitant rates, either in cash or in kind, and when, by a stroke of the pen, this meagre income was reduced by 12%, it was not much of an advantage to him that he could buy his kerosene and his cloth and other necessities of life 12% cheaper. In a country like England with an average annual income approaching a £100 per head, there is enough margin left, even when the income is reduced, for taking advantage of cheaper prices for essential commodities, but our poor agriculturist still living very much on the border line in spite of recent improvements to his condition, must find himself left with very little with which to balance a reduced income and cheaper prices. But the greatest problem of all so far as agriculture is concerned is, how to reduce the pressure

JANUARY 1929]

ENGLISH HEGELIANISM

3

on the land. In India, fully 70 per cent. of the population subsists on agriculture. The proportion is abnormally high, and so long as it continues, even a hundred Royal Commissions will not avail the country. In the United States where the application of Science to Agriculture has been carried to considerable lengths, not more than 30 per cent. of the population lives by cultivation of the land; and it must be obvious that while agriculture must remain our largest industry, no substantial improvement can take place in the condition and standard of life of the masses unless and until we are in a position to absorb at least 50 millions of the agricultural population into industrial occupations. The problem of problems therefore, is to develop the vast resource of India in minerals and raw materials in such a manner that the national wealth may be increased and

employment found for vast numbers of men who are at present leading a more or less precarious existence. Such a development can only come through a national policy. Short-sightedness and self-interest must have no place in a task of such immense importance to the country. In spite of many changes, India is still the best customer of England. Individual British industries may suffer when this country is in a position to supply a substantial part of her requirements of various things, but an increase in the purchasing power of the Indian consumer would in the long run bring about an adjustment. The pursuit of a national policy does not, by any means, spell the death-knell of British interests. A friendly and prosperous India would always be England's greatest asset; a sullen and poverty-ridden India will one day bring disruption to the Empire.

ENGLISH HEGELIANISM

BY PROF. A. R. WADIA

DR. HIRALAL Haldar has long been known as one of the best Hegelians in India, and the volume* under review, bulky and scholarly,



PROF. A. R. WADIA

embodies the homage of a life-time. He deals but indirectly with Hegel, as his main aim is to

* Neo-Hegelianism by Hiralal Haldar, M.A., Ph. D. Heath, Cranton Limited, Fleet Lane, London.

study the most prominent Hegelians of England, Dr. Haldar himself has doubts about the propriety of calling them neo-Hegelians, for most of them are mainly followers of Hegel. They can hardly be said to have contributed anything strikingly original or made any striking advances on the original philosophy of Hegel. In view of this, Dr. Haldar's opinion, that this movement of thought is the greatest in modern times at least in the English-speaking world, strikes one as an exaggeration. The justification for the publication of this work rather lies in this, that apart from Bradley and McTaggart, most of the philosophers studied may not make a direct appeal in the course of a few years, and Dr. Haldar's lucid summary of their views may serve as a convenient and comprehensive study of a movement, which is certainly not as alive to-day as it was in the days of Stirling and Green, Caird and Wallace.

There is no doubt that Hegel's system contains much that will never die. Nor can there

be any doubt that the introduction of Hegelianism into England at a time, when the religious life was running low and a scientific materialism was flaunting its banner before discredited dogmas, came as a great solace to those pure spirits, who, dissatisfied with religious dogmatism were yet thirsting for a spiritual life. But it is questionable whether a single one of Hegel's English followers had the historic vision of the Master to see the moving finger of Spirit in the life of the Absolute. Hence it is that *English Hegelianism* has woven a myth around the concept of an unchanging Absolute. The difficulties of this position are laid bare in Bradley, and we cannot but profoundly appreciate Dr. Haldar's impartiality that he has not allowed his life-long loyalty to a philosophic creed to be blind to the palpable defects of the Bradleyan method. He admits that Bradley's "dialectic is purely subversive, making his transition from appearance to reality forced and arbitrary". If Vaihinger could speak of the Philosophy of as if, Bradley's philosophy may well be summarised as the Philosophy of Somehow, a blessed word, which seeks to tide over many a palpable lacuna in his thought. But the central defect of Bradley: the concept of an unchanging absolute is not controverted by Dr. Haldar. He naively says: "If time as such were real, the Absolute, of course, would not be possible". We fail to see the force of this "of course". In philosophy, the less we speak of "of course" and "must be so", the better. It is clear that Dr. Haldar's treatment of time is rather dogmatic, as is shown even in his reprinted essay, *HEGELIANISM AND HUMAN PERSONALITY*. On page 255, he considers it a defect of Hegel that he "from the truth that it is the very nature of God to reveal Himself, passes to the erroneous conclusion that he is fully and exhaustively revealed in the world as known to us". This is such a palpable caricature of Hegel that it is difficult to believe that it emanated from Dr. Haldar the Hege-

lian. It is a view which he could have got only by wearing too long the spectacles of English Hegelians. He forgets that Hegel is the philosopher of Evolution *par excellence*—albeit not of Darwinian Evolution,—that for him time does not stand still, not even to favour the Absolute. The static Absolute is the creation of Hegelians, not of Hegel. Hegel's desire to study the movement of the world of thought through a definitely historical perspective shows that he never meant the Absolute Spirit to stand still, and hence it is un-Hegelian to say that the Absolute is ever "fully and exhaustively revealed in the world as known to us". That is at least as it strikes the present writer, who also is willing to be known as Hegelian. But interpretations may vary, as Dr. Haldar himself admits. From our stand-point, the philosophy of Croce and Gentile, who are taboo to the orthodox English Hegelians, are worthier representatives of Hegelian thought and worthier to be styled Neo-Hegelians, as they re-interpret the thought of Hegel in terms of the discovery of Evolution, the great bequest of the 19th century to the growth of human knowledge.

Though we happen to differ in some respects from Dr. Haldar,—and which two honest students of philosophy will not differ? we do not fail to appreciate the enthusiasm and the care and the scholarship that have gone to the making of the book. He speaks of his career as drawing to a close, but we feel that he is young enough for more work of this sort, and we hope that this work will not be the last, as it is not the first, to come from his pen.

The Life and Teachings of Buddha. By A. Dharmapala. 3rd Edn., As. 12. To Subs. of "I.R." As. 8.

Prophet Mahammad. By Ahmed Shafi, and His Teachings By Moulana Yakub Hasan. Price As. 12. To Subs. of "I.R." As. 10.

Essentials of Hinduism. A symposium by leading Hindus. Price As. 12. To Subs. of "I.R." As. 10.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, Madras.

COMMUNALISM: A STUDY IN COMPARISONS

BY PROF. NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA.

TO the thoughtful student of Communalism in India, the question that naturally suggests itself is, whether any attempts were made in the past, in India, to solve this problem. History shows that the attempts made in the Muhammadan period were largely concerned with the theoretical and speculative aspects of the religions. Akbar's Din Ilahic, the teachings of Kabir, Nanak and the Sufis, aimed at a fusion but in the speculative region mainly. These attempts exercised merely a subtle intellectual influence and had little abiding effect. Slowly, however, tangible and practical results would have been visible. But the evolution of a common language and the blossoming of Indo-Saracenic art were the outward manifestations of a definite drift towards unity. But foreign occupation led to the loss of the sense of interdependence, the history of India as told by the foreign historians intensified antagonism, and a short-sighted policy suspected to be the policy of *divide et impera* intensified Muhammadan fanaticism and Hindu suspicion of which the results are palpable. But, in reality, too much has been made of Communalism in India. The problem of Communalism properly understood is no other than a minority problem. The difference between India and many other countries lies only in this fact that it exists here on a scale larger than elsewhere, India being a very large country. Let us take some of the so-called nation States created after the great War and analyse the state of things in those countries.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Population—Czecho-Slovaks	...	64.8
Germans	...	23.6
Magyars	...	5.6
Ruthenians	...	3.5
Others	...	2.5
Religions—Roman Catholics	...	76.3
Protestants	...	7.3
Greek and Armenian Catholics	...	3.9
Jews	...	2.6
Others	...	9.9
Parties—The parties include four that are German and two that are Magyar.		

POLAND

National minorities have a representation of over eighty members i.e., 20% of the entire chamber.

Parties—National minorities.
The Ukrainian Social Democratic Party.
The Jewish Circle.
The Ukrainians.
The Germans.
The white Ruthenians.

SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE

Population—Serbs and Croats—	...	74.4
Slovenas	...	8.5
Other Slavs	...	1.5
Roumanians	...	1.9
Hungarians	...	3.9
Albanians	...	3.7
Germans	...	4.3
Religions—Greek Orthodox	...	46.6
Roman Catholics	...	39.7
Muhammadians	...	11.1
Protestants	...	1.8

The figures speak for themselves. If the Germans forming a minority of 23.6, the Magyars a minority of 5.6, could be put in a single State with the Czechs and the Slovaks, why do critics make so much of the minorities of India? Then again in the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, there is a percentage of 11.1 Muhammadans in the population and the population is composed of such minorities as the Ruthenians 1.9, Hungarians 3.9, Albanians 3.7 and Germans 4.3; but this state of things did not raise a hue and cry in Europe when a single Serb-Croat-Slovena State was created.

In the above-mentioned countries, the League of Nations protects the ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities. But what does it protect?—Nothing but elementary rights. The following articles have been recognised as fundamental law in Poland, Austria, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Serb-Croat-Slovene State and Roumania and are guaranteed by the League of Nations.

Art. 2.—Full and complete protection of life and liberty, free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

Art. 3.—Admits and declares to be nationals, the people of all races habitually resident.

Art. 4.—Declares to be *ipso facto* nationals, all persons born in the said territory.

Art. 5.—Guarantees the right to opt for any other nationality.

Art. 7.—Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Polish (etc) Nationals in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil and political rights, e.g., admission to public employments; Franchise and honours on the exercise of professions and industries.—No restriction on the free use of any language. Notwithstanding the establishment of an official language, adequate facilities to nations of other speech shall be given.

Art. 8.—Polish (etc) Nationals, who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law, equal rights to establish, manage, control charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and exercise their religions freely therein.

With these elementary rights guaranteed, and with proportional representation secured, the racial, religious and linguistic minorities are almost content, and we hear that, in some of these States "the general movement of political parties is towards a fusion into blocks of similar political aims."

But by far the most close parallel exists between the state of things in India at present and in Canada in the twenties and the thirties of the nineteenth century. Lord Durham gives a description of the state of things of Canada of those days. The population of Canada in those days was:—

Upper Canada ...	400,000	English inhabitants.
Lower Canada ...	150,000	" "
	150,000	French "

The great bulk of the Canadians and the great bulk of the British appear ranged against each other * * * the mutual dislike of the two classes extends beyond politics into social life, where, with some trifling exceptions all intercourse is confined to persons of the same origin. Grown-up persons of different origin seldom or never meet in private society, and even the children when they quarrel divide themselves into French and English * * * like their parents. High and low, rich and poor, on both sides, the merchant and the porter, the seigneur and the inhabitant, though they use different languages to express themselves, yet exhibit the same feeling of national jealousy and hatred * * * not a day, nor scarcely an hour passes without some serious mutual affront, some petty insult, some provoking language occurring between persons of British and French descent.

Is not the state of things, so far as the Hindus and the Muhammadans are concerned, much better?

The differences between the French and the English were of a more far-reaching character than those between the Hindus and the Muhammadans or between the different communities in India.

The French and the English differed in race, language, religion, customs, and prejudices but that was not all. The traditions of the two races were wholly divergent. French colonisation was born of the State, reared in the State, controlled by the State, with feudalism as its essence and the Church as a predominant factor. But the British system of colonisation was opposed to the State, with self-Government as its essence. Aware of these differences, the British Government at first followed the same short-sighted policy which they have done in India. They relied on separation and granted only very limited self-Government. But fortunately for Canada, Durham recommended unification and 'freedom as the secret of harmony.' Durham counted upon the gradual extinction of the French Canadian nationality. But, in this, he was wrong. Race antagonism has undoubtedly diminished; still to-day "French are French and British are British, and will remain so till the end." But the French and the English have lived side by side for nearly ninety years and have acquired habits and traditions of co-operation. Even in the last session of the Canadian Parliament, we hear Mr. Mackenzie King emphasizing that "Lord Willingdon desired to renew the old tradition and reside a part of the time at Quebec to promote the union between the two nationalities of Canada."

Thus unity has been established in Canada in spite of difference, because the British statesman took courage to grant freedom. Trust begets trust and creates an atmosphere of trust; of course, no two sets of conditions are wholly alike. We do not want to adopt *in toto* what has been done elsewhere. Anything wholly exotic would not suit us. But that is a question of details. The general principle established in the above cases holds good of India as well. At least, the example of Canada and the more recent example of Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Serv-Croat-Slovene States and Roumania suggest some lines of advance for India and at least some amount of boldness "to speak unto the peoples of the earth that they may go forward."

THE CALCUTTA CONGRESS

By MR. HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

THE rejection of the amendment of Mr. Subas Chandra Bose* and the passing of the original resolution moved by Mr. Gandhi † may be considered to be the result of Mr. Gandhi's personality and persuasiveness. But it cannot also be gainsaid that the decision of the All-Parties' Convention had exerted considerable and sobering influence on a large section of Congressmen—including Mr. J. N. Sen Gupta, Chairman, Reception Committee.

The All-Parties' Convention cannot but be regarded as a more representative body than the Congress itself as the former had attracted well-known leaders of the different political parties as also representatives from almost all political and non-political bodies in the country. And if the Congress had rejected the resolution passed by the Convention, it would certainly have lost all claim to call itself the representative political institution of the country.

That attempts were made to get the amendment carried by the Congress is now well-known. Concluding his reply to the speeches, Mr. Gandhi said:—

It cut me to the quick when I heard that delegates' tickets passed hands and were sold like bills of exchange, and that the rates increased as the days went on. It is discreditable to the Congress, and I tell you that you are not going to get independence by these methods. On the other hand, you are forging your own shackles, from which there will be no escape.

That even these "discreditable" attempts failed to achieve the end demonstrates that the majority of Congressmen realise the responsibility they would have incurred by voting light-heartedly for the amendment.

But the resolution accepted leaves much to be desired. It lays undue and unnecessary stress on "the resolution relating to complete independence passed at the Madras Congress," and practically looks upon it as sacrosanct, though immediately

* Vide page 36.

† Vide page 33.

after the Madras Congress, Mr. Gandhi himself was reported to have said that the resolution was foolish under existing circumstances. The extension of time granted to the British Parliament cannot but remind one of the elegant expression of the handbills—"positively the last night"—and was not expected from Mr. Gandhi.

There is an element of unreality in the resolution which is in keeping with the atmosphere of unreality that pervaded the whole show. Mr. Iyengar's support of the independence ideal and his subsequent surrender looked like carefully-prepared stage management.

The Congress, on the whole, was a huge affair, and when one takes its hugeness into consideration, well-managed. But in no previous session had blind imitation of everything British so offensively obtruded itself. From the dress of the volunteers to the pose of the G. O. C., everything indicated a vile apishness that ought to have been galling to the sense of self-respect of those who believe that the effects of our cultural conquest is far worse than the effects of our political subjugation. Imitation may be the safest form of flattery, but surely it is the most dangerous form of admiration.

Sincerity, which was the key-note in quite a number of excellent speeches delivered in the All-Parties' Convention, was seldom to be found in the speeches in the Congress. It was all sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. Excepting Mr. Gandhi whose sincere desire was to bring about an honourable compromise with a view to avoid a split in the Congress, most of the speakers reminded one of the "successful politician" who has his ears always to the ground to catch the direction of the march of the million-footed and who then goes forward to the conflict with his big drum and his breezy war-cries, sure of his big battalions. But these "big battalions" could not help their leaders to win. Mr. Gandhi's concluding speech was a knock-out blow of the sparrer

who sends a poor antagonist spinning with a scornful flick of the finger. That speech made one feel that in the vague hinterlands of most of us, there is a latent passion for freedom for which we are ready to die if the call comes—a latent heroism, to balance, perhaps subdue, the darker possibility that also sleeps or wakes within us.

If Mr. Gandhi can no longer remain at the helm of the Congress, or, rather if the young enthusiasts of the Congress now drop the pilot, it will suffer shipwreck on the rocks ahead. But it seems these young enthusiasts have lost faith in him and in his policy. That was what the Calcutta Congress demonstrated.

Even the President, Pandit Motilal Nehru, did not escape the insult of delegates who dictated that he should speak in Hindi and not in English, though the delegates from Madras as also the majority of Bengal delegates were innocent of Hindi.

The Congress has ceased to be a deliberative body as it has ceased to represent the opinion of united India. What is more, it has become a place where, though people talk of democracy, they practise the worst form of autocracy and stifle independent opinion. Before the result of the division on Mr. Gandhi's resolution was announced, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:

The President wishes to inform the delegates that he had personally noticed that a section of the Bengal delegates were not conducting themselves in a proper manner. Those who were voting against the amendment were harassed in every possible manner which made it difficult for the tellers to carry on their work.

Bengal ought to have hung down her head in shame at this rebuke. But Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was heard to protest against this observation, whereupon Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru retorted:

I have personally heard supporters of the resolution being called 'Traitors' and 'Betrayers'.

It is also to be noted that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose complained that he had been gagged by the President in the Subjects Committee under

circumstances which were related thus by the President:

When closure was adopted on Mr. Gandhi's resolution, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose asked my permission to make a personal statement. I allowed him to do so. Indeed, I readily granted him permission. In the course of his statement, he began to deal with the merits of the resolution and criticize the resolution. I would have allowed him to go on if I was left to myself; but three members from different sides of the House objected and asked if it was permissible after the closure motion had been adopted, to criticize a motion by speech as Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was doing. Being called upon to give a ruling on the point, I gave the ruling as I conceived it to be correct.

Then again Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar was charged with having concluded a compromise with Mr. Gandhi without consulting his friends of Bengal and others. But as a matter of fact, he had, he said, consulted Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Mr. Kiran Shankar Ray and others before coming to the decision of accepting the compromise.

The facts quoted above would go to show that toleration and the spirit of compromise have no place in the deliberations of the Congress.

The Calcutta Congress would have achieved something if it had succeeded in converting the Congress once more to a national institution where all parties demanding self-Government for India could meet on a common platform. Unfortunately, it has failed to do it at a time when members of different parties travelling from widely different points through the valleys of disillusion and disappointment could meet at last by the unifying waters of a common suffering burying their animosities in a common grave, and unite to claim their birthright. As matters stand to-day, union has been checked at its source, and the Congress is doomed to years of sterile wandering in the wilderness, while bureaucracy culminating in autocracy may run riot under the masterful sway of Imperialists who, with a fatal genius for misplaced energy, build their trust on reeking tube and iron shard and leave out of their calculations the invincible soul of man, who pursue the harsh policy of aggressive paternalism—paternalism conceived, not as the instrument of freedom, but as its deliberate foe, who plant soldiers on the soil as a futile substitute for the only garrison that can endure—the garrison of a free and independent people,

MODERN JAPAN AND ITS PROBLEMS

BY MR. S. V. RAMAMURTY, I.C.S.

THE main purpose of the book* is to describe the fundamental characteristics of Japan's civilization and to indicate how far they have been modified by Western influences. The author spent several years in Japan as a College teacher, and is gifted with exceptional powers of sympathy and understanding. He points out that the adverse criticism of Japanese character which Europeans and Americans often indulge in is due to a difference of manner and etiquette. Frankness and blunt negatives are to the Japanese coarse and vulgar. This leads to misunderstanding. The author rebuts the usual criticism of the occidentals against Japanese dishonesty and unscrupulousness, and points out that "their roguery is not our roguery and that the lies they tell are different from those to which we have become accustomed." It is mentioned that in some villages "no attendant in the village shop is necessary, for the customer having taken what he wants puts the purchase price in a basket suspended from the roof. The author describes their reservedness combined with politeness, their delicate love of beauty and harmony as opposed to the European search for comfort. In no country indeed does the love of nature enter so intimately into the life of the people as in Japan.

The social organization of Japan as of Asia generally is based on the family as the unit instead of the individual. Marriage is not a personal matter but a social concern. Usually, the marriage is not registered with the civil authorities for about a year after the religious ceremony. During this period, the couple may be divorced, if the two families consent, without legal proceedings. A child born in this time may be adopted by either family or a childless couple. To die without a male heir to preserve the family name and to

perform the ancestral rights is considered a calamity. With the social obligations recognized by the family, Japan needs no system of Poor Relief or Unemployment insurance. Within the family, life knows no reticences or privacies. There is on the whole much more natural consideration and far more courtesy between classes than in England. This is due to a strong sense of social solidarity. The caste system appears in regard to the untouchable class of *Eta*. The Government have removed all their legal disabilities. But a certain amount of social prejudice persists. With the introduction of the industrial system in Japan, the social organization is disintegrating. Women are finding employment outside the home. The growth of a class of wage labourers is cutting across the traditional social groups. The cohesion of the family is weakening. The growth of rapid transport is destroying local patriotism. It remains to be seen how Japan will re-adjust her social system in view of these changes. It is of interest to us that there is great resemblance between the social systems of Japan and India.

As regards the political system, it may be mentioned that the Cabinet Minister is responsible to the Emperor and not to the Parliament. An adverse vote does not therefore necessarily lead to resignation of the Cabinet. The Ministers of the Army and the Navy are responsible to the Emperor and not to the Prime Minister. No Minister except the Prime Minister and those for the Army and the Navy can hold office unless he has been a member of the Civil Service and has passed the required series of examinations. If the Government's Budget does not pass through the Parliament, the previous year's Budget becomes law. The real source of political power is the *Genro* (or Elder Statesmen). They select the Prime Minister, the Army and Navy Ministers. Power thus rests in the hands of a small oligarchy which is a survival of the feudal system. With

* *Modern Japan and its Problems*, by G. C. Allen. George Allen and Unwin, Limited, 1928. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 7-8-0.)

the large industrial growth of Japan, big businessmen are competing with the oligarchy for power. Trade Unions are also growing in power. The educated classes are demanding the substitution of responsible for bureaucratic Government. The author feels that some form of compromise between a Parliamentary system and Government by functional bodies and groups will ultimately emerge.

As regards education, the aim is stated to be "not to develop exceptional ability or character, but to create a general high level of attainment and to provide a supply of well-trained instruments of national policy." To pass from the Primary to the Middle School, there is a competitive examination as there is provision in the latter for only ten per cent. of those qualified to enter. After 6 years in the Primary School and 4 years in the Middle School, he has to pass another competitive examination to enter the High School where after 3 years he may appear for the entrance examination for a University. He generally takes his degree at 25 or 26 years of age, and passes on to the Civil Service or the learned professions. People who prefer Commerce or Industry may pass on from a Middle School to Commercial or Technical Schools. Secondary Schools for girls unlike High Schools for boys are finishing schools. "To raise their country to the level of the West in wealth and military power, and at the same time to preserve all that was fine and noble in their own traditional civilization seems to have been the ideal of the national leaders". But the educated Japanese frequently becomes critical of his country's institutions and resentful of authority. The Western culture he has absorbed stands out against the background of his early education and social discipline. Thus he has "two distinct standards of conduct and ideals between which his loyalty fluctuates", and his life has lost the definiteness of purpose which made the New Japan. The position is similar to that in India.

Economic reconstruction in Japan was the direct

result of State action. The commercial classes were drawn not from the old trading classes but from the Samurai whose former occupations and privileges had been swept away. The State sent students abroad to study industries, opened technical institutions, started factories with foreign experts to train staffs and workmen, helped the formation of Chambers of Commerce, Banks, Mercantile Marine. In the beginning, raw products were exported in return for manufactured articles imported through foreign banks in foreign shipping. This has now been changed practically entirely. But this large scale development of industries has still left half the population agricultural. In agriculture, the old methods still continue with small changes. But the silk industry, cloth weaving and other small cottage industries supplement the peasants' income appreciably. The fishing industry is another large industry which is unaffected. The Japanese style of living in food, clothes, footwear and his desire for articles of grace leave a large field of industry where the indigenous workers have no competition from foreign countries. In this area, the cottage industry survives. The introduction of electricity helps this type of industry. So does co-operation. In regard to articles which originated in the West, the factory system has been adopted, and here the organization is on a large scale. Unemployment, however, in times of trade depression, is counteracted by the Family system and the custom that large bonuses have to be given to dismissed workmen.

There is a chapter on the population problem. The population has doubled in the last half a century. Future increases in the population must be absorbed by commerce and industry. But this means that Japan will become increasingly cosmopolitan, and that much that is unique and graceful in her civilization will decay.

In the last chapter on "Japan and the West", the author sums up the position, "The fundamental things in Japan are still Oriental; only the material accretions are Western." Two civilisa-

tions have met in Japan and are struggling for a formula of peace. For the present, the educated classes and town-dwellers are struggling between two standards of life and conduct. The author thinks that Japan is the one country that is likely to be able to work out a compromise between the West and the East.

A compromise, perhaps; but not, I believe, a synthesis. I was travelling with a Japanese University Professor besides some Chinese. We fell to considering what were the unique contributions of our countries to civilization. For India, I said it was philosophy. For China, was claimed literature or perhaps, it was meant, the literature

of its ethics. The Japanese Professor thought what to say and admitted that there was nothing original which the Japanese have contributed. Japan followed India and China in the past; now it follows Europe. Japan has qualities of her own simplicity and tenacity of grip. It makes a good lieutenant but not a good leader. If Asia is to live again, leadership will, I believe, be in the hands of India and China with Japan and Turkey as good lieutenants.

The book is tremendously interesting and can be strongly recommended to readers. I can only wish that such a book will be written on Modern India and its Problems.

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG THE MIDDLE CLASSES

BY DR. P. J. THOMAS, M.A., B. DITT., Ph.D.

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UNEMPLOYMENT is a constantly recurring phenomenon in all industrial countries due to trade fluctuations, and even in agricultural countries depending on rainfall or foreign markets; but the kind of unemployment denoted by the above heading is a peculiar development in India, due to peculiar causes that have worked in this country during the last one hundred years. Indeed, we have unemployment among the lower classes even more than among the middle classes; in fact, our agricultural population is in a state of chronic unemployment or under-employment unparalleled, in Western countries at any rate. Our agricultural labourers and even ryots eke out only a half-famished existence, having only a poor labour income, but they have also a unique power to suffer all physical ills, even without a grin, and to live on the lowest imaginable standard of living. They are caught up in the maze of that vicious circle of low income, inefficiency, improvidence increase of numbers and all-round depression. Indeed, these circumstances have at last attracted the notice of Government as well as of the public,

and a great deal of attention is being given to the great question of rural reconstruction.

The problem to be discussed in this paper is of a quite different character, and the problem has attracted considerable attention recently and has even called forth protracted enquiries by the Government of many Indian States as well as provinces of British India. The latest to issue a report is the Travancore Committee, and its report is one of the best. The problem is that many of the educated young men belonging to the middle classes cannot find employment suited to their education and up-bringing. The Universities every year send out graduates by thousands and the High Schools issue S.S.L.C. Certificates by tens of thousands; of these, only a moiety are absorbed by the services and professions of the country; the rest are left out in the cold and have to be satisfied with mere tails after their names (which, unfortunately, in India is a mockery in an unemployed man! for, the degree in India is looked upon almost as a means to an end, the end being a 'cushy' job).

Now, how has this state of things come about? There are indeed many causes, as the Committees have found, but the central cause seems to be the misdirected production due to a misjudgment by a whole nation of many hundred million people. Misdirected production is a common cause of unemployment in industrial countries also, but obviously, this kind of misdirected production of skilled workers, not of commodities, has quite unique features and calls for special attention.

The fact is that there took place an undue extension of University education in this country before it became materially advanced enough to absorb large numbers of university-trained men in various walks of life. It is a great disaster to a country economically undeveloped, to extend university facilities to classes that look for anything beyond cultural value from their education. India was the first country where such a phenomenon took place, and hence the peculiar plight she is in to-day. I shall explain this further.

In England as well as in India, until about half a century ago, higher education was availed of only by the upper classes, who had ample leisure to care for culture for its own sake, and those who went in for professional studies entered such avenues as the Church, Law or Medicine. In England, a sturdy middle class arose as a result of the commercial and colonial expansion of the last few centuries, and this class grew in number and increased its influence by the industrial and agrarian changes that took place in England in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. An Empire on which the Sun never sets was open to them with all its abundant natural resources and undeveloped potentialities. The capitalist farmer who supplanted the manorial tenant, and the skilled town-labourer and tradesman who benefited by the industrial revolution, swelled this rising middle class and made it prosperous. Educated men were wanted in the industries at

home, and in the professions, in foreign commerce and for the administration of India and the Colonies.

This was the opportunity for the universities. Hitherto, the universities were meant merely for the polishing of the leisured classes; there the "young barbarians were at play", and came out cultured gentlemen. But their training was of a limited scope and they contributed little to the advancement of science. The historian Gibbon spent at Oxford (at Magdalen College!) the most idle eighteen months of his life. Some of the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge must have been puny little places in those days. Even Magdalen of Oxford, now worthy to receive the royalty, seems to have had only a cellar to dine in in an earlier age. Balliol, which has subsequently received the bluest of the blue in the land, was started in the 13th century like one of the students' lodges in Triplicane, and continued nearly such till comparatively recent times. But after 1850, the whole situation changed. The younger sons of the landed aristocracy, as also the ambitious boys of commercial families, crowded into Oxford and Cambridge to get admission to the prospering learned professions, and to seek lucrative services in India or other parts of the Empire. There was a veritable boom in education; colleges swelled with numbers and had to be rebuilt; and master builders like Benjamin Jowett of Balliol and Arnold of Rugby re-organised the universities and the public schools to answer the growing needs of the community.

Now what of India? We had too our Taxila and Nalanda and numerous asrams and academies which spread religious and even secular knowledge among leisured classes and shone as beacons in centuries of universal ignorance. But they did not cater for the professions which were mostly regarded as illiberal as in ancient Greece, and therefore left them to the care of the artisan classes, who, although lacking in such a remarkable corporative spirit as in Mediaeval Europe, had yet

developed a creditable professional lore of their own and well-regulated system of apprenticeship not unlike that in Europe. Macaulay's epoch-making Minute of 1833 heralded a new type of education, and Bentinck's administrative reforms made such education a good qualification for lucrative employment. Unlike in England, neither industry nor commerce catered for educated men; but the Government service did what professions in other countries have been doing. From the time of Dalhousie (which marks an epoch), a series of administrative reforms resulted in an unprecedented increase of governmental machinery which called for innumerable clerks and many responsible officers of subordinate rank. Department after department was created, and each required, in addition to a few superior officers recruited in Britain, numerous subordinate officers selected from qualified Indians. The introduction of the Statutory Civil Service also raised new hopes. Add to this, the need for professional men, lawyers, doctors, engineers and teachers that inevitably followed the adoption of western ideas and the modernization of modes of living. Such was the *raison d'être* which justified the foundation of the three Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in 1857 and the subsequent establishment of similar institutions at Allahabad and Lahore. The first batches of their graduates obtained 'fat' jobs and easily got admission to the *sahiblok*. This situation touched to the quick the 'clerical' classes, who, realizing the opportunities with the rapidity of an eagle, flocked to the Universities in large numbers and carried off the prizes which legitimately came to those holding a university degree. In time, the non-clerical classes also were encouraged to follow the example and were helped in their efforts by Missionary bodies and charitable persons. A veritable boom was created with all the attending consequences. So long as Government went on opening new

departments and re-organising old ones, openings were not wanting to absorb the new graduates, but that could not go on for ever. There must be a limit to such developments, especially in a poor country like India. Until the close of Lord Curzon's regime, which was the heyday of administrative re-organisation, and even afterwards till the forces set free by Curzon spent themselves, there was a steady demand for educated employees in Government services, but subsequently the demand fell, and the fall was unusually steep after the use of the 'Inchcape axe' following on the Great War. After the boom, followed a period of depression, as usually happens; yet the degree-factories continued to send out graduates in ever-increasing numbers. Even non-co-operation did not counteract this tendency. The inevitable result was a glut in the market.

The fact is that we Indians are inclined "to make a good thing too common". Shakespeare said this of England, but at the present time at any rate, this is infinitely more true of India than of England. If culture is the main aim, a university degree is a valuable thing; but if bread and butter is the aim, the numbers at the universities must be restricted according to the quantity of the bread available and according to the size of the bread needed for each. If not so regulated, our degrees can only create misfits and disgruntled men and women. In England, the demand came from a growing empire and an expanding industry at a time when England was becoming the factory of the world; in India, the demand came almost exclusively from Government, but the needs of government service cannot expand indefinitely. You cannot have an A 1 administration for a C 3 population unless that population is exorbitantly taxed. Central (including Provincial) taxation has already reached a high level for an agricultural country like India, and it would be unpardonable to increase it in order to provide a comfortable living for those who shun hand-soiling work.

Now, what is the remedy? There is no panacea for any disease, and, least of it, for such a chronic and complicated malady as this. In the case of all over-production, the proper remedy is under-production and substitution. When there is over-production in clocks, produce more locks and less clocks. The professions of teaching, law, and perhaps medicine, are overcrowded, but these are not the sole professions of a progressive people. Business to-day absorbs more hands in western countries than all these professions put together. Indeed, our business avenues are as yet undeveloped and do not attract educated men, but why should they remain so? It is because our educated men lack the grit and the readiness to hard sustained work, which characterize educated men in Western countries. A hatred of all hand-soiling labour, a tendency to talk much and do little, a disinclination to start at the bottom—these are the evils that must be uprooted before anything substantial could be achieved. The most successful business men of to-day began life quietly in the lowest rungs of the ladder. We speak of want of opportunities in this country. No doubt, our opportunities are not abundant, but the ambitious man does not wait for opportunities: he creates them.

According to the Madras Committee, there is no unemployment among those trained for industrial work and among those who have gained railway experience. Most graduates do not think of these avenues, for there they could not employ the lore they learned at college, and besides, they have to start at the bottom. Accountancy and banking offer decent openings for well-trained men, but those require many years of training in dull surroundings. Young Indians who proceed to England for education, especially South Indians, prefer more congenial occupations which would enable them to talk to their heart's content.

Various remedies for unemployment have been suggested by the Committees and by our public

men. There is no use of enumerating them, as they are so well known. The first thing needed is a change of attitude towards University education. Even in the prosperous countries of the West, education of the merely cultural kind is meant only for a few who can afford it, but in a country like India which has not reached to any high level of material prosperity, it would be useless (is it even possible?) to impart university education of the old type to the rank and file of our students who primarily seek bread and butter from education. We to-day want a more practical kind of education in the universities, and we want more of it in technical institutes outside. Facilities for Industrial training are so limited in this country; even agricultural education is very inadequately provided for.

In all our university faculties, a more practical kind of education must be provided. Economics, for instance, used to be considered a study of theories and graphs, but to-day it is becoming a realistic study which may be suitably correlated with such practical professional activities as industrial management, banking and finance, farm-management, and, above all, public administration in all its aspects. This should be the work of our economists in the present generation. Other faculties of the university ought to, and could, do the same.

If there is one gospel more than another which needs emphasising to-day in India, it is the dignity of labour. "All labour is ennobling", say the poets and the Scriptures. We eagerly study Carlyle and Ruskin, the Bible and the Kural; and yet we are slow in imbibing the gospel of work which they all inculcate. The gospel of *charka* is being preached effectively, but why *charka* alone? We need, as urgently, perhaps more urgently, a gospel of the plough. The plough gives us our daily bread; the *charka* only hides our nakedness, which is a less urgent need. Will another Mahatma take up the Gospel of the Plough? He will be a greater Mahatma than the greatest among us to-day.

WHAT NEXT IN CHINA?

BY PROF. J. J. VAKIL, B.A., (HONS.) OXON.

THE news of the surrender of Peking to the Southerners has caused much jubilation in the Indian Press; and, in a sense, rightly. But a closer examination of the situation leads to the conviction that there is not much ground for building any hopes of an appreciable betterment in the situation. True, a unified China has better chances of holding its own against the foreigners, but the common people are not likely to be much better off for that. The fact of civil war was exploited by the foreign vested interests who made it a ground for evasive replies to demands for the recognition of Chinese economic and territorial integrity. But now that one Government is supreme in China, will they attach any importance to the fact; and will it be difficult for them to find other excuses for 'protecting' their interests? Can the new Government bring sufficient pressure to bear upon Japan, America and England? Even if they can, is it improbable that the foreign interests will be able to bring off one or more of the victorious triumvirates of militarists who hold the supreme power, or play off one against the others? In order to answer these questions, let us briefly examine the past records of Feng, Governor Yen of Shansi; and Chiang-Kai-Shek, the three generals who have come to the top.

Of these three, the only one with a creditable record is Governor Yen of Shansi. He is the last of the old type of dictators, and has shown himself immensely superior, ethically and culturally, to the 'neo-militarists' who are the pest of China to-day and who mask the worst qualities of the old school of generals, under a thin cloak of modernity with which their acquaintance is just enough to enable them to understand vaguely the slogans of the hour. Governor Yen became the *tuchan* of Shansi in 1911, when he drove the Manchus out of the province. As he has ruled there ever since, Shansi has enjoyed a measure of peace and prosperity, unknown in modern China. The first

task he set his hand to, was the elimination of banditry, in which he was completely successful—a unique achievement in China. The whole province is quite safe, and the capital boasts of electric light, clean streets, and fifty-seven Artesian wells in and around it. He has reduced the illiteracy by 7% in ten years, although he has not found it possible to enforce his edict of Free Compulsory Education. He has French and German advisers—mark the exclusion of Japanese, English and American expert-help—and sends students to the continental countries of Europe to qualify themselves in applied Sciences. No wonder Chinese call Shansi their model province and are proud of it. Last spring, Yen tried the experiment of re-organising his province on the Kuomintang principles of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, but scared by the reactionary cry of 'Bolshevik,' hastily dropped the experiment in a month from its inception, expelled the left-wing elements and reduced labour organisations to an innocuous, moribund state of existence. Governor Yen is a very mild man, prematurely old, rather afraid of war and revolution, given to the arts of peace, and wistfully anxious to live in the hallowed sanctimoniousness of the Golden Rules of conduct. His old worldliness is tinged with modernity, however, to the extent of getting moral saws inscribed slogan-wise in public places, for the welfare of his subjects' souls. During the recent years of disorder, he has kept himself carefully aloof, minding his own province, but Feng, last year, woke Shansi from its torpor by suddenly marching his army across it. This made Yen sit up. It is doubtful, however, whether he has the energy actively to oppose, or in any way interfere with the policy which will be pursued by his younger, more energetic and less scrupulous colleagues.

Of the other two, Chiang-Kai-Shek, because of his complete lack of imagination and small intelligence coupled with ruthlessness and drive, is the

more dangerous. Governor Yen carries more culture and refinement in his little finger than the young neo-militarist can ever hope to hold in his reactionary mind. A professed *chela* of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, no man in China, perhaps, has done more to kill the ideal for which Dr. Sun stood than Chiang. His defection from the Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party) was the signal for a savage persecution, unexampled in the recent history of China, of the Left wingers—the followers of Dr. Sun—and all shades of radicals, indiscriminately tarred with the same brush, 'Bolshevism'—a word which Chiang hates all the better for not knowing its meaning. He set up his own Government of reactionaries and profit-seekers at Nanking, and maintained a propaganda bureau of his own to convince the world that he was working out the three principles of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen,—independence, democracy and the socialistic organization of national economy. He brutally suppressed the peasant organisations, and handed them over, bound hand and foot, so to speak, to a Fascist organisation of his own making, the Dictator's Labour Organisation Committee. He carefully fostered the canard, originating in Peking, that Dr. Sun's will, in which he clearly set forth the economic and social implications of Chinese Revolution, and enjoined on his countrymen friendship with Soviet Russia, was a forgery. It must be remembered that Dr. Sun, although no orthodox Marxist—he rejected the materialistic interpretation of History and the necessity of a civil war of the classes for the ushering in of the Socialist Republic in China—delighted to honor Marx and Lenin and favoured the establishment of a socialistic economy. Dr. Sun's main concern was for the welfare of the peasants who form 90% of the population of China; his renegade pupil, Chiang, loosed his soldiery on them, causing the massacre of some 10,000 peasants in the last eight or ten months of 1927. This massacre was marked with a ferocity and bitterness quite foreign to the

rather gentlemanly, kid-glove conception of civil war usual in China—among the methods employed by his soldiery was driving nails, or applying lighted candles to the most sensitive and vital parts of the human body. When the Shanghai workers delivered the city into the hands of the 'Nationalists', Chiang's first act was to break up their organisations and persecute their leaders. For these acts, this great nationalist was hailed as a hero by the foreign vested interests. Ever since his break with the Wuhan Government, he is the darling of Downing Street. Such is Chiang's record.

To turn from him to the mercurial Feng is almost refreshing. Now, Feng has to his credit one of the most heinous acts of bare-faced treachery that a person can be guilty of according to Chinese notions—the betrayal of a master by his pupil. Feng achieved this, when by a *coup* against his chief, Wu-peifu, he took Peking from Chang-tso-lin in 1924 and established a 'national' Government there. Feng 'saved face' by saying that he did so because Wu-peifu's regime would not be for the good of China, but, of course, no Chinese would believe a man who betrayed his father or his *guru*. But that does not worry Feng. He is a seeker after truth, constantly experimenting with it, and serenely indifferent to the public opprobrium that falls on him when he goes over, from one side to another and still another, to keep pace with his changing convictions. An illiterate peasant, Feng taught himself about a hundred Chinese characters when he was nearing twenty, embraced Christianity some ten years later, earning for himself the prayers of many Christian Missionaries in China and their zealous supporters in China and America, together with the title of the 'Christian general'! At one time he used to force his soldiers to listen to his interminable sermons, and would wax as terrible as the God of the Old Testament in his indignation against women who sold themselves. He was, in his turn, driven out of Peking in 1926 by Chang-tso-lin the Manchu-

rian ex-bandit and *protege* of Japan, and forced to flee to Russia where the assiduous attempts of the Bolshevik hardly leavened his dull peasant-mind, already befogged by a confused strife between undigested scraps of Christian and Confucian ideology. When Chiang-Kai-Shek broke away from the Kuomintang at Wuhan, Russia put up Feng to crush him, and supplied him, for that purpose, with men, ammunition and money. But as soon as he obtained possession of the province of Honan, he coolly turned his back on the Bolsheviks, entered into *pourparlers* with Chiang and rigorously suppressed the peasant movement. He is the most intriguing of unknown quantities. Not even Feng's angry God can predict what his devotee will do next. He may suddenly take it into his head to attack Chiang, if he thinks him 'bad for China' as, no doubt, he is, especially as he (Chiang) has a tendency to flirt with Japan; or he may feel, in an hour of moral exaltation, that God has called upon him to wipe off the foreigners from the face of China or turn Buddhist monk, or something. Feng is nothing if not a dark horse.

The point to notice is that none of these have one constructive idea in their heads as to how to meet the crying needs of a peasant population groaning under the oppression of iniquitous old land-laws with their attendant evils of starvation, ignorance, superstition and indebtedness. This can only be done by a drastic change in the land-laws and co-operative organisation aiming at socialisation and common ownership of land and capital. The followers of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the left-wing Kuomintang, who are anathema to the three—even Governor Yen, though too refined to persecute them in the savage way of Chiang and Feng, will have nothing to do with them—did make a sensible agrarian program, but were, as we have seen, put down with the most inexplicable outburst of savage cruelty. Their program gave the peasants

the right of governing unions and raising volunteer corps for self-defence against marauding militarist-governors who sometimes levied taxes for five years in advance! It contemplated the formation of farmers' banks, lending at 5 per cent., and fixed 20 per cent. as the maximum rate of interest chargeable in the country. The peasants were to be exempt from payment of taxes in times of famine. It provided for a uniform system of land-taxation. They did *not* champion the wholesale confiscation of the land, but insisted that rent should not exceed 25 per cent. of the crop, and prohibited the practice by which landed proprietors rented land to sub-contractors who in their turn rented it out in small parcels, at enormous profit, to the peasant. These were the modest hopes for which so many peasants were brutally done to death, together with those of the intelligentsia who had the brains and the heroism to champion their cause.

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CANADA AS A BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

BY MR. FRANK YEIGH

CANADA and India are far apart geographically, though members of the same Empire family. Continents and oceans separate them, but their chief interests centre in the same final



MR. FRANK YEIGH

authority and allegiance of a King-Emperor, and they exist and thrive under the same beneficent and protective flag.

Though so widely separated in terms of distances, there is a steadily increasing intercourse in trade and travel. The Britisher is in fact an ubiquitous world-wanderer as one finds his signature on the hotel registers of Calcutta and Bombay, of Madras and Hong Kong, of Victoria and Vancouver, of Montreal and Quebec, with London as a half-way house and central clearing station for the whole Empire. Similarly, the native East Indian is a not unfamiliar figure on the streets of British Columbian cities, at conventions and conferences throughout Canada, sometimes addressing Cana-

dian audiences on world, empire or eastern themes. An Indian Diwan opened the Canadian National Exhibition at Toronto a few years ago, displays of Indian arts and handicrafts are yearly seen at the same great Fair, and representatives from India, Native and British, were in the group of Imperial parliamentarians who visited Canada in 1928. Thus India and Canada, Canada and India, are becoming better acquainted, helping thereby to further cement the bonds of empire and consolidate its interests.

Canada naturally differs, and widely so, from British India—in age, in historical background, in racial elements, in national problems. The Dominion, sometimes called “the Britain of the West” is strategically situated from an empire point of view, midway between East and West, Occident and Orient. It proved to be so during the Great War in the safe transmission of troops and supplies, almost entirely under the protection of the flag, to the battle arena in Europe, and to-day the currents of traffic over this “all-red route” have grown to tremendous proportions. Canada and India are now, in a word, neighbours on this world-encircling route.

Trade and commerce form the chief measuring rod of international intercourse; it is the thermometer of its rise and fall. Happily, there is a steady rise in this commercial sense, so far as Canada and British India are concerned. The total Canada-British India trade for the Canadian fiscal year of 1927-28 exceeded twenty million dollars in value, doubling in five years and representing a substantial increase over 1926-27. 9,239,779 dollars worth of imports came into Canada from British India in 1927-28, while Canada sold over eleven million dollars worth to India. In addition, 2,450,000 dollars worth of trade was carried on with Ceylon, and nearly 3,000,000 dollars worth with the Straits Settlements,

JANUARY 1929]

CANADA AS A BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

19

The chief Canadian purchases from British India last year included 4,744,539 dollars worth of jute cloth and canvas, as the chief item; 3,705,743 dollars worth of tea, with smaller amounts for rice, coffee, coco-beans and spices, precious stones, wool carpets etc.; Canadian sales to British India led with silver bullion to the value of 3,067,700 dollars. The automobile trade is assuming large proportions with exports of 5,682 passenger cars worth nearly three million dollars, and 5,877 freight cars worth 2,120,809 dollars. Rubber tyres accounted for 1,330,938 dollars, while other exports included rubber belting and boots and shoes, timber, farm implements and machinery, etc. There is no doubt room for a marked trade development between the two countries, aided by the Canadian Trade Commissioner stationed at Calcutta.

Canada is a mere youth among the nations, especially when compared with the centuries back of a land like British India. The discovery of Canada by the early explorers—the Cabots, Cartier and Champlain—was only made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a mere day-before-yesterday in the calendar of time. Previous to the arrival of the path-finding Frenchmen, as the first white men to permanently occupy this part of the new world, this vast realm of half-a-continent was the sole possession of the native Indians, the red men of America, who, however, failed to maintain permanent settlements or become attached to the soil. They were nomads and therefore moved their tented towns as need arose and as the search for food supply dictated their course. A hundred thousand represent the present aboriginal population of the country, most of whom live within Government Reserves as wards of the nation.

The basic white peoples who migrated during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to New France, under French rule, were succeeded, after the British Conquest of 1760, by those of English speech, together somewhat later with a Germanic

element. Canada is a dual language land under the terms granted, the conquered French and Parliamentary debates are reported in both tongues, French and English, while the fact of a dual language population brings with it some governmental and racial problems, yet these are offset by the benefits.

The two original races, other than the native Indian, no longer have this vast possession to themselves. With the migratory movements of recent years, no less than fifty races and nationalities are included in the immigration tables of any one year. They include practically every European country, in addition to 40,000 Chinese and half as many Japanese. The former are subjected to a heavy head tax which has the effect of stopping the inflow. There are also nearly 1000 East Indians, settled chiefly in the British Columbia centres of Vancouver and Victoria. They carry on an agitation for fuller rights of citizenship as British subjects, and the series of exclusions from the full prerogatives of the State are regarded by them as a legitimate grievance which regularly finds its echoes in Parliament and the Press.

As a result of the immigration inflow of the last thirty years, the complexion of the population is gradually changing. The British element still predominates, however, though there are those who regard with some alarm the additions from central Europe, settled largely in Western Canada and in community groups where they are apt to retain the tongue and traditions of their native land. The population coming into Canada from the United States, for the years between 1900 and 1928, is reported by the Census Bureau at a million and a half, but to offset this number, the movement from Canada to the United States, which always exists, must be reckoned with. The most recent estimate of the total Canadian population exceeds nine and a half millions. This is disappointing to some who are fond of

predicting much larger figures which the censuses do not reveal. And yet the ten-year increases of the last two periods show percentage increases of 30 and 22 respectively, which is greater than that of the United States and many other countries. No subject is more keenly discussed in Canada and indeed in Great Britain than the migratory movement from the Motherland to the Commonwealths, and every effort is being made to facilitate the settlement of the British type in British possessions.

The fact remains that Canada has become a composite nation in its personnel. As many as twenty-five nationalities are sometimes represented in one public school in the Canadian West, while, as an evidence of the variety of tongues, the Bible is issued in whole or in part in over a hundred languages, including several Indian dialects.

A large proportion of the American element have taken up the rich wheat lands of the Western provinces, where they have prospered to a marked degree, the yield being greater than in the adjoining wheat-growing States owing to the soil being more virgin. Another large United States element in the Dominion has been attracted by the opportunities offered by the rich natural resources of the country, and in the development of trade and commerce. Over a thousand branch factories of American industries have been established throughout the Dominion, primarily to share in the expanding Empire trade and to take advantage of the preferential tariff existing between Canada and the United States.

Canada borders the United States for over three thousand miles. Some fear what they term the Americanization of Canada by reason of this close proximity, and that a country of ten millions is bound to feel the impact of one of well over a hundred millions. It is true that there is a steadily growing intercourse, as there is bound to be. For example, two million motor cars enter Canadian ports in a year from the United States, and this

traffic is estimated to be worth nearly three hundred million dollars to the Dominion—a very tangible source of income and wealth. This, however, leads more to the formation and strengthening of friendships than otherwise, and there is in reality little ground for the fears above expressed. There are few, if any, signs among Canadians of a lessening loyalty to Empire connection and traditions, of a faith in Canada itself, and of the working out of its own destiny along British lines.

A country like Canada, covering the major half-a-continent, bordered by three oceans, paralleling a great and powerful neighbour and with a diversity of interests and people, naturally creates many problems of government. The inhabitants of the maritime provinces along the Atlantic sea-board find economic and trade conditions differing from those who live on the Pacific coast nearly 4000 miles away. Urban and rural conditions are also bound to vary, and opinions vary if not clash on such disputable subjects as customs tariffs, taxation, transportation rates and the dividing lines between dominion or federal and provincial jurisdiction. The very mixture of tongues and races already referred to brings in its train its own problems, especially in education and assimilation.

The growth of a healthy nationalism and, to use the modern Wilsonian phrase, "self-determination" in Canada afford an interesting example of national life under the elastic British system. After the British conquest, through the defeat of the French in 1759, and the setting up of the British form of colonial administration, centering in London, a gradual extension of self-government was granted to the British possessions in North America. By successive stages, the inhabitants of the growing land of the West were given fuller liberty until to-day they enjoy an autonomy that affords them full scope. Successive Colonial and Imperial Conferences have conferred more and more of freedom on all the Commonwealths of Nations

under the flag, and Canada as one of them is steadily working out her own national character and destiny in step with the Motherland.

What is this destiny? The full answer is in the lap of the gods, but her present state and condition can be outlined with relative accuracy as giving a clue to prophecies of her future. The country as a whole is enjoying a remarkable degree of prosperity, gauged by the usual tests. 1928 yielded a record grain crop, including the largest wheat yield in its history of over half a billion bushels. The national wealth of the country is estimated at twenty-five billion dollars, or per capita of nearly two thousand dollars, and the added wealth of any one year, from natural resources, totals two billion dollars. Foreign trade is correspondingly rising in volume and value, having reached two and a half billion dollars, whereas the total trade at the setting up of the Dominion in 1867, was little more than ten million dollars. Canada traded then with scarcely more than a score of countries, now with over a hundred on every continent and many an isle of the Seven Seas.

The development of the rich natural resources is proceeding apace especially in the mining realm as new discoveries are being made of most of the chief metals. The country is increasing as a gold producer, having risen to third place with an early prospect of second place as the United States production lessens. The extensive water power resources are also being rapidly developed, materially aiding in the revolution of industry and transportation. The huge pulp-wood forests are helping to supply the world with its pulp and paper needs with over a hundred large plants turning out their products.

With twelve thousand miles of sea coast, a rich fishery yield is assured. The fur industry is also gaining in production, aided in recent years by the establishment of over a thousand fur farms.

Industry tells a similar story of advancement. The country was at one time almost wholly agri-

cultural, but now 3,000 manufacturing plants, with an annual production value of nearly four hundred million dollars, tells a different story. The dairying and live stock interests account for many millions more, permitting extensive exports.

In practically every department of human endeavour, Britain's Western Commonwealth is evidencing a ratio of expansion that augurs well for the future. Relatively large sums are being spent on transportation, building of railways and canals, deepening sea harbours and constructing good roads for the army of motorists. Foreign capital, much more American than British is being invested in large amounts in Dominion enterprises. Canada has a healthy financial pulse, notwithstanding the war legacy of a heavy debt, which however is being slowly reduced. The Canadian dollar was the first to recover par value among the Allied countries after the War. Canadians loaned their government most of the sum required to finance the war, and are at the same time the chief purchasers of their own bonds while the saving deposits in banks make a tidy sum for a rainy day.

Much more might be written to prove the prosperity of Canada. Naturally therefore the Canadian is an optimist and faces the future with high hopes and a comforting confidence. Judged by the law of averages, a steady continued growth is assured. Not even the Great War, which took a toll of 60,000 lives of her choicest sons, permanently set back the Dominion, and only an even greater cataclysm would check it.

Such is a brief outline of the past, present and future of the Dominion of Canada. A Canadian feels sure that his Empire neighbour of British India will rejoice in our prosperity and follow our development with sympathetic interest, as the Canadian will reciprocate with an equal interest in the many-millioned part of the Empire comprised in British India.

BIRTH CONTROL FOR INDIA*

BY THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE RAMESAM.

IN my opinion, the causes of high maternal and infantile mortality and other results vitally affecting the progress of the people are not to be sought in early consummation or in early maternity, but in the high birth-rate combined with the small intervals between successive births, and the remedy lies not in further postponement of consummation (i.e., beyond one year after puberty or beyond 13 whichever is later) but in the practice of birth control. Marriage consummated even at 14 or 15 may result in a large number of children born at small intervals and high infant mortality and maternal mortality. It is a common place of books on Economics that a high birth-rate is followed by a high death-rate (vide Harold Cox-PROBLEMS OF POPULATION; Carr Saunders—the POPULATION PROBLEM; Ibid—POPULATION (Oxford World's Manuals; Brij Narain—POPULATION IN INDIA. Rutgers—EUGENICS AND BIRTH CONTROL). The figures in Table II of the last work are for European countries but the facts are equally true for India (see page 26 of Harold Cox's work contrasting with page 2 which gives figures for England and page 61 of Carr Saunder's POPULATION. The following table in Rutgers (pages 23 and 24) illustrates the progressive rise in the rate of infantile mortality with the increase in children.

The mortality (within one year after birth) of	Infantile mortality in families
2nd born children 20.4%	with 2 children 19.1
third " 21.2	" 4 " 32.4
fourth " 23.2	" 5 " 24.5
fifth " 26.3	" 6 " 31.1
sixth " 28.9	" 7 " 35.8
seventh " 33.1	" 8 " 40.3
eighth " 33.2	" 9 " 52.5
ninth " 36.1	in families
tenth " 41.3	of 1-4 children 22.6
eleventh " 51.4	5-8 " 30.2
twelfth " 59.7	9-12 " 49.5

* Statement in answer to the questionnaire of the Age of Consent Committee.

The obvious remedy lies in diminishing the size of the families and spacing the intervals between births and not postponing consummation. It is noteworthy that in all the tables of Rutgers, he takes women between 15 and 50 years of age as women capable of bearing children (see Table IV). This means they are capable of consummation at 14¼ years. Carr Saunders at page 256 of the POPULATION PROBLEM defines "females of reproductive age as those between 15 and 45 and children of such women comprise legitimate and illegitimate children (Rutgers—Table IV) and this, in European countries where the age of puberty is higher than in India. The following table from Carr-Saunders' POPULATION PROBLEM, page 91, shows that the age of puberty rises progressively with the coldness of climate.

City	Average age of puberty			Zone	average age	
	yrs	m	d.		yrs	m
Christiania	16	9	25	Tropics	12	9
Berlin	15	7	25	Temperate	15	5
London	15	1	14	Cold	16	5
Lyons	14	5	29			
Marseilles	13	11	11			
Calcutta	12	6	0			
Sierra Leone	10	0	0			

The figures for Madras Presidency would be less than Calcutta.

It is true that climate is not the only factor. A better education of girls and simpler diet may offset the effects of a warm climate and may raise the age of puberty even in the tropics. But it must be first applied before raising the age of consent by legislation. To force legislation before the environmental condition of the girls is improved will seriously affect the morality of the country. If, in a generation, the age of puberty rises to 13, legislation may raise the age of consent to 14. We have waited 33 years for raising it from 12 to 13. What case has been or could be made out in two years for raising it from 13? I do not expect the people or the legislature to welcome at present into India the state of morals depicted in Judge

Lindsey's REVOLT OF MODERN YOUTH and "Companionate Marriage". In due time, India also may take its place in a civilization typified by such conditions. But who will hasten the process? That the sexual urge is too much for convention and morality is seen in the rate of illegitimate birth in European countries.

Illegitimate birth per thousand married women (15-45)			
Sweden	26	Luxemburg	14
Norway	13	Belgium	12
Finland	17	France	16
Denmark	24	Switzerland	8
Iceland	23	Germany	23
England	7	Austria	30
Scotland	13	Hungary	38
Ireland	4	Russia	17
(Diminishing population)		Belgium	4
Holland	5	Roumania	48
Birth control for 45 Yrs.		Servia	7
		Bosnia	5
		Greece	3
		Italy	14
		Spain	14
		Portugal	28

Does anybody want this or its alternatives—abortion and infanticide—to be repeated in India? That small intervals between births is equally productive of evils is shown by the following table from Carmichael Stopes's CONTRACEPTION.

o - 1 years interval	1-2 years interval	2 & over
Death rate of children...35.5%	25.5%	18.5%

According to Kisch, the optimum interval is 2½ years (P. 297). According to Dr. Haire, it is between 2 and 3 years (P. 50). As to the effect on mothers, see pages 42-43 of Stopes's. According to her, at least two, preferably three and even five years should be the intervals between births in the interests of the mother and the child.

That early marriage (by which I do not mean child marriage or consummation below 13 or below one year after puberty) is not the curse it is generally supposed to be, is shown by the following references:—

Bertrand Russell F. R. S. (WHAT I BELIEVE. To-day and To-morrow-Series)—"Prolonged virginity is, as a rule, extraordinarily harmful to women."

Sir James Barr (In Dr. N. Haire's SOME MORE MEDICAL VIEWS ON BIRTH CONTROL, page 57); "I have always encouraged young people to marry early, to lead pure long lives and to limit the number of the family according to circumstances."

F. A. E. Crew, M.D., D.Sc., Ph.D.; F. R. S. E. (Ibid p. 105): I prefer the scheme of early marriage with contraception practice."

Charles E. Goddard O.B.E., M.D. (ibid p.152): "For many, it is better to marry early than to suffer years of repression with the other sex difficulties and troubles already referred to."

Aletta Jacobs M.D. (Dutch Expert on "Birth Control) (ibid p-187). This facilitation of early marriage adds to the happiness of a nation very greatly when secure in the knowledge that they can postpone the advent of children until they can afford to keep them."

Mr. Hamblin Smith M.D. (ibid p. 210): "Delayed marriage is open to grave objections. It involves either much repression or the encouragement of prostitution and irregular unions or to adoption of practice which many people object to."

Dr. W. J. Robinson: M. D.: "If early marriage become a common thing, and if the fear of impregnating one's wife were eliminated, the greatest part of the demands of prostitution would be cut off. And the diminution of prostitution goes *pari passu* with a diminution in venereal diseases."

Edwin C. Walker: "Late marriage, as preventive of conception is a kind that inevitably and greatly augments the volume of involuntary sexual excitation in men and women, leads surely to increased patronage of the prostitute, and so more widely disseminates sexual diseases, spreads homo-sexuality, discourages normal and healthful sociability among men and women, driving members of each sex into one-sided associations that narrow the social out-look and harden the sympathies, and disturbs and weakens the nervous systems of millions."

J. B. S. Haldane Daedalus: "If reproduction is once completely separated from sexual love, mankind will be free in an altogether new sense."

Dr. Norman Haire in 'Hymen': "The sex appetite does not manifest itself in its fully developed form until the age of puberty. This appetite has been shown to be directly dependent on the physiological activity of the gonads, a pair of ductless glands which, in the female, takes the form of the ovaries.

They remain comparatively inactive during infancy and childhood and do not function fully till the approach of puberty which is indeed the outward sign of their activity.

The thwarting of such an instinctive urge cannot be achieved in the normal person without interference with health; all sorts of mental and physical disorders may result, and often the impulse, too strong to be thwarted, finds an outlet in some infantile or abnormal channel.

It is desirable then that mating should be rendered possible soon after sexual maturity. This is possible of attainment in two ways: firstly, early marriage, and secondly, by premarital experience. Early marriage is at present considered more desirable, is becoming more frequent in America, and is likely to grow increasingly popular.

Wider dissemination of information on contraception will facilitate early marriage, because it enables young people to marry, secure in the knowledge that they need not fear the advent of children before they can afford to keep them.

The knowledge of contraception by facilitating early marriage is likely to diminish irregular unions.

With better sex education and improved facilities for normal mating soon after maturity, we may expect that the vast majority of mankind will find happiness in a normal union."

I am aware that the word "early" in these quotations is not the same thing as the "early" of consummation in India. But, still remembering that scientific opinion is not in favour of the delayed marriages of the West and making due allowance for the difference in climate, I am of opinion that legislation is uncalled for.

In England, the age of consent for males is 14, and for girls it is 12 (ii) (Stephen's COMMENTARY, 18th Edition, 1925, Vol. I, Part V, page 481).

The following table prepared from the League of Nations' Publication (Geneva, April 30, 1927, C. P. E., Vol. I), shows the age of consent in some countries to be lower than in India.

Age of Consent.	Country.
10	Esthonia. Florida (U. S. A.)
11	Dominican Republic.
12	Queensland. China. Denmark. Italy. New Zealand. Salvador. Siam. Spain. 4 Cantons of Switzerland. North Carolina, Mississippi and Tennessee (U. S. A.) Uruguay,
13	France. Japan. Jugo Slavia or Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slavas,—Bosnia, Herzegovina and territory formerly Servia. India (for husbands).
14	India. India (for others) Austria, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, Latvia, Luxemburg, Poland, Egypt, Germany, Roumania, 9 Cantons in Switzerland, Georgia and Porto Rico (U. S. A.)
Age of puberty.	5 Cantons in Switzerland.

Is it necessary that India, a warmer country, should go beyond these?

THE DECEMBER GATHERINGS

[To the usual list of Congresses and Conferences must be added what is probably the most important of them all, the All-Parties Convention which met at Calcutta under the presidentship of Dr. Ansari, ex-President of the Congress. A summary of the proceedings of this gathering of delegates from the various political organizations of the country to consider the Nehru Report will be read with interest. Another feature of the Christmas gatherings is that Muslims held two separate Conferences, one at Calcutta under the presidentship of the Maharajah of Mahmudabad, and the other at Delhi with H. H. the Aga Khan in the Chair. The Khilafatists had their own Conference under the lead of Mr. Mahomed Ali at Calcutta. The Liberal Federation met at Allahabad, while the All-India Christian Conference assembled at Madras. It will be noticed that all these bodies except the Delhi Muslims and the Khilafatists more or less registered their approval of the recommendations of the Nehru Committee. *Ed. Indian Review.*]

The All-Parties' Convention

THE All-Parties' Convention met at its special pandal in Calcutta on December 22 with Dr. Ansari, Ex-President of the Congress in the chair. There was a large and representative gathering, which included Presidents of the Congress and the Liberal Federation, and leaders of every shade of political opinion. There were no less than 1,600 delegates, elected by different organisations in the country.

MR. SEN GUPTA'S WELCOME ADDRESS

The proceedings began with a brief welcome speech from Mr. Sen Gupta who was also the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the National Congress. After referring to the death of Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Sen Gupta repudiated the charge that they were preparing a Memorandum for the Simon Commission and recalled Mr. C. R. Das's advice: "Take care of the end and the means will take care of themselves." He then referred to the two fundamental principles of the Nehru Report, the elective system and the system of federal Government and concluded:—

Nowhere in the world has a Constitution been framed, as we are going to do to-day, by the efforts of all classes of the people constituting the body-politic, Hindus and Mussalmans, masses and classes, peasants' representatives and members representing vested interests. Every conceivable party is taking part in to-day's deliberations. Every stratum of society is represented here to-day, and I say that this Constitution has the sanction of the people behind it, which could not be conceived in any other Constitution of any other country.

DR. ANSARI'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. Ansari's presidential address was brief and business-like. He reminded the audience that they

had assembled to take the final decision regarding the next immediate step. He was aware of



DR. M. A. ANSARI

all the controversies and criticisms affecting the question of the goal and the rights of minorities. The Nehru Report, he added:

does not claim to be the last word on the Indian constitution for all time. As the distinguished authors

themselves have pointed out, the proposed constitution is nothing more, but it is also nothing less, than the greatest common factor of agreement among well-recognised political parties of India, and it is to be viewed, not as a remote stage of our evolution, but as the next immediate step.

But it does not preclude any body of persons from working for the maximum.

That is why I, at any rate as member of the Indian National Congress owing allegiance to its goal of complete national independence, am prepared to give my support to the recommendations. I welcome the minimum in the first place because my own ideal is not thereby lowered, and, secondly, by doing so, I am helping to secure a united backing for the sanctions that may be devised in order that India may win her freedom.

Touching the communal recommendations, he went on to say that the scheme gave to the minorities of India more real and more solid safe-guards than had been granted by the League of Nations. But he warned against becoming the victims of constitutional fetish. The true safe-guard of a minority, he declared, was the good will of the majority.

For, Constitutional safe-guards are bounties on inefficiency. The more the minority has of them, the more will it need them, and, protected from the bracing spirit of free competition by charitable provisions in the Constitution, it will sink deeper and deeper into ignorance, fanaticism and sloth, to be stifled ultimately by the very props which had appeared to offer it partial support.

And he concluded with a statesmanlike appeal to view the whole question from a broader stand-point and appealed to the representatives of the various organisations to remember that if they had come to press their demands, they had also come to accommodate others, and that what they might give to one section would come back to them as Indians.

PANDIT MOTILAL'S SPEECH

Pandit Motilal Nehru, presenting the Nehru Report, said that he would not enter into the details at the present moment, but he thought that there had been considerable amount of misapprehension about the position which the Committee claimed for itself. It was not a law-giving Committee nor an Act of Legislature, but it was a recommendation of the Committee appointed at a meeting of the All-Parties Conference—a recommendation for adopt-

ing certain measures in this Convention. It was not meant to enforce recommendations nor for acceptance, but simply to put the best that they could do after due deliberations, and finally to give their corrected views. This was not a matter beyond dispute, but he did not think there was any matter on which they were forced to come to any decision.

The matter of making the constitution carries no finality. No individual or a particular community can claim that nothing better than this can be produced. I admit this is not the counsel of perfection. If there was anything which speaks of disunity, you may scrap it, but I am prepared to say that this constitution is not a patent which I have taken and which is not to be copied by anybody else or improved upon. If you find any alternative, you may scrap it, if not, you must accept this as nothing better than could be discovered, and I beg of you to accept this in that spirit.

METHOD OF VOTING

Dr. Ansari then announced the procedure regarding taking of votes on amendments which recognised various parties as voting units irrespective of the strength of the delegates. All amendments were called by next day noon but exception was made in the case of Muslim League, Khilafat Committee and Jamiut-ul-Ulam who had not yet elected their representatives for the Convention.

DOMINION STATUS FOR INDIA

The Convention met again on the 23rd afternoon with even a larger attendance than on the first day, when Mr. Sen Gupta moved the first resolution as amended by the All-Parties Constitution Committee:—

India shall have the same constitutional status in the community of Nations, known as the British Empire, as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, Union of South Africa, and the Irish Free State, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for Peace, Order and good Government of India and an Executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Commonwealth of India.

In moving the resolution, Mr. Sen Gupta affirmed that this convention was necessary to present a united front to the new offensive, the Simon Commission. He was convinced, he said, that

the real salvation of India lay in the severance of the British connexion, but he was a practical man (A voice;

"Let us hope you will be") and they must recognise that the forces in India were puny, and they must not scatter them, but conserve them so that the Simon Commission could not go back triumphant. If, after calling this convention, Congressmen, who were for independence, pressed their own stand-points in framing the constitution, then the result would be that there would be an end of the unity which this convention represented. Such a result he dreaded to think of.

He was seconded by Mr. Yakub Hasan who made a brief but telling speech in which he declared:—

I want to make Dominion Status our immediate goal and concentrate all our forces for attaining that object, instead of fighting the air.

He pertinently asked why those, who were in favour of Independence, wanted to have a constitu-



MR. YAKUB HASAN

tion at all. Referring to communalists, he wondered how champions of communal rights could put themselves forward as undiluted patriots whose self-

respect would be satisfied with nothing less than Independence. He pointedly asked:—

My friends who want Independence, why should they have any constitution at all? There will be time enough for constitutions after they gain independence. Let us, as practical men, take stock of the real facts. Do the Hindus who wish to fight for Independence realise that with them they must have Muslims who are communalists? And if Muslims are serious about Independence, why do they worry and fight about the rights of minorities in the constitution?

Mr. Yakub Hasan's speech won from Pandit Motilal Nehru repeated applause for the clear exposition of their case, particularly where he reminded Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar that it was the Madras Congress which had invited the Convention.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar then read a statement on behalf of the Independence Leaguers, which was supported by Mr. Satyamurti.

Mr. Sen Gupta's resolution was warmly supported by several speakers including Dr. Besant, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Mr. Chintamani and Sir Ali Imam. Mr. Muhammad Ali confined himself mainly to interruptions, and finally walked out of the pandal in a temper.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, in the course of a fighting speech, on behalf of the Liberals, in support of Dominion Status, emphasised the need for unity. The Boycott of the Simon Commission, he said, had evoked great forces, and failure to utilise them in the direction of a constructive endeavour would be a tragic failure on the part of the politicians concerned. Heckled by Mr. Muhammad Ali, he retorted:—

I know this talk of killing and get killed a little too much. Let us be realists and face the facts. We may not be heroes, but if we are going to kill and get killed, then your place is not in this Convention but somewhere else.

Mr. Chintamani made an impassioned plea for unity at this critical hour in India's struggle, and warned those present of the "incalculable" injury they would do to her cause by throwing away the results of all the steps that have so far been taken in the direction of a National agreement.

Dr. Besant stressed the need for action. She made a suggestion of great significance and gravity. It is to copy the methods of the Irish



DR. ANNIE BESANT

Sinn Feinn, eschewing their violence, but making Bardolis all over India and setting up a parallel Government in every Taluk and District. This, she said, was the way of forcing the hands of Englishmen, without which they would never perceive the justice of India's cause.

Sir Ali Imam made a magnificent little speech in which he repudiated the pretensions of some of the Communalists who were most vociferous in their demand for independence. Immediate Independence meant, he said, throwing the country open to foreign invasion, a contingency which some might welcome in the interests they have at heart, but which no patriot could contemplate with equanimity.

I regret to say that mostly Mahomedan organisations that are fighting here for few more seats and for little more reservation are also people who talk loudest about independence (Laughter and applause). Why do they do that? I, as a Nationalist, have got great misgivings in my mind about these declarations of independence by the Khilafat Committee and by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema. I am a Muslim, but all my life I have believed that I am an Indian first. (Applause).

And he finally wound up by appealing to the country to support the Nehru recommendations



SIR ALI IMAM

regarding Dominion Status "not only because it gives you unity, but also because it gives you safety."

Dr. Ansari then put the various amendments to the vote, which were rejected practically without support. He finally put to the house Mr. Sen Gupta's resolution about the constitutional status of India, which was opposed by only one, and was declared carried, *nem con*, amidst acclamation.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

The Convention re-assembled on the 24th to continue consideration of the draft constitution. Discussion centred on the clauses relating to Fundamental rights. The resolution defining Citizenship right provoked a strong debate, and led to a warm defence by Pundit Motilal Nehru,

and ultimately ended by a Committee being appointed to go into the question.

Equally animated discussion ensued over the resolution relating to Property and Titles, and this time, Pundit Malaviya spoke in defence of the provisions in the Report.

One important amendment that was carried was to make Prohibition a fundamental part of the Constitution, as in the case of the American Constitution, and it was sponsored by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar.

As a result of the discussions, the following changes and additions were effected in the Fundamental Rights embodied in the Nehru constitution.

1. Equal rights of Citizenship for all members of the Empire.
2. All rights to Property and Titles at the commencement of the Commonwealth of India to be respected.
3. No Corporal Punishment for any offence that takes place in India.
4. Prohibition as a fundamental part of our Constitution.

The Convention met again on the 27th and assumed a more representative character as the Central Khilafat Committee and the Muslim League had sent in their delegation.

After a good deal of discussion following, a Committee was selected to meet the representatives of the Muslim League to report by the morrow, if possible. The Committee of representative Hindus and Muslims sat long and discussed but came to no definite solution. Nor could they assent to the Bengal Hindus' demand for reservation of seats in the Legislatures.

THE COMMUNAL QUESTION

The Convention held its fourth sitting on the 28th to consider the communal question. Mr. Jinnah put the claims of the Muslims in a speech of considerable force and suavity. His demands in the form of amendments included:—

- (1) One-third seats in both the Houses of Central Legislature and distribution of excess seats to provinces with Moslem minority.
- (2) Reservation of seats in Bengal and Punjab on population basis for ten years.

(3) (a) Vesting of residuary powers with provinces and not Central Government; (b) deletion of clauses 13A in the supplementary report; (c) revision of schedules 1 and 2.

(4) Separation of Sind immediately after establishment of the new Government.

Mr. Jinnah pleaded that the Nehru Report had conceded that Muslims would have one-third seats



MR. JINNAH

or even more in the Central Legislature, and he only wanted it to be so divided among the Provinces that Muslims in minority Provinces should have better representation.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru created considerable impression by his willingness to concede this to Mr. Jinnah. He did not think this would be inconsistent with the Nehru Report. Sir Tej Bahadur good humouredly describing Mr. Jinnah as a "spoilt and unreasonable child" appealed to him not to pull down the great structure. But

he warned against the danger of agreeing to residuary powers resting with the Provinces, or putting forward any alternative to Adult Franchise.



SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

He urged the Convention even to sacrifice a logical position to carry the Muslims with them.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar led the opposition, and declared that Mr. Jinnah's proposal ran counter to the four basic principles on which the communal settlement was arrived at in Lucknow. Messrs. Jayakar and Chintamani finally made impassioned appeals to Mr. Jinnah and the Moslems not to push forward unreasonable demands. After considerable discussion, the House rejected Mr. Jinnah's proposals regarding one-third representation in the Central Legislature about residuary powers and about the alternative to adult franchise.

The National Convention re-assembled on the 30th when, on behalf of the Central Sikh League, Sirdar Mehtab Singh moved an amendment to the communal resolution. This was ruled out. Sirdar Harnam Singh then read a statement recording the League's withholding of its support from the Nehru Report: after which, some of the Sikhs, led by Mr. Mehtab Singh, walked out. Meanwhile, Sirdar Gurdial Singh, on behalf of the Namdhari Sikh community, said that minority interest could not be protected by the system of communal representation. They accepted the solution of the communal question recommended by the Nehru Committee as being the best in the existing conditions.

When the Convention resumed its discussion of the communal question, it was found that the special Committee did not assent to the Bengal Hindus' demand for reservation of seats in the Legislatures. Mr. Jitendralal Banerjea, however, moved for such reservation and was opposed by Mr. Sen Gupta on principle. Dr. Ansari put the amendment to vote, and finding that the majority was in favour of it, warned them of the consequences of passing such a motion. He appealed to their sense of patriotism, and Mr. Jitendralal agreeing, the President ordered the amendment to stand over.

Then the Special Committee's verdict on the definition of citizenship having been read, Mr. Haji moved an amendment that the Commonwealth Parliament, when it was established, should not be fettered, but should be free to act as it wanted in this matter. This was carried. The motion on Roman Script and Dr. Kitchlew's amendment in favour of both Nagri and Urdu characters were lost. Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachari and Pandit Malaviya then spoke on an amendment affording protection to minorities and settlement of inter-provincial controversies. Speaking on the reservation of seats, Dr. Kitchlew and Mr. Brelvi held that past experience had shown that such reservation did the Muslims no

good, and was, on the other hand, detrimental to the country's interest. Hindu disabilities in the Frontier came up for discussion, but, an appeal to the patriotic sense of the audience, had the desired effect, and the amendment was defeated.

THE INDIAN STATES

Liberal leaders having left for Allahabad, the Convention met in a much thinner body on Jan. 1. It opened with a discussion on the qualification of voters in which Dr. Besant and Mr. Jairamdas took part. Mr. Bhagavandas's amendment was lost. Mr. Satyamurti then moved:—

This convention is of opinion that an honourable place should be found for the Indian States in the scheme of the Indian Federation, either by themselves or in groups of smaller States.

This Convention approves of the recommendations of the Nehru Report with regard to the settlement of disputes between the Government of India and the Indian States.

This Convention is of opinion that full responsible Government should be established in the Indian States before they can take their rightful place in a free federal India.

This Convention is of opinion that the people of the Indian States should have an effective voice in the settlement of All-India questions, concerning India and the States.

Mr. Satyamurti said that unless the Indian States were provided a place in the Indian Constitution, they would remain as Ulsters of India. The Indian States, as they stood now, were an anachronism while India was marching towards Swaraj.

Replying to a query, the speaker said they are not autonomous States. If a Prince differed from the Agent, he might have to share the fate of the ex-Maharaja of Nabha. The Princes would be democratic if they were invited and given an honourable place in the federal constitution.

INDIAN PRINCES AND THE NEHRU REPORT

Mr. Manilal Kothari then moved the following resolution:—

This Convention invites the Princes and the peoples of the Indian States to appoint representatives to confer with the representatives of this Convention at a Round Table Conference with a view to discuss and agree upon the constitutional position and the status of the Indian States in the future Commonwealth of India and the relations that should subsist between the Indian States and the Central and Provincial Governments of the Commonwealth.

This Convention trusts that the Government of India will place no difficulties directly or indirectly in the way of the Princes.

Messrs. Brelvi and Satyamurti also spoke on the resolution, and a Committee of the Convention consisting of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Jayakar, Pandit Malaviya, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Ali Imam, Dr. Ansari, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, Mr. Satyamurti, Sardar Sardal Singh and Mr. Kothari was appointed to confer with the Princes in May next.

CONVENTION ADJOURNED

On the motion of Mahatma Gandhi, the All-Parties' Convention adjourned after disposing of some business the next morning. Dr. Besant brought in an amendment urging the appointment of an independent Committee of the Convention and made her position clear with regard to no-tax campaign and Civil disobedience. Dr. Ansari ruled out her amendment and the Gandhi's resolution was finally passed. It runs:—

This Convention is of opinion that the resolutions it had already passed on the recommendations of the All-Parties Committee contained in clauses 1 to 6 of their report sufficiently vindicate the will of the nation as the nature and main principles of the constitution acceptable to it, and is further of opinion that except on the points on which the notes of dissent have been recorded at the instance of some parties present, there is a general agreement on the basis of the solution of communal problem recommended by the said Committee. This Convention adjourns *sine die* to meet when necessary for completing its work.



HEAD OFFICE:—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.
E. Sept. '29.

The Indian National Congress

THE Congress week in Calcutta practically commenced with the arrival of Pundit Motilal Nehru, the President-elect, who was given a right royal welcome. Other leaders had already arrived, and Mahatma Gandhi, who had been persuaded to take a leading part in the deliberations, arrived on the 23rd.

Discussions in the Convention had revealed the cleavage in the Congress camp, and not all the persuasive eloquence of Dr. Ansari and Pundit Motilal Nehru, nor the sweet reasonableness of the Mahatma could bring the Working Committee to an agreed decision. The Independents under the lead of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar stuck to their guns, and would not budge an inch from a position which the rest of the Committee considered practically impossible. More than one meeting of the Working Committee came to nought.

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE MEETING

At last, late on the 25th, after innumerable private conferences, some sort of agreement was reached, and the All-India Congress Committee met on the 26th with a draft resolution which was moved by Mahatma Gandhi in a speech of moving eloquence. That resolution was more or less on the lines of the Nehru draft laying down non-co-operation, including non-payment of taxes by 1930, if within that time, the Government do not concede Dominion Status. At the same time, it emphasised the goal of Independence and allowed the Independent Party to carry on propaganda, but not in conflict with Dominion Status as accepted by the Convention. Mahatmaji's logic was irresistible, and he was characteristically frank and lucid:—

You, the Congress, are the authors of this Convention, and in the same breath that you adopted complete national Independence as your goal, you asked the Working Committee to have the Convention of All Parties with a view to frame the scheme of Swaraj as I call it or call it a constitution that would be acceptable to the majority of parties and you had a Committee, consisting of the most eminent men in the country known for their services to the country, and you imposed on the Congressmen labours of bringing together all these men and getting them to go as near the Congress goal as they could possibly do.

Hence, he said, unless there were overwhelming reasons for rejecting it, it must be accepted, and accepted as an organic whole.

Therefore I suggest that if really you want to work out the resolution of the Madras Congress for Independence, you have got the amplest possible scope in this resolution, but with one supreme condition that having called the Convention into being, you must be faithful to that report as you will be faithful to your goal.

It was seconded by Mr. Harisarvottama Rao, but Pundit Jawaharlal and Mr. Kiran Shankar handed in amendments indicating opposition to the resolution. Pandit Jawaharlal's was practically reiteration of the Delhi resolution with a few verbal alterations, a noteworthy change being that instead of affirming that there can be no true freedom till all connection with the British is severed, it stated that there can be no true freedom till all connection with British Imperialism is severed, while Mr. Kiran Shankar Ray's amendment definitely stated that the British connection should be severed. Then again, Pt. Jawaharlal accepted the Nehru Report without prejudice to the Madras Congress resolution relating to complete Independence. The other did not accept Dominion Status as the basis of the recommended constitution.

Dr. Besant gave an amendment for deleting the words referring to complete independence in the resolution and also for deletion of the following words:—

"provided however that the Congress shall not be bound by (Nehru) Constitution if it is not accepted on or before 31st December 1930".

More amendments were pouring in and the Committee adjourned for the morrow.

In the meanwhile, prolonged *pourparlers* were going on between Mahatma Gandhi and the Independents, and at one time it almost seemed to have reached the breaking point. To the relief of all, Mahatma Gandhi was able to find a formula agreeable to all parties in the Congress.

MAHATMAJI'S RESOLUTION

Mahatma Gandhi himself moved the new Resolution in the Subjects Committee which met

JANUARY 1929]

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

33

again on the 28th. The text of the resolution runs as follows:—

This Congress, having considered the constitution recommended by the All-Parties Committee Report, welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems and congratulates the Committee on the vital unanimity of its recommendations, and whilst adhering to the resolution relating to complete independence passed at the Madras Congress approves of the Constitution drawn by the Committee as a great step in political advance, specially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among important parties in the country.

Subject to the exigencies of political situation, this Congress will adopt the constitution, if it is accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before 31st December 1930, but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organise a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon.

Consistently with the above, nothing in this resolution shall interfere with carrying on in the name of the Congress propaganda for complete independence.

It will be noticed that the reference to the submitting of the resolution to the Viceroy was omitted in deference to the wishes of many who commented upon it with a sneer while the Independents were permitted to carry on their propaganda, a fact upon which Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, who seconded the Mahatma, laid considerable stress.

At last, after four hours' discussion in which Pundit Malaviya and Dr. Besant, also took part, Mahatma Gandhi's substituted resolution, embodying the compromise effected overnight between the rival groups in the Congress, was carried amidst scenes of exultation, 118 voting for and 45 against.

Mahatmaji's touching appeal in a closely measured speech, did really weigh with the majority of the Independence group, though it did not disarm the opposition from a few of the more extremists among them.

But the matter did not rest there. As will be seen from the proceedings considerable anxiety was felt regarding the fate of the resolution in the open Congress; for already the Independents threatened to recede from the position agreed to by their leader Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar. The

leaders were all working behind to bring about a United Session.

MR. SEN GUPTA'S WELCOME ADDRESS

Meanwhile the Congress opened on the 29th noon amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. Mr. Sen Gupta, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates of different provinces, said that whatever success the Reception Committee might have achieved was due in a great measure to the untiring efforts of "those patriotic victims of a law-less law who have recently come out from their prison cells." He then paid fitting tributes to Hakim Ajmal Khan and Lala Lajpat Rai. Referring to the Nehru Report, Mr. Sen Gupta said:—

I look upon this document not as a begging bowl for Dominion Status but as a weapon in our fight for full independence. Its chief merit lies in the fact that it * * * * * provides a centre of unity for the various political forces. * * * *

After a brief analysis of the psychology of the British people and a running review of India's present history, Mr. Sen Gupta pointed out that the British people had never understood co-operation, they had understood force only. He went on to say:—

India has been showing good will to England and co-operating with her patiently from the beginning of the British rule. What is the net result? Our faith has been rewarded by suspicion and our good will by contempt.

Self-interest, he continued, had been the guiding factor in British policy in India, and Britain had respected nothing but her own interest. He did not believe in the blessing of British rule, and he held that India, has, if anything, receded under that rule. Referring to the question of freedom or security, Mr. Sen Gupta pointed out that freedom must be had at any cost. British misrule could not be removed by co-operation and they must create "a spirit of resistance"—as the late Mr. Das put it. Mr. Sen Gupta continued:—

I must emphasise that we suffer from an undesirable past complex: that apotheosis of past culture has become an obsession with us. * * * * * The entire social fabric requires a thorough overhauling and has to be revolutionised.

Concluding, he said :—

Do not despair. Marshal all your forces and no power on earth can resist you in your triumphant march to the Great India of the future : an India welded and federated into a powerful nation, great in art, great in science : widening the bounds of knowledge and contributing her share to the progress and civilisation of the world : mistress of the Indian seas, leader of an Asiatic Zollverein, upholder of the coloured races throughout the world.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Pundit Motilal Nehru's address was brief and impressive. In fact, it had to be re-written and



PUNDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

re-cast many times in the last few weeks in view of exceptional circumstances that had since intervened. A section of the audience interrupted him, as he began, calling upon him to speak in Urdu;

but that was obviously impossible, and order having been restored, the Pundit read his address. He spoke under three clear-cut heads : (1) Where do we stand ? (2) What is our destination ? (3) How can we reach our destination ?

Referring to the first question, Pundit Motilal plainly pointed out that they had been persistently denied "all opportunity for self-realisation, self-development and self-fulfilment" for which the late Mr. C. R. Das fought so valiantly. In stating the helpless position of India he observed :—

The solemn promises of responsible government have found fulfilment in that colossal fraud, the Statutory Commission, which is now careering along our streets leaving bleeding heads and broken bones behind. To add insult to the injury, the Viceroy had doled out a threat in this very city of Calcutta that "it is the plain duty of the Government to take whatever steps it seems necessary to prevent the recurrence of these discreditable incidents."

In the economic sphere, India has been subjected to continuous exploitation. Thus in a brief outline, the President stated where India stood—a position which required the marshalling of the forces of the whole nation. As regards the destination of India, Pundit Motilal was very clear :—

My answer, straight and simple, is Freedom, in substance and not merely in form. I am for complete independence—as complete as it can be—but I am not against full Dominion Status—provided I get it before it loses all attraction.

To put in a nutshell, it comes to this. I am for complete Independence, as complete as it can be, but I am not against full Dominion Status, as full as any Dominion possesses to-day, provided I get it before it loses all attraction for me.

I am for severance of the British connection as it subsists with us to-day, but am not against it, as it exists in the Dominion. What matters to me is that Dominion Status involves a measure of Freedom bordering upon Independence.

After discussing the respective merits of Independence and Dominion Status, Pundit Motilal did not fail to point out that nothing could be wrested from England except by proving their strength and "the way to acquire that strength is to organise ourselves and our resources." He

defended his attitude by quoting the Faridpur speech of Deshbandhu Das, wherein he offered a settlement while he (Deshbandhu) was preparing for a great fight.

Referring to the report on the constitution of the All Parties Committee, the President urged the Assembly to accept it because that was a constitution, "agreed upon by the various parties, invited by the Congress to frame it."

The Pundit emphasised the need for unity of action as urged by the All Parties Convention :—

This is the first time in the history of the Congress that it invited the people of India through the various organisations representing them, to determine for themselves what is good for them. In doing so the Congress has acted on the principle of self-determination. Those invited have accepted the invitation of the Congress as they never did before, not even in the palmy days of Non-co-operation—~~with~~ with all the millions behind it, the Congress ~~is~~ supported by many well-known organisations. There is not one organisation—political, social, religious, communal, industrial, or labour—of any note or standing to-day which did not take part in the All-Parties Conferences and the National Convention or which, having so taken part, has not given up much that it valued for the sake of unity. It is an achievement of which any country in the world might well be proud. That achievement will now be presented to you. Will you accept it or spurn it? If you have any faith in your claim for self-determination, you have no right to spurn it even if you disagree. The only question is, whether there is such a consensus of agreement on the scheme that it can be treated as self-determined. I say there is. The only dissentients are a few communalists. I must say frankly that I do not understand them and am unable to reconcile their claim for special communal advantages with their desire for complete Independence. Some of these would reserve to a handful the right to arrest the whole course of the country's legislation. Others are prepared to go back even on joint electorates if a few additional seats are not given to them in the legislatures. Their dissent with a system of Dominion Status can hardly be taken seriously.

Pundit Motilal then gave a constructive programme "to set our own house in order." The following were the salient points of his programme :—Popularising the communal solution agreed to at the All Parties Conferences; work among the touchables and depressed classes; organisation of labour; village organisation; boycott of foreign goods and popularising Khaddar; against social evils; campaign against drink and opium.

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE DISCUSSIONS AGAIN

After the Presidential address, the Subjects Committee met and adopted by a fair majority, (but not without some obstruction in the shape of amendments which were all ruled out), a programme of work in the ensuing year, in order to forge sanctions for the constitution drafted by the Nehru Committee.

This was on a resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi as complementary to the one adopted the previous day. The resolution advocated boycott of foreign cloth by stimulating production of khaddar, redress of specific grievances by non-violent means as at Bardoli, removal of untouchability, enlistment of volunteers for village reconstruction work, etc.

The Subjects Committee also appointed a small Committee to go into the question of alleged irregularities in the Punjab Camp regarding illicit transference of delegation tickets. Pundit Jawahar Lal made a frank statement. There was also considerable apprehension regarding the compromise to which Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar had agreed as the younger men of the Independent group protested against their leader's transaction behind their back. Mr. Iyengar made a statement pointing out that he had consulted some independents before he gave his assent to the compromise resolution but that there was no time to call a formal meeting of the Independent leaguers and register their wishes.

The Congress met the next evening and concluded within an hour after paying condolences to the memories of Lala Lajpat Rai, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Lord Sinha and others, and adopting a resolution on the Police attack in Lahore on the day of the arrival of the Simon Commission. Messages from Romain Rolland and greetings from foreign organizations were also read.

A STORMY MEETING

The Subjects Committee met at 8 p. m. The Independents' attitude towards the compromise

was the subject of considerable speculation. The President ruled that re-opening of Gandhi's resolution could only be done the next day.

Pandit Jawaharlal moved that a separate department should be opened by the Congress to develop contacts with other countries, while Mr. Satyamurti's motion to establish agencies in foreign countries was opposed as impracticable. Mr. Satyamurti's proposal for a Pan-Asiatic Federation was carried amidst applause though it was not favoured by the President. Mr. Tayabullah moved a resolution congratulating China on her new freedom. Pandit Jawahar opposed it, while Dr. Pattabhi and Mr. Satyamurti supported. Mr. B. Sambamurti's amendment to Pandit Jawaharlal's resolution for stiffening the Simon boycott caused a piquant controversy. Madras leaders were hard put to it to defend their action on the last occasion when they bowed to prohibitory orders of the Government. The amendment which gives a large order to disobey all executive orders against hartals and demonstrations was carried, 44 voting for and 43 against. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar alone was neutral, while Mr. Satyamurti and the rest of the Tamil group voted against it. Protest against the Public Safety Bill and Nabha's deportation, and sympathy with the families of the Bengali prisoners in jail were next recorded. Mr. Bhiswanath Das made a statement on behalf of the Oriya-speaking people and withdrew from the meeting in protest. The Subjects Committee resolved to send a representative to the next Anti-Imperialism Conference and Pandit Jawaharlal's motion to boycott Government Functions was also passed.

LABOUR AND THE CONGRESS

In the meanwhile, a large body of 30,000 labour-men marched to the Congress under the lead of Mr. K. C. Mitter. There was no doubt some consternation prevailed as to the object of the demonstration. On their assurance that they

merely wanted to meet in the Congress pandal, the gates were thrown open, Pandit Motilal, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pandit Jawaharlal, Mr. Subash Chandra Bose and others participated in the proceedings. Though Pandit Motilal's appeal to the labourers was well received, they passed a resolution favouring independence and departed in peace after distributing their leaflets.

The complexities of the situation were by no means confined to this. For the Independents in League resolved not to abide by the Compromise with Mahatma Gandhi. For at their meeting on the 31st morning, they resolved by 89 votes against 5 to vote against the compromise and support Mr. Subash Bose's amendment.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar pleaded in vain that he had taken the consent of whatever leading members of the party for the compromise, and that he was put in a false position by weakness and vacillation of the prominent members of the party.

The Congress re-assembled on the 31st, and passed the resolutions discussed in the Subjects Committee: viz., the summoning of the Pan-Asiatic Federation, greetings to China, Egypt etc., ban on levees, and boycott of British and Foreign goods. Dr. Ansari moved the resolution recording refusal to be exploited to further imperialist aims. The Central resolution of the Congress was moved by Mahatma Gandhi in Hindi and seconded by Dr. Ansari in the absence of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar. Mr. S. C. Bose moved his amendment adhering to the declaration of the Madras Congress. Mr. Bose's amendment ran as follows:—

This Congress adheres to the decision of the Madras Congress declaring complete independence to be the goal of the Indian people and is of the opinion that there can be no true freedom till the British connection is severed. This Congress accepts the recommendations of the Nehru Committee as agreed to by the Lucknow All-Parties Conference for the settlement of communal differences.

This Congress congratulates the Nehru Committee on their patriotic labours and while it does not accept Dominion Status as the basis of the recommended constitution is of opinion that the other recommendations contained in the report constitute a step towards political advancement and without committing itself to every detail generally approves of them.

In moving the amendment Mr. S. C. Bose said that he took his stand on the Report itself and on the resolution of the Madras Congress. He

Dominion status, whatever appeal it makes to the older generation, does not make the slightest appeal to the younger generation which is coming before our eyes. After all the younger generations are the heirs of the future and it is they who will attain freedom. In con-

clusion I wish to make an appeal to the House. I do not think even if we can vote down the resolution and carry the amendment, it will not mean the slightest disrespect shown to the older people who after all love us and want us to be men. (Applause).

Mr. Bose was supported by Mr. Satyamurti. Dr. Besant followed with her amendment pointing out that if they rejected Dominion Status, they must logically reject the Nehru Report. In fact, there were any number of amendments.

GANDHI'S REBUKE

The House adjourned and reassembled in the night when there was intense excitement. It fell to Pandit Jawaharlal to support Mr. Bose's amendment. Mahatma Gandhi, replying to the debate, made a forceful speech and took occasion to administer a rebuke and frankly told them that if they could not abide by the compromise for 24 hours, they were no more fit for the independence which was constantly in their lips. He also referred to the shameful transference of delegation tickets in some quarters, and bluntly told them that that was not the way to freedom. He exploded the unreality behind the clamour for independence and concluded, "If you

follow the programme of work with honesty and intelligence, I promise you Dominion Status within one year."

He continued:—

I admit that it is a long drawn out process, but in the present state of the country, when we cannot trust our brothers and sisters, our parents and party leaders, or anybody else; when we have no sense of honour and when we cannot even allow our words to remain unalter-



SUBASH CHUNDER BOSE

spoke of the imminence of another world war and continued:—

If India is to wake up before another world war we have to commence with this task of preaching a new mentality. You say that we want full and complete independence. This can be done only by proclaiming the ideal in a clear and unequivocal manner. I believe that preaching the ideal of independence is a task which is necessary if India is to prepare herself for the achievement of our national freedom. I do not think we can afford to lose a single day.

ed for 24 hours, do not talk of independence. But if you will develop calm courage and honesty of purpose and that determination which will refuse to accept 'no' for an answer to your demand then I promise you what the tallest among us can possibly desire.

After this speech Mr. Gandhi's resolution was carried with acclamation. The amendment of Mr. Subash Bose was thrown out by 1350 to 973 votes. There was some confusion during the counting of votes followed by a breezy exchange of words between Mr. Subash Bose and Mr. Jawaharlal, but peace was restored soon after.

The verdict gave intense relief and satisfaction.

The National Liberal Federation

THE Liberal Federation met at Allahabad on the 30th with Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in the Chair. There was a large and representative gathering of delegates and visitors from different provinces. Dr. Sapru and Mr. Chintamani, who had been to Calcutta to participate in the National Convention, had returned in time for the opening of the Federation.

MR. CHINTAMANI'S WELCOME ADDRESS

Mr. Chintamani, in his welcome address, while faithfully adhering to the Liberal faith was one with the National Convention in his support of the Nehru Report and opposition to the Simon Commission.

We have refused to deviate from our chosen path, and are determined as ever to serve the Motherland in our own humble way, equally indifferent to the frowns of authority and the displeasure of a section of our own countrymen.

After referring to the deaths of various leaders and illness of the King, Mr. Chintamani reviewed the political situation briefly, characterised the Statutory Commission "as an epitome of some of the worst evils of the present system of Government, and a calculated and inexcusable affront to National honour and National interests of India," and said:—

We would have been unworthy of our position as Liberals and Nationalists, if we had not adopted the policy of absolute Boycott of the unwanted, unwelcome and Police-protected Simon Seven.

On Mr. M. A. Kothari's motion, a resolution embodying the Subjects Committee's decision to remove restrictions to interfere with matters relating to Indian States and demanding introduction of responsible government in place of personal rule in the States was carried.

In spite of some opposition, a resolution to increase the delegates' fee from Re. 1 to Rs. 5 was passed. After passing some other resolutions, the invitation of the Punjab Congress Committee, calling the next Congress Session to meet at Lahore was accepted.

Mr. Chintamani condemned the Police assaults, and said that the position was as nearly intolerable



MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI

as it could well be, and that it is "a clarion call to the people to work for Swaraj without giving them

selves rest or Government peace, until victory crowned their efforts."

Turning to the Nehru Report, he congratulated Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on the part he has played in preparing the great document and said:—

I myself think the conclusions reached by the Nehru Committee and resolutions passed by the All-Parties' Conference were eminently fair to all interests, but if *ipsissima verba* of the Report be not found acceptable to any party, there is no reason why alternative proposals should not be examined in a spirit of reason by the minority, and of generosity by the majority communities. Self-Government being the supreme need of India, it is the paramount duty of Indian patriots of all communities and all parties to adjust their differences, on comparatively minor matters, without any party feeling and sense of defeat.

Speaking of Dominion Status, Mr. Chintamani observed:—

Deny this, and there is no justification for our Party. Those Indians who think political salvation lies in the severance of British connection are the children of unsympathetic, irresponsible and arrogant alien rule, as Bolshevik Russia is the child of Czarist Russia. We mean by Dominion Status neither more nor less than and nothing else but Dominion Status. To us, it is not a first step, but the one and only step.

Concluding, Mr. Chintamani said:

If Freedom is natural law, subjection is an evil. It is our dharma to get out of a state of dependence. This is the teaching by which we are bound, and I pray we may not be found backward in rendering National service which is our greatest duty.

Sir Tej Bahadur proposed Sir Chimanlal to the Chair. It was seconded by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer and supported by Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari.

SIR CHIMANLAL'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, in the course of his presidential address dwelt at length on the valuable record of the Liberals' work in India and the part the party has played in the recent constitutional history. He accused the Government of having created and fostered extremism in India by its blundering and hesitating policy at every step. He justified the Liberal boycott of the Simon Commission which had been appointed in contemptuous defiance of public opinion and was being shepherded by the police in its peregrinations in a manner calculated to make the Commission more odious than ever. He exposed the disingenuous and

mischievous propaganda aimed at producing the illusion that the Commission was meeting with considerable support in the country and blamed the Commissioners for having eagerly lent themselves to the propagation of such palpable fiction. He warned the Government that they were "repeating in a very intensified degree the tragedy that surrounded the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms". He then turned his attention to the Nehru Report and commended the unity and solidarity behind the All-Parties Convention. Speaking of the Report, he said:—

The report that has been produced by them is one entitled to a high place among State documents dealing with topics of such importance, by its fairness, clear and logical thinking, restraint and moderation and commendable statesmanship. It is a grand effort made to secure the greatest measure of agreement in the country, and however much one may differ from some of its recommendations it should be received and considered with the greatest consideration.

He rejoiced that Dominion Status, "the fundamental proposal and key-stone of the Report," had been accepted by the All-Parties' Convention, and he passed on to criticise the attitude of the Congress in agreeing to accept Dominion Status if it was offered within a year, and at the same time reiterating the goal of Independence, as inconsistent and self-contradictory:

Speaking for myself, I do not see how those whose immediate or ultimate goal is complete Independence, can have anything in common with those who want Dominion Status within the Empire. The whole outlook and methods of those who want Independence must, in the very nature of things, be different from those who want Dominion Status. Any nation or country that wants complete Independence takes measures first to achieve independence, and when it succeeds in securing independence, it drafts and creates its own constitution.

It is out of place for those who want independence outside the Empire to join in drafting the constitution for Dominion Status. Those who want Dominion Status within the Empire cannot countenance the ultimatum mentioned above. Those who reaffirm Independence as their goal and threaten non-payment of taxes cannot be honest believers in Dominion Status.

At the same time, Sir Chimanlal was not slow to criticise the attitude of the Government which has always failed to respond adequately and timely to legitimate Indian aspirations as voiced by sane and responsible political sections, and, by their hesitation and delay, have lost opportunity after opportunity of catching the imagination of the people and securing their contentment.

We must now turn to Sir Chimanlal's views on other questions. He advocated, in the interests of unity, reservation of seats to the Muslims everywhere "on a reasonably generous proportion for a particular number of years," though this would, as he himself recognised, logically lead to demands for similar reservation by other minorities. He asked for full provincial autonomy and the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government on the dyarchic principle as it will, I apprehend, be desirable for sometime to keep at least foreign and political relations and the army as reserved subjects.

At the same time, he demanded "the same autonomy in the sphere of military organisation and administration that is enjoyed by the self-governing Dominions." He urged that representatives of British India and the Indian States should meet and negotiate an agreement as to the States' position in a self-governing India. His views on adult franchise must be quoted:

But whatever the franchise, it is desirable to my mind, to base it on the qualification of ownership or exercise of some calling and receipt of income liable to taxation in some form or another. To vest political power at one bound in this country in the hands of masses of people with no stake, and who therefore are not likely to appreciate the benefits of a stable and ordered Government, is under the present circumstances, I venture to think, not desirable.

Sir Chimanlal took an independent attitude towards the Public Safety Bill, and he concluded with the following exhortation.

What we are suffering from, in our public life at present, I am afraid, is want of clear thinking and a serious lack of men willing to take the responsibility of saying what they know to be right. The intoxication of public applause and the fear of losing popularity appear to benumb the capacity, of rational thinking and the courage to express one's real convictions.

Messages of sympathy with the objects of the Federation and wishing it success were read from leading men, after which the Conference adjourned.

THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

The whole body of delegates constituted the Subjects Committee which met after refreshments at 5 in the evening. The Committee discussed

the draft of the four principal resolutions of the session and decided on the speakers as well. These related to the Statutory Commission, Dominion Status for India, the Nehru Committee Report and the Indian States. After four hours' deliberation, the Subjects Committee practically decided not only on the terms of the resolutions for the morrow but also on the speakers who are to participate in commending them to the Federation. As the bulk of the work was done in the Subjects Committee, the Federation in its open session registered the decisions without opposition or delay.

The Federation reassembled on the 31st with a large contingent of delegates and visitors. The proceedings began with resolutions of condolence and sympathy put from the Chair at the deaths of Lala Lajpat Rai and Lord Sinha other Liberal leaders.

SIMON BOYCOTT

Mr. J. N. Basu moved:—

The National Liberal Federation urges upon all Indians the imperative necessity of continuing the boycott of the Simon Commission in full vigour and emphatically condemns the Police assaults committed in the name of peace and order which had marked the reception accorded by officials to the Simon Commission at certain places.

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar of Devakotta seconded, and Pandit Krishna Presad Kaul and Rai Bahadur Jagannad Prasad supported the motion which was unanimously carried.

DOMINION STATUS

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru moved:—

This Federation is strongly of opinion that the system of Government to be established in the place of the present system should be the same as that which prevails in the self-governing Dominions which are equal members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and this step should be taken immediately. Any further delay and postponement is fraught with danger to mutual relations of India and England.

In moving the Resolution, Sir Tej Bahadur pointed out that the time for half-measures was gone. What they wanted was responsible Government, central and provincial. To attain this end, what they chiefly wanted was the sanction of unity and the levelling of all differences.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar seconded the resolution, and said that Dominion Status was an entirely real and practical proposition.

The argument that India had no army, navy, and air force of her own was a mere pretext to put off the grant of Dominion Status which had been the consistent and constant demand of the Liberal party and of all sensible and thinking men for over 50 or 60 years. This idea of Dominion Status was really adumbrated at first in 1874 by Krishnadas Pal and this demand was being reiterated to-day because the Liberals believed that there was nothing to lose but a great deal to gain by being within the British Commonwealth of Nations which was perhaps of the greatest promise to-day in the history of constitutional experiments.

The Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan, supporting the resolution, said that

they were asking for full responsible government as it obtained in the Dominions and the Colonies, its essence being that the executive must be responsible to the legislature and the legislature responsible only to the people of this country and to no outside authority. Indians in short wanted to be in their country what the Canadian was in Canada, what the Australian was in Australia and what every other colonial was in his country. They wanted to be masters in their own household, they wanted to shape their policies and govern their country unhampered and unrestricted by any extraneous considerations. This was what the resolution demanded in the name of the self-respect and the honour of their country. An Indian who had to take part in common deliberations with the representatives of the self-governing dominions felt the hall-mark of inferiority very keenly. As Sir Valentine Chirol had stated in more than one of his publications, a considerable number of Indians had lost faith in the British *bona fides*. If this feeling of want of trust in British rule and British statesmanship was to be removed, Great Britain should at once grant India self-government. (Applause.)

Rao Bahadur R. V. Mahajani, Mr. D. G. Dalvi, Mr. Gopinath Kunzru and Mr. B. Radha Mohan supported the Resolution.

THE NEHRU REPORT

In the absence of Dr. Annie Besant, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadthikary moved the following resolution:—

This Federation accords general support to the report of the Nehru Committee and the resolutions of the All-Parties' Conference held at Lucknow, in particular with reference to the establishment of complete provincial autonomy without Second Chambers and of Full Responsible Government in the Government of India with such residuary powers as are not granted to Provincial Governments.

(b) This Federation is further of opinion that if in addition to, or in substitution of, the recommendations of the Nehru Committee, settlement of the problem of minorities is possible by agreement on any other basis, such should be accepted in the larger and more abiding interests of the country.

(c) This Federation appoints the following committee to co-operate with representatives of other organisations for the settlement of the communal question:—Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, with Mr. J. N. Basu, as Secretary.

Mr T. R. Venkatarama Sastri seconded the resolution, and referring to communal differences and Moslem demands, regretted that the communal principle should in any way wreck the vital principle involved.

Proceeding, he emphasised that

the supreme need of the hour was unity and the only sanction needed was a united demand presented in the name of the whole country by all political and other organizations standing together shoulder to shoulder and marching forward towards their goal. A compromise in regard to the communal problem might be reached, if necessary, as in politics, in particular it was very rarely that they were able to stick to the first best and as very often they were left with nothing but a choice of the second best. These makeshifts for the sake of unity would only be temporary in their nature and in a future self-governing India these guarantees and compromises were bound to disappear. (Cheers.)

Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle, Pandit Iqbal, Narain Gurtu, Mr. M. D. Altekar, Mr. P. N. Sapru and Pandit Hardutt Sharma supported the resolution.

INDIAN STATES AND REFORMS

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar moved the resolution on Indian States and constitutional Reforms.

While in general agreement with the recommendations of the Nehru Committee in regard to Indian States, this Federation welcomes the suggestion made recently in some quarters that representatives of British India and Indian States should meet to discuss their points of view to arrive at a conclusion which will be acceptable to both parties.

This Federation, while appreciating the efforts made by some States to introduce representative Government, is strongly of the opinion that more systematic and liberal measures should be taken to introduce Responsible Government and to associate the people with the administration of their own States.

In moving the resolution, he pointed out that the only solution for their improvement was negotiations and consultation between the States and the people of British India so that the States would form part of the body politic of India and be a welcome partner in the solid fabric which was being built up.

Mr. R. A. Kelkar (Poona) seconded the motion. Thus concluded the resolutions.

ELECTION OF GENERAL SECRETARIES

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pundit Hirdayanath Kunzru were reappointed General Secretaries of the Federation for 1929.

The next session was invited to Madras.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, in his concluding remarks, sounded a note of warning.

The India of to-day was not the India of yesterday. Trust-

teeship of England was coming to an end. They had to deal with people who had attained majority, and they were demanding from the so-called trustees, their own property, and also asking for accounts. If the British Government would realise the situation, they would change that mentality which they had maintained for so many years. They must realise the mentality which was growing in the country, which, if not guided properly, would swallow everything. It would swallow Dominion Status and even British connection and British trade. The situation could be met by taking courage and conceding at once what the Liberals had been asking for years.

The Khilafat Conference

The Khilafatists under the presidentship of Mr. Mahomed Ali made no secret of their antipathy to the Nehru Report. Already, their representatives both at the Muslim League Council and at the National Convention had made themselves thoroughly recalcitrant. Mr. Mahomed Ali, was in no mood to listen to arguments.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Moulana Abdul Rauf, in his opening speech to the Conference on December 25, set the tone of the proceedings by his uncompromising criticism of the efforts of the All-Party leaders to find a common platform for all parties to work together towards a common goal.

The Nehru Report, he said, aimed at swamping their culture and religion from India. Mussalmans, he continued, stood for freedom and not for Dominion Status, which was but another name for domination of Europeans over them. The Muslim voice, he complained, was not heard in the Congress, which claimed to be the foremost nationalist organisation in India. If the Congress wanted the Muslims to join it, then the organisation of that body must be so changed, that Mussalmans are able to return an effective number of representatives to it. The Hindus by means of the Nehru Report had succeeded in placing their demands with full force before the Simon Commission. This report made the Central Government all powerful. Independence, he said, was not incompatible with the idea of separate electorates. The Muslims, therefore, must make up their mind at this stage, whether they wanted unity with the Hindus, which meant the merging of Moslem culture and religion with that of the Hindus or retain their separate entity in a Free India, under a Federal system of Government.

Mr. Mahomed Ali went a step further, and indulged in his characteristic jibes against the Convention leaders. He spoke *extempore* in Urdu and the substance of the speech, as reported in the press, makes painful reading.

He said that the Nehru Report had given birth to dissension and disunity in the country to an unparalleled

degree. Among those who helped this disunity, he mentioned Sir Ali Imam, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Chintamani and the Maharaja of Mahmudabad. The



MAHOMED ALI AND HIS BROTHER SHAUKAT

whole country would watch the fight that was going on between father Nehru and son Nehru. The Maharajah of Mahmudabad was indirectly responsible for sending Pandit Motilal to jail. It was possible that the father might make himself responsible for seeing his son dangling on the gallows.

* * * * *

The supporters of the Nehru Report were not leaders but misleaders who adopted crooked tactics in the hope of creating unity under pretence of friendship towards Islam.

The rest of the speech was in that vein of unreasoning vilification. Mr. Mahomed Ali has a biting tongue and he spared none—not even some of the Khilafatists from the Punjab with whom he quarrelled and apologised. But the Khilafatists in Conference cheered him up and he continued his frenzied attack uninterruptedly to the great merriment of the audience whose rejoicings at the reported rumour that heads were broken at the A. I. C. C. meeting was most unfeigned. That was an unmistakable indication of the temper of the audience addressed by Mr. Mahomed Ali.

This temper was exhibited at its worst at the Subjects Committee Meeting where a Pathan is reported to have drawn his sword and the volunteers their lathies, and a perfect pandemonium prevailed: which however did not deter the Khilafatists from passing a resolution demanding complete independence.

THE CONVENTION KHILAFATISTS

Such a session was bound to leave its marks on its deliberations. As might be expected, a distinct cleavage occurred in the Khilafat camp on the question of support of Nehru Report and cognate matters. The treatment of the Executive of the Central Khilafat Committee towards a section at the meeting of the Committee held on 24th December was resented by many. To consider the situation, a representative meeting of Khilafat leaders was held on the 26th where it was resolved that about 42 prominent members of the Central Khilafat Committee, who walked out of the meeting of 24th, would dissociate themselves from the Executive of the Central Khilafat Committee but would continue to be members of the Committee.

KHILAFATISTS IN SESSION

When the All-India Khilafat Conference resumed its sitting in the evening, Mr. Muhammad Ali,

President, regretted the false news circulated the day before, which had caused such merriment in the Khilafat Camp. The Maulana said that he himself enquired into the matter, and learnt that there was no meeting of the Subjects Committee at all.

The Conference then passed a resolution condoling the death of Hakim Ajmal Khan.

Maulana Azad Sobhani moved:

This Conference declares once more that Complete Independence is our goal.

Referring to the Nehru Report, the mover said that it had practically no objective before it. It was nothing but another name for servitude and bondage. The following resolution was also passed:—

In the opinion of this Conference, the future Constitution of India should be so framed as to provide for a Federation of Free and United States of India, with fully autonomous Provinces and Indian States, every constituent member possessing plenary power and having its own Legislature and Governor elected by the people and a Central Federal Parliament having jurisdiction over subjects concerning the whole of India. Muslims would not accept any Constitution unless framed on the above principles.

While a section of the Khilafatists were passing resolutions, forty-five Muslim leaders, who got tired of the antics of the President of the C. K. C., issued a statement explaining their secession from the Conference and expressing their approval of the Nehru Report. They also elected a delegation among themselves with plenipotentiary powers to represent the Central Khilafat Committee in the All-Parties Convention.

The Anti-Convention Khilafatists met again on the 29th. As if Indian problems were not enough for them, Mr. Shaukat Ali moved a resolution for sending a deputation to Afghanistan and the Frontiers to try for bringing a settlement between the fighting tribes. The members of the deputation were also selected. The Conference concluded after passing a resolution touching religious freedom to be incorporated as a fundamental right in any future constitution.

All-India Muslim League

In sharp and refreshing contrast to the uproar of the Khilafatists, the proceedings of the All-India Moslem League were conducted with becoming sobriety and seriousness under the guidance of leaders like the Maharajah of Mahmudabad, Sir Ali Imam and Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah's non-committal attitude to the Nehru Report threw a certain amount of uncertainty over the outcome of this session, but the Maharajah of Mahmudabad's frank and straightforward action at the psychological moment made it the success that it was.

WELCOME ADDRESS

Moulvi Abdul Karim, M. L. C., Chairman of the Reception Committee, struck the right note when he regretted in his opening address

that some forces were at work to divide the political strength of the Muslims of India, at a time when the vital interests, both of the community and the country, require that there should be solid unity. He was afraid that people had been fighting over shadows before getting the substance. Until the required political rights were actually secured, the question of their division could not arise. Questions of Franchise, Electorate and Representation were only to be considered in reference to Responsible Self-Government. They had no value or significance of their own, until this was attained. The primary and the joint aim of all parties for the present should, therefore, be the attainment of Government of the people by the the people, for the people.

He warned that failure to create inter-communal harmony meant perpetuation of India's bondage. He thought the Nehru Report was "a good basis for final deliberation, and an effective representation of India's joint demand." Proceeding, Mr. Abdul Karim said that for economic and cultural autonomy,

Dominion Status gave India, as it had given all other Dominions in the British Commonwealth, all the scope they needed for the present. It would, therefore, be unwise to fritter away their limited National energy at a mere name, and the chimera of Independence.

MR. JINNAH'S SPEECH

Mr. Jinnah, President of the League, in proposing the Maharajah of Muhmudabad to the chair, rose to the occasion, and in a speech of sweet reasonableness, called upon his colleagues in the League "to put their heads together and take up the right attitude to arrive at the right conclusion." He made a felicitous reference to

the Maharajah's sagacity and statesmanship, and concluded that he "had no doubt that he (the Maharajah) would receive every co-operation from every member of that body in every way that he might desire."

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The Maharajah of Mahmudabad, who received a great ovation, delivered an address, which force-



MAHARAJAH OF MAHMUDABAD

fully put forward his view that the British connection is a valuable asset and that the Nehru Scheme guarantees full freedom.

He urged the League to send its delegates to the CONVENTION with its mandate, and he commended the Nehru settlement for acceptance. He pointed out that

Dominion Status, as contained and defined in the Nehru Report, gives us all the rights of citizenship, all incidents of undiluted Democracy and all requisites of political Freedom that independence could confer. Adult Suffrage, Central and Provincial Governments responsible to Legislatures, with free and full control of Departments of National Defence, Foreign Affairs and Relations

JANUARY 1929]

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

45

with Indian States guaranteeing to the latter all privileges and dignities, are, in all conscience, a sufficient foundation for building up a Free Commonwealth of India.

If those conditions of Dominion Status are obtained, it is incomprehensible why the vexed question of Independence is, at all, raised in this connection. I invite you, gentlemen, to give your whole-hearted support to the Dominion Status, insisted upon in the Nehru Report.

Of the attitude of a small but insistent minority that is up for independence, the Maharajah said in unequivocal terms:—

The application of the doctrine of Independence in the sense of severance of the British connection is, to my mind, a hopelessly unworkable proposition. India's place in the British Commonwealth is a valuable asset, and, in my judgment, it will be folly to destroy this precious commodity with our own hand. It is my conviction that there is plenty of room for growth, development and expression of Indian Nationalism with the ambit of India's connection with England. To my mind, to raise the cry of Independence before the country without examining its implications is not statesmanship. Apart from ethical and local technicalities, to my mind, the cry of Independence is a cry in the wilderness, and I would implore you to enter your emphatic protest against such a suicidal proposal in the present circumstances of India.

He wound up with a passionate plea for unity and broadmindedness as regards adjustments of differences between community and community. This part of the address deserves to be read in its entirety. He said:—

I do not believe that there is any real and genuine interest of any community; be it a minority or a majority, that is not National interest. No National aspiration is worth the name, if it disregards the interests of any community in this vast country. All castes, creeds and communities have to pool their resources together, not only to the task of the introduction of Swaraj, but what is more important, to deserve it.

And he pointed to the Convention as the right place to adjust differences on the question of communal representation.

You can send your plenipotentiaries with power to conclude terms with the CONVENTION. There will be a sitting to-morrow, and you should proceed to elect your plenipotentiaries to-day, so that no time may be lost, and you may make your great contribution to the evolving and shaping of a constitution for the Free Commonwealth of India acceptable to all political parties.

RESOLUTIONS

Dr. Kitchlew, Secretary of the League, presented his report which, on Sait Abdul Haroon's motion, he read to the House as it had not been circulated. The League then elected the Subjects Committee to draft resolutions and propose delegates for the All-Parties' Convention.

The Subjects Committee met in the afternoon, and after three hours' discussion, adopted, by an overwhelming majority, Mr. Chagla's resolution, and elected 20 delegates, including the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Mr. Jinnah and Malik Barkat Ali, to participate in the CONVENTION.

The motion of Seth Abdullah Haroon to refer the Nehru Report first to the Committee of the League and the amendment of Kazi Fazlul Haq to refer the Nehru Report to local bodies for eliciting Muslim opinion were defeated, as being aimed at depriving the League of the opportunity of taking part in the CONVENTION.

The League resumed its sitting the next day, and Mr. Chagla's motion for the appointment of a committee of 23 was adopted after some opposition by Mr. Abdulla Haroon, M. L. A., who urged the appointment of a committee to examine the Nehru Report itself. Mr. Jinnah, replying to Mr. Hajee Abdulla Haroon, said that it was their duty to present their case to the CONVENTION. He requested Mr. Hajee to withdraw the amendment, which he did.

The Muslim League reassembled on the 29th and held a heated debate on Mr. K. C. Chagla's motion rejecting the invitation to the Muslim Conference at Delhi under the Aga Khan. When Mr. Fazlul Haq had put forward his plea for participation in the Delhi Conference, the Maharajah of Mahmudabad left the chair to Mr. Jinnah in order to take part in the debate. He joined issue with Mr. Fazlul Haq and appealed to the House to boycott the Delhi Conference. The resolution was carried after a heated debate, only 16 voting against.

The adjourned meeting of the League came off on the 30th morning. Mr. Jinnah moved the resolution that was agreed to in the Subjects Committee viz., that the present Sessions of the League be adjourned till the end of May 1929. On Mr. Jinnah's motion being accepted, the League deferred consideration of the Nehru Report.

All-Parties' Muslim Conference

The All-Parties' Muslim Conference was held at Delhi on the 31st December as a set-off against the Muslim League at Calcutta. It was presided over by H. H. the Aga Khan who had just then returned from England.

WELCOME ADDRESS

In welcoming the delegates, Hakim Mahomed Jamil Khan referred to the Nehru Committee's Report as a "laudable handiwork," but tried to discredit it as not having provided adequate safe-guards to the Muslim minority in the country. Joint electorates, according to him, were not beneficial to Muslims and he considered them to be "unworkable" and "calculated to ruin Indian Mussalmans".

THE AGA KHAN'S ADDRESS

H. H. The Aga Khan, in the course of his Presidential address, said:—

When, in my manifesto last year, I appealed to the Moslems of India to replace the old self-constituted political bodies that had served their day and purpose by an organisation of all Moslem members in touch with their electorates, I wished to place the guidance of our people in their own hands.

He then passed on to consider what he called certain obvious truisms referring to the need for amity between Hindus and Muslims.

It is impossible for Moslems to live happily and peacefully in India if friction and suspicion are to prevail between them and the Hindus. Another vivid instance. India as a whole cannot be a prosperous or self-governing country if such a large and important section of the community as the Moslems remain in doubt as to whether their cultural entity is safe or not. Here is a third and most important one. As long as we are dependent for protection against external aggression and internal security and for peace upon Great Britain, and the British garrison occupies the land, and the air and naval forces survey us from above and watch the coasts, Great Britain will naturally claim a predominant share and voice in the governance of India.

He added:

The Moslem members should consider it their duty to look after the interests of India as a whole or of a Province as a whole, and advocate the promotion of general interests at every opportunity.

Touching the electorates question, he said:—

The vital and dominant consideration which underlies this question is the real representation of Moslems in all Legislatures and self-governing bodies. How that can be secured is a problem for the Moslem population of this country to consider and solve without any prejudice.

H. H. the Aga Khan's presidential address was, in one respect, a significant pronouncement. "Cow-killing had unfortunately been a perpetual source of



H. H. THE AGA KHAN

bitter feeling between Muslims and Hindus" said the Aga Khan who pointed out that the sacrifice of cows was not enjoined in their religious books. "Killing is not one of the tenets of our religion" and "the flesh and blood of animals do not reach God," declared the Aga Khan with emphasis.

RESOLUTIONS

The controversy over the Independence and Dominion Status was keen, and it was got over by the simple process of omitting all reference to the same and emphasising on the imperative need for a separate electorate in any scheme of Self-Government for India.

The agreed resolution was moved by Sir Mahomed Shafi in the open session and supported by a number of speakers. Mr. Mahomed Ali took the occasion to express himself on the question of Hindu communalism. He advised the Mussalmans not to be afraid of the Hindu majority, as in all their religious battles in the past, one Muslim had overpowered three Kaffirs, but till they gain freedom, separate electorate was the only effective device to keep them alive.

All-India Christian Conference

The fifteenth session of the All-India Christian Conference was held at Madras on the 28th December. Dr. Asirvada Nadar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, put in a strong plea for Christians taking their proper share in the political life of the country. He concluded with an appeal "to think and act about the regeneration of the Indian Church and its self-Government."

Mr. J. C. Chatterjee, M. L. A., who presided, made a stirring appeal to the Christian community to take service in the country without distinction of caste or creed.

The greatest glory of Indian Christians ought to be not to aspire to political importance or leadership but to be known as a community of the servants of India.

He pointed out that the chief obstacles in the way were the social exclusiveness of which the community has not yet freed itself, and the comparative weakness of its social and economic position. He therefore urged that Indian Christianity should be nationalised and divested of its Western garb, and, simultaneously, the habit of looking to Government employment as their sole refuge should be given up.

Mr. Chatterjee then passed on to consider the two momentous political problems of the day—the Simon Commission and the Nehru Report—in regard to which he reaffirmed the position taken up by his Association. He defended co-operation with the Simon Commission on the ground that the vast majority of his community believe that

a policy of constructive and judicious co-operation with the Government of the time is far more fruitful than one of obstruction and harassment;

and elaborated his meaning by further observing:

I believe that, as a representative of the Christian community and because of my position as a nominated member, it is my duty to support with my vote the Government in measures that it considers essential for the safety and good government of the country.

But while defending co-operation with the Simon Commission, Mr. Chatterjee emphatically endorsed the wise and patriotic attitude of his Federation in setting itself against communal electorates and nominations. He said:—

We fully realize that till such time as religion or what goes under the name of religion, continues to dominate Indian politics, Indian Christians have little chance of securing any adequate representation through general electorates, either on the legislatures or local bodies. But in all humility, we are prepared to face this handicap for a time, so far as our particular community is concerned, in response to a higher duty to the nation as a whole and in the full hope that if we are called upon to make a sacrifice, it will not be in vain.

Mr. Chatterjee, however, went on to say that because the Nehru report has recommended reservation of seats for Muslims in some provinces, Christians, as "the third largest community" in India, should also have the same privilege.

The Conference met the next day when Mr. Rallia Ram moved a resolution approving the Council's memorandum to the Simon Commission which was seconded by Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukerji.

Mr. Chakkarai Chettiar moved a resolution placing on record its general approval of the Nehru Report and Dominion Status which was seconded by Mr. J. R. Chitambar. Mr. Rallia Ram's amendment that the

Conference would have been extremely gratified if the authors of the Nehru Report had recommended the complete abrogation of the communal representation in all its forms. It regrets that it should have found it necessary to give protection to the two largest and most powerful communities in India wherever they are in a minority. So long as this position is maintained by the national leaders, the other existing well-defined minorities are justified in pressing for a similar protection,

was accepted after some discussion. On the motion of Dr. Asirvada Nadar, the Conference recorded its protest against the serious disabilities of the community in regard to recruitment for the Non-Commissioned ranks in the army. Mr. S. K. Roy moved a resolution regretting the inadequate appointments of Indian Christians in the judiciary and public services. After considering some social questions affecting the community, the Conference supported total prohibition and welcomed the proposal of the National Christian Council "to make a survey of the conditions of oppression which certain classes of people are suffering under".

The next Conference will meet in Delhi.

National Social Conference

The Indian National Social Conference met at Calcutta on the 25th of last month under the presidency of Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Bar-at-law. The Conference was well attended. A number of ladies were also present.

Mr. Nirmal Chandra Chandra Chunder, M. L. A., Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, referred to the death of Lala Lajpat Rai who fought for the emancipation of the depressed classes who number 60 millions.

Mr. Jayakar, in his interesting address, referred to the Government's apathy in matters of social



MR. M. R. JAYAKAR

legislation. He then dealt with immediate social problems of the country, and referred to women's right to property, independence in the choice of their husbands, divorce, restitution of conjugal rights and marriage reform including the abolition of caste.

Women demand now-a-days that they should have a right to marry according to their choice, irrespective of the narrow limitations of caste. While conceding that many men do not like it and even characterise it as a bold step, Mr. Jayakar said,

"I feel certain, whether bold or otherwise, it is bound to succeed before long." He continued:—

The discontent amongst women is growing, and unless legislation is taken up in proper time, a stage may be soon reached when they will openly rebel and perhaps carry the rebellion into the peace and harmony of domestic life. It will be wise, therefore, to help this movement rather than let it drift into futile or bitter channels. In women, the Social Reform Movement ought to find a natural ally, and this alliance is sure to grow strong, if we could accord to their grievances a proper place in our scheme of social reform.

The Conference met the next day and adopted several important resolutions.

RESOLUTIONS

Sir P. C. Ray moved a resolution for expediting the abolition of the caste system.

He was seconded by Mr. Bhumanand from the Punjab. After a two hours' debate, the resolution was carried.

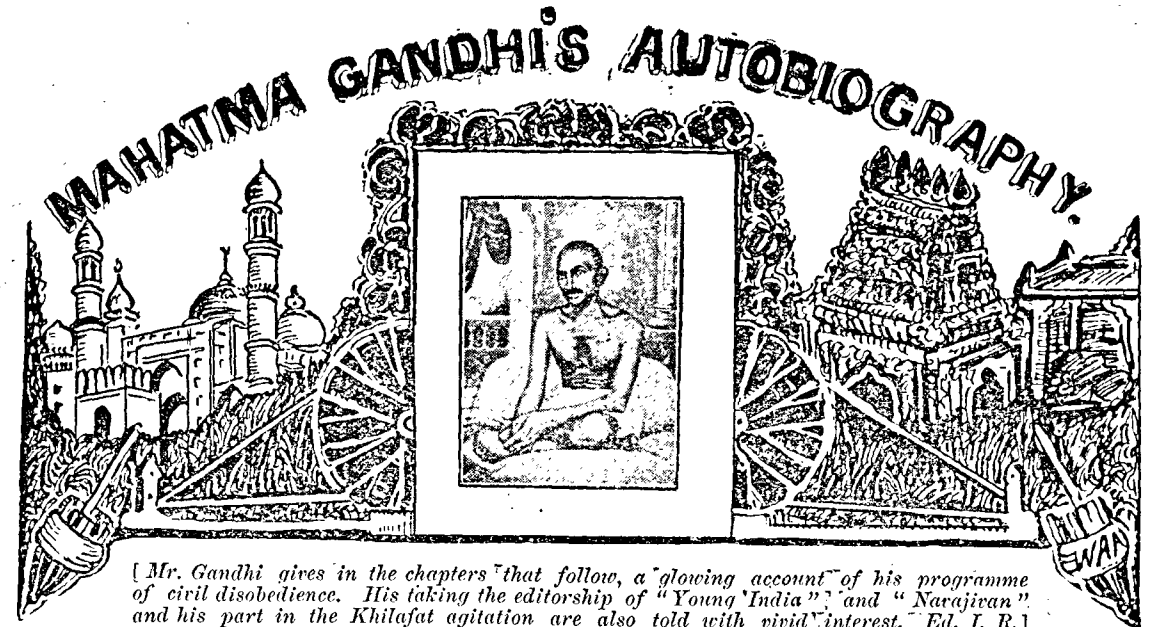
A heated controversy arose over Mrs. Chatoopathy's motion recommending the encouragement of inter-communal and inter-caste dinners and freedom of inter-marriage among the several communities inhabiting India. An amendment was moved for the deletion of the clause regarding freedom for inter-communal marriage on the ground of impracticability. The amendment, however, was negatived by eighty-two votes against forty-two, and the original motion was carried by a majority of votes.

Mrs. Brijlal Nehru moved

that this Conference views with alarm the evil consequences of early marriage, and is of opinion that, in view of the prevailing conservatism of people, it is necessary that the marriageable age of boys and girls be regulated by legislation, and this Conference, therefore, lends whole-hearted support to the provisions of the Sarda Bill and requests the Central Legislature and the Government of India to give full support to the same.

The Rev. Herbert Anderson moved a resolution recommending drastic State action against the menace of the drink and drug habit.

Similar summaries of the proceedings of the following other Conferences will appear in the next number: All-India Oriental Conference, Indian Philosophical Congress, Meeting of the Historical Records Commission, Associated Chambers of Commerce, All-India Press Conference, the Indian Science Congress, the Indian Economic Conference, The Federation of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, etc.



[Mr. Gandhi gives in the chapters that follow, a glowing account of his programme of civil disobedience. His taking the editorship of "Young India" and "Narajivan" and his part in the Khilafat agitation are also told with vivid interest. Ed. I. R.]

PART V.—CHAPTER XXXIII.

A HIMALAYAN MISCALCULATION

Almost immediately after the Ahmedabad meeting, I went to Nadiad. It was here that I first used the expression 'Himalayan miscalculation' which obtained such a wide currency afterwards. Even at Ahmedabad I had begun to have a dim perception of my mistake. But on reaching Nadiad as I saw the actual state of things there and heard reports about a large number of people from Kheda district having been arrested, it suddenly dawned upon me that I had committed a grave error in calling upon the people in the Kheda district and elsewhere to launch upon civil disobedience prematurely as it now seemed to me. I was then addressing a public meeting. My confession brought down upon me no small amount of of ridicule. But I have never regretted having made that confession. For I have always held that it is only when one sees one's own mistakes with a convex lens and does just the reverse in the case of others that one is able to arrive at a just relative estimate of the two. I further believe that a scrupulous and conscientious observance of this rule is necessary for one who wants to be a Satyagrahi.

Let us now see what that Himalayan miscalculation was. Before one can be fit for the practice of civil disobedience, one must have rendered a willing and respectful obedience to the state laws. For the most part we obey such laws for fear of the penalty for their breach and this holds good particularly in respect of such laws as do not involve a moral principle. For instance, an honest, respectable man will not suddenly take to stealing irrespective of whether there is a law against stealing or not, but this very man will not feel any remorse for failure to observe the rule about carrying head-lights on the bicycles after dark. Indeed, it is doubtful whether he would at once take kindly to advice to be more careful in this respect. But he would observe any obligatory rule of this kind, if only to escape the inconvenience of facing a prosecution for a breach of the rule. Such compliance will not, however, constitute the willing and spontaneous obedience that is required of a Satyagrahi. A Satyagrahi obeys the laws of society intelligently and of his own free will, because he considers it to be his sacred duty to do so. It is only when a person has thus obeyed the laws of society scrupulously that he is in a position to judge as to which

particular rules are good and just and which unjust and iniquitous. Only then does the right accrue to him of the civil disobedience of certain laws in well-defined circumstances. My error lay in my failure to observe this necessary limitation. I had called upon the people to launch upon civil disobedience before they had thus qualified themselves for it, and this mistake of mine seemed to me to be of a Himalayan magnitude. As soon as I entered the Kheda district, all the old recollections of the Kheda Satyagraha struggle came back to me and I wondered how I could have failed to perceive what was so obvious. I realised that before a people could be fit for offering civil disobedience they should thoroughly understand its deeper implications.

But it may be rightly argued : how can a people who are in the habit of frequently evading laws, as most people are, suddenly grasp the significance of civil disobedience or keep themselves within its strict bounds? I admit that it is no easy matter for thousands and hundreds of thousands of people to fulfil the ideal conditions mentioned above. That being so, before re-starting civil disobedience on a mass scale, it would be necessary to create a band of well-trying, pure-hearted volunteers who thoroughly understood the strict conditions of Satyagraha. They could explain these to the people and, by sleepless vigilance, keep them on to the right path.

With these thoughts filling my mind, I reached Bombay, though the Satyagraha Sabha there raised a corps of Satyagrahi volunteers, and, with their help, commenced the work of educating the people with regard to the meaning and inner significance of Satyagraha. This was principally done by issuing leaflets of an educative character bearing on the subject.

But whilst this work was going on, I could see that it was a difficult task to interest the people in the peaceful side of Satyagraha. The volunteers too failed to enlist themselves in their

numbers. Nor did all those who actually did enlist take anything like a regular systematic training, and as the days passed by, the number of fresh recruits began gradually to dwindle instead of growing. I realised that the progress of the training in civil disobedience was not going to be as rapid as I had at first expected.

PART V—CHAPTER XXXIV.

NAVAJIVAN AND YOUNG INDIA

Thus whilst this movement for the preservation of non-violence was making steady though ever slow progress on the one hand, Government's policy of lawless repression was in full career on the other, and was manifesting itself in the Punjab in its nakedness. Leaders were put under arrest, martial law, which, in other words, meant no law, was proclaimed, special tribunals were set up. These tribunals were not courts of justice, but only instruments for carrying out the arbitrary will of an autocrat. Sentences were passed unwarranted by evidence and in flagrant violation of justice. In Amritsar, innocent men and women were made to crawl like worms on their bellies. Before this procedure, the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy paled into insignificance in my eyes, though it was this massacre principally that attracted the attention of the people of India and of the world.

I was pressed to proceed to the Punjab immediately in disregard of consequences. I wrote and also telegraphed to the Viceroy asking for permission to go there, but in vain. If I proceeded without the necessary permission, I would not be allowed to cross the boundary of the Punjab and be left to find what satisfaction I could from civil disobedience. The question what to do therefore resolved itself for me into a serious dilemma. As things stood, to break the order against my entry into the Punjab, could, it seemed to me, hardly be classed as civil disobedience, for I did not see around me the kind of peaceful atmosphere that I wanted, and the unbridled repression in the Punjab had further served to aggravate and deepen the

feelings of resentment. For me, therefore, to offer civil disobedience at such a time would have been like fanning the flame. I therefore decided not to proceed to the Punjab in spite of the suggestion of friends. It was a bitter pill for me to swallow. Tales of rank injustice and oppression came daily pouring in from the Punjab, but all I could do was to sit helplessly by and gnash my teeth.

Just then Mr. Horniman, in whose hands the BOMBAY CHRONICLE had become a formidable force, was suddenly spirited away by the authorities. This act of the Government seemed to me to be surrounded by a foulness which still stinks in my nostrils. I know that Mr. Horniman never desired lawlessness. He had not liked my breaking the prohibitory order of the Punjab Government without the permission of the Satyagraha Committee and had fully endorsed the decision to suspend civil disobedience. I had even received from him a letter advising suspension before I had announced my decision to that effect. Only owing to the distance between Bombay and Ahmedabad, I got the letter after the announcement. His sudden deportation therefore caused me as much pain as surprise.

As a result of these developments, I was asked by the directors of the BOMBAY CHRONICLE to take up the responsibility of conducting that paper. Mr. Brelvi was there on the staff already, so, not much remained to be done by me, but as usual with my nature, the responsibility became an additional tax on me.

But the Government came as it were to my rescue, for, by its action, the publication of the CHRONICLE had to be suspended.

The friends who were directing the management of the CHRONICLE, viz., Messrs. Omar Sobani and Shankarlal Banker were at this time controlling YOUNG INDIA also. They suggested that in view of the suppression of the CHRONICLE, I should now take up the editorship of YOUNG INDIA, and further, that in order to fill the gap left by the former,

YOUNG INDIA should be converted from a weekly into a bi-weekly organ. This was what I felt also. I was anxious to expound the inner meaning of Satyagraha to the public and also hoped that through this effort, I should at least be able to do justice to the Punjab situation. For behind all I wrote, there was potential Satyagraha, and the Government knew as much. I therefore readily accepted the suggestion made by these friends.

But how could the general public be trained in Satyagraha through the medium of English? My principal field of work lay in Gujarat. Sjt. Indulal Yajnik was at the time associated with the group of Messrs. Sobani and Banker. He was conducting the Gujarati monthly NAVAJIVAN which had the financial backing of these friends. They placed the monthly at my disposal, and further, Sjt. Indulal offered to work on it. This monthly was converted into a weekly.

In the meantime, the CHRONICLE was resuscitated. YOUNG INDIA was therefore restored to its original weekly form. To publish the two weeklies from two different places would have been very inconvenient to me and would have involved more expenditure. And as NAVAJIVAN was already being published from Ahmedabad, YOUNG INDIA too at my suggestion was removed there.

There were other reasons besides for this change. I had already learnt from my experience with INDIAN OPINION that such journals needed a press of their own. Moreover, the press laws in force in India at that time were such that if I wanted to express my views untrammelled, the existing printing presses which were naturally run for business would hesitate to publish them. The need for setting up a press of our own, therefore, became all the more imperative, and since this could be conveniently done only at Ahmedabad, YOUNG INDIA too had to be taken there.

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Through these journals, I now commenced the work of educating the reading public in Satyagraha to the best of my ability. Both of them had reached a very wide circulation which at one time rose to the neighbourhood of forty thousand in each case. But while the circulation of *NAVAJIVAN* went up at a bound, that of *YOUNG INDIA* increased only by slow degrees. After my incarceration, the circulation of both these journals fell to a low ebb, and to-day stands below eight thousand.

From the very start, I set my face against taking advertisements in these journals. I do not think that they have lost anything thereby. On the contrary, it is my belief that it has in no small measure helped them to maintain their independence.

Incidentally, these journals helped me also to some extent to remain at peace with myself, for whilst immediate resort to civil disobedience was out of the question, they enabled me freely to ventilate my views and to put heart into the people. Thus, in my opinion, both the journals rendered yeoman's service to the people in this hour of trial, and did their humble bit towards lightening the tyranny of the martial law.

PART V.—CHAPTER XXXV.

IN THE PUNJAB

Sir Michael O'Dwyer held me responsible for all that had happened in the Punjab and some irate young Punjabis held me responsible for the martial law. They asserted that if only I had not suspended civil disobedience, there should have been no Jallianwala Bagh massacre. Some of them even went the length of threatening me with assassination if I went to the Punjab.

But I felt that my position was so correct and above question that no intelligent person could misunderstand it.

I was impatient to go to the Punjab. I had never been there before and that made me all the more anxious to see things for myself there at first

hand. Dr. Satyapal, Dr. Kitchlew and Pandit Rambhaji Dutt Chowdhari who had invited me to the Punjab were at this time in jail. But I felt sure that the Government could not dare to keep them and the other prisoners in prison for long. A large number of Punjabis used to come and see me whenever I was in Bombay. I ministered to them a word of cheer on these occasions and that would comfort them. My self-confidence at the time was infectious.

But my going to the Punjab had to be postponed time and again. The Viceroy would say 'not yet' every time I asked for permission to go there, and so the thing dragged on.

In the meantime, the Hunter Committee was announced to hold an inquiry in connection with the Punjab Government's doings under the martial law. Mr. C. F. Andrews had also reached there. His letters gave a heart-rending description of the state of things there which left me with the impression that the martial law atrocities were in fact even worse than the press reports showed. He pressed me urgently to go and join him. At the same time, Malaviyaji sent telegrams asking me to proceed to the Punjab at once. I once more telegraphed to the Viceroy asking whether I could now go to the Punjab. He wired back in reply that I could go there after a certain date. I cannot exactly recall it now, but I think it was 17th of October.

The scene that I witnessed on my arrival at Lahore can never be effaced from my memory. The railway station was from end to end one seething mass of humanity. The entire populace had turned out of doors in eager expectation, as if to meet a dear relation after a long separation, and was delirious with joy. I was put up at the late Pandit Rambhaji Dutt's bungalow and the burden of entertaining me fell on the shoulders of Shrimati Sarala Devi. A burden it truly was for even then as now the place where I was accommodated became a veritable caravanserai,

Owing to the principal Punjab leaders being in jail, their place, I found, had been properly taken up by Pandit Malaviyaji, Pandit Motilalji and the late Swami Shraddhanandji. Malaviyaji and Shraddhanandji, I had intimately known before, but with Motilalji, I came in close personal contact for the first time only on this occasion. All these leaders as also such local leaders as had escaped the privilege of going to jail at once made me feel perfectly at home amongst them so that I never felt like a stranger in their midst.

How we unanimously decided not to lead evidence before the Hunter Committee is now a matter of history. The reasons for that decision were published at that time and need not be recapitulated here. Suffice it to say that looking back upon these events from this distance of time, I still feel that our decision to boycott the Committee, was absolutely correct and proper as also reasons for so doing.

As a logical consequence of the boycott of the Hunter Committee, it was decided to appoint a non-official inquiry Committee, to hold almost a parallel inquiry on behalf of the Congress. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the late Deshabandhu C. R. Das, Sjt. Abbas Tyebji, Sjt. M. R. Jayakar and myself were appointed to this Committee, virtually by Pandit Malaviyaji. We distributed ourselves over various places for purposes of inquiry. The responsibility for organising the work of the Committee devolved on me, and as the privilege of conducting the inquiry in the largest number of places fell to my lot, I got a rare opportunity of observing at close quarters the people of the Punjab and the Punjab villages.

In the course of my inquiry, I made my acquaintance with the women of the Punjab also. It was as if we had known one another for ages. Wherever I went, they flocked to me in their numbers and laid before me their heaps of yarn. My work in connection with the inquiry thus brought home to me the fact that the Punjab could become a great field for Khadi work.

As I proceeded further and further with my inquiry into the atrocities that had been committed on the people, I came across tales of Government's tyranny and arbitrary despotism of its officers such as I was hardly prepared for, and they filled me with deep pain. What surprised me then, and what still continues to fill me with surprise, was the fact that a province that had furnished the largest number of soldiers to the British Government during the War should have taken all these brutal excesses lying down.

The task of drafting the report of this Committee too was entrusted to me, and I would recommend a perusal of this report to any one who wants to have an idea of the kind of atrocities that were perpetrated on the Punjab people. All that I wish to say here about it is that there is not a single conscious exaggeration in it anywhere and every statement made in it is substantiated by evidence. Moreover, the evidence published was only a fraction of what was in the Committee's possession. Not a single statement regarding the validity of which there was the slightest room for doubt was permitted to appear in it. This report, prepared as it was solely with a view to bring out the truth and nothing but the truth, will enable the reader to see to what lengths the British Government is capable of going and what inhumanities and barbarities it is capable of perpetrating in order to maintain its power. So far as I am aware, not a single statement made in this report has ever been disproved.

PART V.—CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE KHILAFAT AGAINST COW PROTECTION?

We must now leave for the time being these dark happenings in the Punjab.

The Congress inquiry into Dyerism in the Punjab had just commenced when I received a general letter of invitation to be present at a joint Conference of Hindus and Mussalmans that was to meet at Delhi to deliberate on the Khilafat question. Among the signatories to it were the

late Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahab and Mr. Asaf Ali. The late Swami Shraddhanandji, it was stated, would be attending, and if I remember aright, he was to be the vice-president of the Conference which, so far as I can recollect, was to be held in the November of that year. The letter went on to say, among other things, that not only the Khilafat question, but the question of cow protection as well would be discussed at the Conference, and it would, therefore, afford a golden opportunity for a settlement of the cow question. I did not like this reference to the cow question. In my letter, in reply to the invitation, therefore, whilst promising to do my best to attend, I suggested that the two questions should not be mixed up together, or considered in the spirit of a bargain, but should be decided on their own merits and treated separately.

With these thoughts filling my mind, I went to the Conference. It was a very well-attended gathering, though it did not present the spectacle of later gatherings that were attended by tens of thousands. I discussed the question referred to above with the late Swami Shraddhanandji who was present at the Conference. He appreciated my argument and left it to me to place it before the Conference. I likewise discussed it with the late Hakim Sahab. Before the Conference, I contended that if the Khilafat question had a just and legitimate basis, as I believe it had, and if the Government had really committed a gross injustice, the Hindus were bound to stand by the Mussalmans in their demand for the redress of the Khilafat wrong. It would ill become them to bring in the cow question in this connection, or to use the occasion to make terms with the Mussalmans, just as it would ill become the Mussalmans to offer to stop cow slaughter as a price for the Hindus' support on the Khilafat question. But it would be another matter, and quite graceful, and reflect great credit on them, if the Mussalmans of their own free will stopped cow slaughter out of

regard for the religious sentiments of the Hindus, and form a sense of duty towards them as neighbours and children of the same soil. To take up such an independent attitude was, I contended, their duty, and would enhance the dignity of their conduct. But if the Mussalmans considered it as their neighbourly duty to stop cow slaughter, they should do so regardless of whether the Hindus helped them in the Khilafat or not. 'That being so,' I argued, 'the two questions should be discussed independently of each other and the deliberations of the Conference should be confined to the question of the Khilafat only.' My argument appealed to those present, and as a result, the question of cow protection was not discussed at this Conference. But in spite of my warning, the Mussalmans felt called upon at later conferences always to allude to the duty of stopping cow slaughter in grateful recognition of the Hindus' help on the Khilafat question. And at one time it almost looked as if they would really put an end to it.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani was present in this meeting. I had known him even before, but it was only here that I discovered what a fighter he was. We differed from each other almost from the very beginning, and in several matters the differences have persisted.

Among the numerous resolutions that were passed at this Conference, one called upon both Hindus and Mussalmans to take the Swadeshi vow, and as a natural corollary to it, to boycott foreign goods. Khadi had not as yet found its proper place. This was not a resolution that Hasrat Sahab would accept. His object was to wreak vengeance on the British Empire in case justice was denied in the matter of the Khilafat. Accordingly, he brought in a counter-proposal for the boycott purely of British goods so far as practicable. I opposed it on the score of principle, as also practicability, adducing for it my arguments that have now become pretty familiar. I also put

before the Conference my view-point of non-violence. I noticed that my arguments made a deep impression on the audience. Before me, Hasrat Mohani's speech had been received with such loud acclamations that I was afraid that mine would only be a cry in the wilderness. I had made bold to speak, only because I felt that it would be a dereliction of duty not to lay my views before the Conference. But to my agreeable surprise, my speech was followed with the closest attention by those present, and evoked a full measure of support among those on the platform, and speaker after speaker rose to deliver speeches in support of my views. The leaders were able to see that not only would the boycott of British goods fail of its purpose, but would, if adopted, make of them a laughing stock. There was hardly a man present in that assembly but had some article of British manufacture on his person. Many of the audience therefore realised that nothing but harm could result from adopting a resolution that even those who voted for it were unable to carry out.

'Mere boycott of foreign cloth cannot satisfy us, for who knows how long it will be before we shall be able to manufacture Swadeshi cloth in sufficient quantity for our needs, and before we can bring about an effective boycott of foreign cloth? We want something that will produce an immediate effect on the British. Let your boycott of foreign cloth stand, we do not mind it, but give us something quicker, and speedier in addition'—so spoke in effect Maulana Hasrat Mohani. Even as I was listening to him, I felt that something new, over and above boycott of foreign cloth, would be necessary. An immediate boycott of foreign cloth seemed to me also to be a clear impossibility at that time. I did not then know that we could, if we liked, produce enough Khadi for all our clothing requirements; this was only a later discovery. On the other hand, I knew, even then, that if we depended on the mills alone for effect-

ing the boycott of foreign cloth, we should be betrayed. I was still in the middle of this dilemma when the Maulana concluded his speech.

I was handicapped for want of suitable Hindi or Urdu words. This was my first occasion for delivering an argumentative speech before an audience especially composed of Mussalmans of the North. I had spoken in Urdu at the Muslim League at Calcutta, but it was only for a few minutes, and the speech was intended only to be a feeling appeal to the audience. Here, on the contrary, I was faced with a critical, if not hostile, audience to whom I had to explain and bring home my view-point. But I had cast aside all shyness. I was not there to deliver an address in the faultless, polished Urdu of the Delhi Muslims, but to place before the gathering my views in such broken Hindi as I could command. And in this I was successful. This meeting afforded me a direct proof of the fact that Hindi-Urdu alone could become the *lingua franca* of India. Had I spoken in English, I could not have produced the impression that I did on the audience, and the Maulana might not have felt called upon to deliver his challenge. Nor, if he had delivered it, could I have taken up effectively.

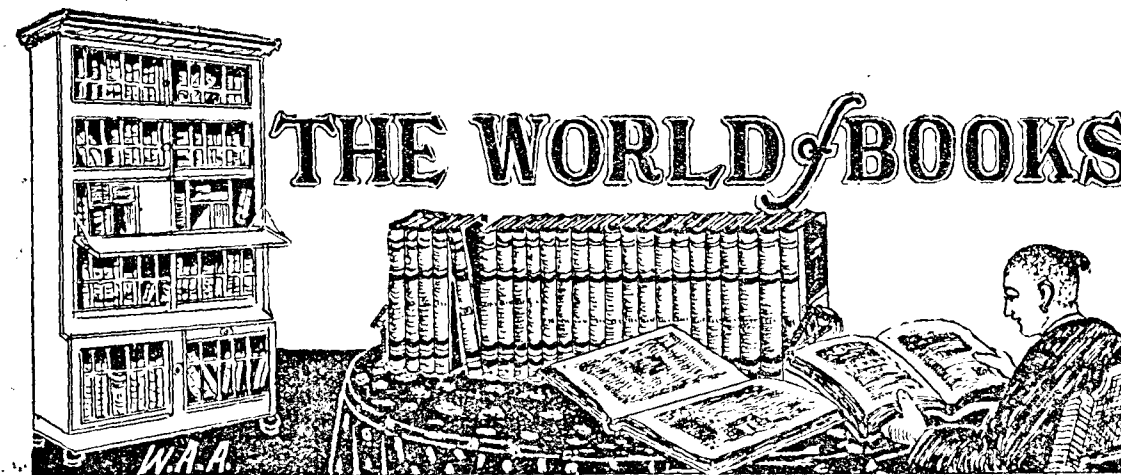
I could not hit upon a suitable Hindi or Urdu word for the new idea, and that put me out somewhat. At last, I described it by the word 'Non-co-operation,' an expression that I used for the first time at this meeting. As the Maulana was delivering his speech, it seemed to me that it was vain for him to talk about effective resistance to a Government with which he was co-operating in more than one thing, if resort to arms was impossible or undesirable. The only true resistance to the Government, it therefore seemed to me, was to cease to co-operate with it. Thus I arrived at the word non-co-operation. I had not then a clear idea of all its manifold implications. I therefore did not enter into details. So far as I remember, this meeting adopted a resolution about non-co-operation, but it was several months before the idea made further headway. It remained buried for months in the records of this Conference.

LOVE IN DEATH

BY

MR. LELAND J. BERRY

Into the hush of evening
 A thrush poured golden melody . . .
 Far away, in some dim wood,
 Rose and fell sweet Evensong.
 In the trees an owl sent forth
 His eerie cry.
 A Night-jar called . . . his mate,
 With a fluttering thrill
 Answered him . . . and went.
 On the rain-washed hill, where the moon
 Spilt a cascade of gold . . .
 Sang the breeze . . . such a song!
 Not wild . . . neither coarse . . .
 More like a lullaby
 Sung to a child who would dream,
 Who would sleep.
 There in the moon-shadow . . .
 It seemed as tho' fingers . . .
 Unseen fingers . . . plucked at the
 Chords of my heart,
 Till they throbbed . . . and they sang . . .
 And they wept.
 Away in the shadows over the hill
 I heard a voice calling,
 Ever calling to me!
 My soul dazed and frantic
 Cried aloud "Is she coming?"
 "No, no!" "Sang the thrush,
 "For she is sleeping
 In yonder dim church"
 "Never coming?" I cried,
 "Will she never awake?"
 But the thrush sang on
 As if in wild pain.
 My soul in its torment
 Screamed in the night,
 "Is she coming. . . . is she coming?"
 When a soft mantle of quiet
 Seemed to fall on the night
 Unseen hands caressed me. . . .
 Lips brushed against mine. . .
 "Is she coming" I whispered
 And Night, with a sigh, answered
 "Peace. . . she is here!"



THE DEVELOPMENT OF EXTRA TERRITORIALITY
 IN CHINA. Two Volumes, by G. W. Keeton,
 M.A., LL.M. Longmans, Green & Co., London.

In the closing years of the last century, the desire to reform the Judicial administration took hold of China. The inspiration came from the spectacle of Japan successfully modernising its administration and having had all Ex-territorial rights abolished within its dominions. Great Britain and United States encouraged the desire by promising that so soon as the administration was put in order, they would consider the relinquishment of their extra-territorial rights. China appointed a Commission including therein some Japanese experts, realising that the adaptation of Western Institutions to an Eastern country would be helped by the presence on the Commission of persons who had achieved it in their own country. The Commission prepared drafts of the necessary Codes—Civil, Criminal, Commercial and Procedural. This was completed before 1910, but they underwent revisions once in 1914 and again in 1919. Troubles at home and the world War prevented further progress.

At the Peace Conference in 1919, China made proposals for the extinction of all ex-territorial rights on two conditions, that the prepared Codes were duly promulgated, and that new Courts were

established for only administering them in all the districts where foreigners resided. The proposal was not then accepted and China did not sign the Peace treaty. The matter was brought up in 1922 at the Washington Conference. A resolution was adopted for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into and report on the practice of Ex-territoriality and to assist China in effecting reforms so as to facilitate the relinquishment of these rights. The commission made its recommendations in 1927, but they fell short of Chinese expectations. The recommendations suggested what China should do in the way of promulgation of laws and improvement of Judicial and prison administration and what modifications in the procedure of ex-territoriality should be made pending its final abolition and recommended that even while China was half-way through the reforms, the foreign Powers might consider the progressive abolition of their rights.

The first volume deals with the growth of foreign jurisdiction in China, and the second volume, after referring to the labours of the Ex-territoriality Commission and the reform of Chinese laws, deals with the nature and extent of such rights in China and shortly with the history of ex-territoriality. The Appendix to this Volume collects matter from original documents relating to ex-territoriality.

THE LIFE OF GENERAL LORD RAWLINSON.

By Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice. Cassell and Company Ltd., (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 18-12-0.)

This excellent record of the life of the great soldier will be read with interest not only by his numerous military friends and associates but by many of the members of the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State who came into intimate contact with him when he was Commander-in-Chief in India. The chief merit of this biography lies in the fact that it is based almost entirely on the diaries and the journals which Rawlinson maintained ever since he joined the Army in 1884 quite as a young man. During his career, though unexpectedly cut short, Lord Rawlinson saw much more of the world than other soldiers. Furthermore, he enjoyed close friendship with Roberts and Kitchener under whom he worked for many years in many capacities. This biography, based on his diaries which show in his own words the development of his mind, throws a flood of light on many incidents during his career, particularly in the period of the Great War, and one will notice for the first time many things revealed, hitherto unknown to the public at large. To us in India the chapters dealing with the period in which he held the responsible position of Commander-in-Chief and Member of the Viceroy's Council is of particular interest. He assumed office at a time when the finances of India were in a terribly low condition and the cry against the colossal military expenditure was at its height. Instead of looking at the question purely from the point of view of the plain soldier and insisting on all that he thought desirable, he deliberately co-operated with the Finance Minister and the politicians with a view to avoid an *impasse* "which would be good neither for India in particular nor for the Empire in general". He gave all possible help to the Incheape Committee, and, in 1925, was able to note with satisfaction that he brought down Indian

military expenditure to 56.25 crores from 82 crores in 1921: He had reduced the British garrison of India from 75,367 to 57,080, and the Indian army from 159,000 to 140,000, a total reduction of 37,000 men. It was a satisfaction to him that these economies and reduction "were brought about in combination with a great increase in efficiency". In the view of many, Indian military expenditure could have been still further reduced, but it is due to Lord Rawlinson to state that in spite of the pressure of the soldiers round him and the War Office which had no scruples in saddling India with a heavy burden, he tried his best to relieve India as much as possible.

The extracts from his *Journal*, particularly those relating to India, reveal his inner mind. Some of his observations and reflections have been given expression to times without number by a few other Anglo-Indian critics, not to speak of the Indian publicists. Here is an extract about the "uneconomical" character of the Indian administration.

"After two years' experience of Indian Government, I have come to the conclusion that it is one of the most uneconomical in the world to-day. In general method and in detail, it is out of date. The state and display which the Moguls introduced into India on a lavish scale, two hundred and odd years ago, still surrounds the Viceroy, the Governors of Provinces, and the Indian States."

The book contains many other extracts from his Diaries which prove that he was by no means unfriendly to the Indian demand for Home Rule. We shall close this brief review of this very interesting book with the following quotation:—

"The fact is that the Home Government, having introduced the Reform schemes, are now afraid they are going too fast. They are trying to put on the brake, and the machine is inclined to run away from them. But we must either trust the Indian or not trust him. The schemes have got to be carried out honestly in their entirety, with a view to eventual Dominion self-Government, or else we must return to the old method of ruling India with the sword. There is no half-way house."

Comment on this is needless.

LIFE AND TIMES OF C. R. DAS. By Prithvis Chandra Ray. Oxford University Press.

This is not merely a personal memoir of one of the distinguished sons of India but a well-written account of the History of Bengal during the first quarter of the twentieth century. A perusal of this volume and of that of the *REMINISCENCES OF FIFTY YEARS OF PUBLIC LIFE IN BENGAL* by the late Sir Surendranath Banerjea, published by the same firm sometime ago, will give the reader an idea of not only the career of two great Bengalee leaders, but a clearer perception of the history of Indian politics for over half-a-century.

Beginning with a brief, but well-written account of the history of Bengal in the Mid-Victorian Era, the author depicts in a vivid manner the conditions under which Chitta Ranjan Das entered politics, and how, throughout his career, he represented in his life "the high watermark of strength and tenacity, as well as the spirit of revolt and unrest," which has been such a striking feature of Indian political life for sometime past. When Chitta Ranjan Das seriously entered politics in 1917, two different streams of political ideas mingled and joined their waters to create a surging tide of national sentiment. With penetrating insight, he grasped the situation, particularly "regarding the genesis of a revolutionary mentality in the country". According to him, "this spirit is closely associated with the hunger of the human heart for freedom" and nothing but a searching inquiry into the condition of the people and bold remedies to palliate their distrust would assuage this spirit. Swaraj, or Self-Government, was, in his opinion, the only remedy, and to achieve this end, he left no stone unturned. The story of the Swarajya party, its foundation and his tremendous and self-sacrificing labours to make it a telling political organisation in the country, the way in which he brought the Government of Bengal to a stand-still by throwing out of power more than one Ministry, the circumstances under which he was

consigned to gaol and, later on released, all these form interesting reading.

To many unacquainted with the inner history of Bengal politics during the period Das held supreme sway, his career and doings would strike as purely destructive. That this was not true could easily be gathered from the fact that sometime in 1925 at the instance of a mutual friend, "a triangular negotiation between Chitta Ranjan Das, Lord Lytton, and the Government of India" had been opened in the hope of finding some way out of the tangle and dead-lock which had come about in Bengal through the vote of the local council over Ministers' salaries. Hence it was at the Bengal Provincial Conference at Faridpore on May 2nd, 1925, he courageously defined his new position as one of willingness, under certain conditions, to accept the gesture from Whitehall, and though his "new attitude" gave him for the moment an unquiet time with his followers, still he clung to it like a man hoping that Government at home will have the wisdom to make a move in the right direction. It was at the Faridpur Conference in May 1925, his last public utterance, that he made the following unequivocal statement.

Indeed, the Empire idea gives a vivid sense of many advantages. Dominion Status to-day is, in no sense, servitude. It is essentially an alliance by consent of those who form part of the Empire for material advantages in the real spirit of co-operation.

Chitta Ranjan thought that the visit of Lord Reading to England would result in something, but he was grievously disappointed. It is pathetic to read that "hope deferred made his heart sick, and, in his broken health, it perhaps proved much a strain for his shattered nerves." At Darjeeling where he had gone for rest and from where he was hoping from Lord Reading for a message of conciliation, his health grew worse and after a few days of fever, on Tuesday, June 16th, he quietly passed away. Sir Rabindra Nath truly summed up his life when he said:—

The best gift that Chitta Ranjan has left for his countrymen is not any particular political or social programme, but the creative force of a great aspiration that has taken a deathless form in the sacrifice which his life represented.

THE UNIVERSAL ASPECTS OF FASCISM. By James Strachey Barnes (Williams and Norgate, Ltd. 10s. 6d.)

Fascism is held in disfavour by the generality of English writers, and no wonder. For if there is any single element of final validity in that movement, it is the negative one of repudiating England's special contribution to European politics. Fascism is essentially a reaction against Liberalism and the Parliamentary machine. It is therefore of interest that an English student of affairs should apply himself to the examination of the universal aspects of Fascism, and there is special value because it has received the *imprimatur* of the Duce himself.

At root, the contrast between Liberalism and Fascism is easy to get at. To the Liberal, the individual is supreme in the age-long fight with the authority of the State; the Fascist maintains the superiority of the organised State. This is an ancient antithesis, taking you back to Plato and Aristotle; but the modern doctrine was truly stated for the first time by Hobbes. Fascism is just the doctrine of Hobbes, as subsequently modified in expression and experience. The State is conceived as a necessary and wholly beneficent institution and Mussolini is its Prophet. Mr. Barnes pursues the implications of this conception with interest and suggestiveness. His thesis for Empire as a right growth out of the vital State is particularly stimulating and true.

All the same, Fascism is no more than the successful attempt to secure power for the propertied classes in the confusion created by the break-down of the post-War Italian State. If Mussolini had not quarrelled with the Socialists on the Intervention controversy, it is quite on the cards that he might have established a Soviet. As it was, the workmen failed to throw up a Lenin; and the coming of Fascism was inevitable. The Fascist was brought into being by the need there was for somebody to save society from destruction.

INDIA IN THE CRUCIBLE. By C. S. Ranga Iyer, Selwyn and Blount, London. Rs. 5-10. To be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

IN INDIA IN THE CRUCIBLE, the author, after taking a rapid survey of Indian politics—past and present—and after condemning the method and manner in which the Simon Commission has been constituted, and the way in which it is going about the country in search of evidence, makes suggestive criticisms as to how the authorities in England and India should set about to solve the problem of India's Future. After subjecting the policy and result of the Minto-Morley and Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, to a very searching analysis, Mr. Ranga Iyer very rightly points out that "steady co-operation and unwavering loyalty" are impossible so long as the present state of things continue and the Indian problem remains unsolved. Says Mr. Ranga Iyer:—

The only solution is a bold application of the Colonial experience to that vast and mysterious country in the faith which moves mountains, that human nature is everywhere the same, and not in that lack of faith which makes mountains of molehills. That lack of faith in human nature lost for England the United States. If India is denied Dominion Status, she will be a lost Dominion.

* * * * *

The danger lies in haggling; in the Liberal-Labour policy of rallying the Moderates and harrying the Extremists; in diluting the wine of Reforms with water of repression. Wisdom and foresight will placate the Extremists and pulverise their movement not by the use of gunpowder, but by meeting them more than three-fourths the way as in Ireland.

Doles, crumbs from the master's table, may please the indolent and the beggars who cannot be choosers—though that class is fast becoming extinct in India—not those whole-hogger constitutionalists who have chosen "Swaraj within the Empire" as India's birthright and must have it. They are the backbone of India's struggle. They are the light and beacon of India's masses. They will spurn autonomy in dribblets.

Anything short of an honourable compromise 'will not kill agitation, will not weaken and destroy the extremist movement, will not wean the Arthur Griffiths and Michael Collins of India from the terrible course they have resolved to tread.'

FROM PARIS TO LOCARNO & AFTER. F. Alexander. M. A., (Oxon.) J. M. Dent & Sons, London 5/-net.

There seems to be quite a fashion nowadays in books on the League. Many of them are quite worthy contributions to the sum total of knowledge concerning the League, and some are not. This one, however, has earned its place in the former category. It is a well thought-out book.

Mr. Alexander has had considerable experience in presenting the facts of the League to University classes and Australian audiences, and in this book he uses that experience to good effect. Both the facile optimist of the League of Nations Union circles, and the cynical pessimist outside, will find much to make them think in the pages of this book.

The author is not blind to the dangers within and without the League, and, for that reason, he faces facts as they are and uses them to show how much the world to-day needs the League, and the League to-day needs the loyal support of the peoples of the World. He shows how the point of view of British League officials and that of League officials from Continental Countries differs, and yet how these points of view can be reconciled within the League, if only the will to agree is present.

Quite eighty pages of this book are given up to Appendices which give verbatim such important documents as the Covenant, The Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, and extracts from the Locarno agreements. The Bibliography at the end of the book is choice, but might have been much larger with profit to the student of international affairs.

This is a book well worth buying by the student of law, history or politics, and it certainly should find a place in every public library.

RAJ, BRIGAND CHIEF. By Amy Carmichael, Seely Service & Co. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price, Rs. 4-8).

This is a remarkable book. The authoress, a missionary of many years' service, assures us that it tells the true story of Raj, dacoit and fugitive from the police, as seen by her. She writes not only in a vivid and poetic style, but also with intense religious feeling. We read of Raj's early days: of his athletic and sporting nature and of his flight from his home on being "wanted" by the police on a charge falsely brought against him. He goes abroad, but soon returns to India, drawn by his family, and then takes up a real life of crime as a highway robber. But he robs in Robin Hood's way, returns their jewels to the poor and lowly, and escorts the weak safely to the end of their journey, and he soon becomes a popular and almost legendary character in the country side. At this stage, the authoress meets him and plants the first seed of Christian feelings in him.

Raj, converted, breaks jail, escapes, and takes to the jungle with a faithful companion, determined, Carunia tells us, to rob no more. But the dacoities continue, and he gains an increasing reputation with officialdom, and in the country-side as a bold and determined outlaw.

The story, apart from its interest as showing the reaction to Christian teaching, of a character strong and virile, but entirely lawless, contains a powerful indictment of the tyranny and brutality of man to man.

DATURA. A Romance of Kenya. By Jane Rodner. (Hutchinson & Co., Publishers, Ltd.)

A 'Marriage de Convenance' in England, a visit to Africa, the birth of a new life and a new love for the heroine under African skies, and the solution of this tangle and conflict of marriage and love, this is the plot of the story. And an old plot it is. Yet the story is told so skilfully and the scenes and life in Kenya are painted with such sympathy and insight that the interest of the reader never flags till the end.

"CHASTITY". By Joan Conquest. (T. Werner Laurie & Co., 7s. 6d.) To be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 5-10.

There is so much to delight the reader in "Chastity," 'Joan Conquest's new novel, that one wishes she had treated her main theme less laboriously. That real chastity consists in an attitude



JOAN CONQUEST.

of mind and not in simply obeying a temporary social code of morals, is a truth that can afford to be stated and re-stated; but to dwell too frequently upon the ugliness of lust has the contrary effect to the production of virtue. A horror that glows fiercely has an attraction of its own, and is a danger to the uninitiated. The secondary theme, carpets, that runs as a thread throughout the book is truly delightful. At times, it becomes almost lyrical and should be much enjoyed in India, where carpets have had a greater meaning than that of being merely floor coverings. Indian readers, however, will have their enjoyment somewhat marred by the author's eulogy of the honour and chivalry of the white man to the detriment of the non-white, as though virtue were the natural prerogative of the first and not something that had to be fought for by all and belongs to any, irrespective of race and country, who desire it and struggle to obtain it.

KATHAKOPANISHAD—SANSKRIT TEXT WITH ENGLISH METRICAL VERSION. By D. Venkatramiah, B.A., L.T. Macmillan and Co.

The Kathakopanishad, more familiarly known as the Kathopanishad, is noteworthy as containing the famous story of Nachiketas. Mr. Venkatramiah has attempted a translation in Iambic tetrameter, the lines being left unrhymed. The translation is "based on Sri Sankaracharya's COMMENTARY and other Advaitic interpretations of the Upanishad". There is an introduction which brings out the salient features of the teaching imparted, and there are numerous foot-notes which try to explain whatever may seem obscure. There is a glossary. The translation, being in verse, perhaps gives a better idea of the original than a purely prose version: but it may be remarked that a perfect medium in English for the translation of Sanskrit verse remains yet to be discovered. On the whole, however, the book can cordially be recommended to all those who wish to study the Upanishad.

SHORT STORIES OF TO-DAY AND YESTERDAY.

Arnold Bennett, George G. Harrap, London.

Bennett's pocket philosophies have made us familiar with a pleasant and cheerful temperament which insists on making the best of life. Bennett imports the same philosophy into the stories. But that is not to say that he preaches; on the other hand, the stories are thoroughly diverting. Bennett's material is so apparently unpromising, so monotonously common-place that we wonder that he makes it so interesting at all. The fact is, like a true artist, he discovers, in the dull and drab surroundings of a modern industrial district, material for dramatic situations of vivid interest, instinct with colour and romance. And he makes the most of them.

WELLINGTON. By Oliver Brett. With illustrations and maps. William Heinemann. Ltd., London.

This biography of a great warrior of whom so much has been already written, may appear superfluous; but its presentation as a man, of the hero of Waterloo, "beneath the actions of his military and public life, beneath the blinding glamour of his surpassing fame", justifies its publication, while the attention that he has received from posterity continues unabated.

Born of the governing class and pushed early in life into position and rank in the army, even more quickly than was usually the case, he yet displayed from the first those qualities which were the foundation both of his character and of his success. His Indian career, marked by the culminating victory of Assaye, has been cast into shade by the glories of the Peninsular War and of Waterloo; but it served as the foundation of his knowledge and experience; and even had his life closed after this, he would have been regarded as an exceptionally resolute and able soldier-statesman who bestowed permanence and stability on the British dominion in India.

It is a pleasure to read, through the pages of this flowing book, the life of a man, who though a product of war, hated all war and continually opposed all forms of militarism.

AIDS TO SCOUTING. By Lt. General Sir Robert Baden Powell, K. C. B. Gale and Polden Ltd., Publishers, London. Price 1sh. 182 pages.

This little book which is intended for N-C-O's and men is eminently practical, and contains very useful information. The Author, who has studied the art of scouting in many countries and under various conditions, has included in this work, the result of his personal experiences and actual practice in peace and war. The book is both handy in size and popular in price, and it should be in the hands of every scout and soldier.

MY LADY OF THE INDIAN PURDAH. By Elizabeth Cooper, Stokes Company, New York, N. Y.

This is a cleverly written love story built upon the Western model but placed in an Indian setting. While the author sustains the interest to the end, yet at times, the reader cannot but feel the artificiality of the story, particularly if one has had acquaintance somewhat with Indian conditions.

One could hardly imagine an Indian princess falling in love with a member of the Indian Civil Service in the manner described in this story. However, since the heroine is an Indian lady and the hero an Englishman, the scene of the plot Eastern, and the writer Western, we could hardly expect the story to be drawn true to life in either direction.

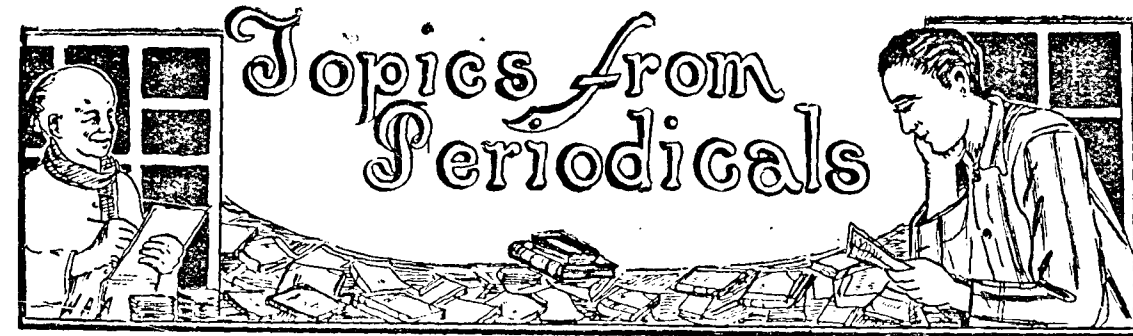
As an interesting love story, the book is well worth reading. As an insight into Oriental life at the courts of the Rajahs, it contributes much, but is not to be counted as wholly reliable, the picture being somewhat overdrawn.

THE FEET OF YOUNG MEN. By The Janitor. Duck-Worth, London.

We know a little too much of our elder men. Baldwin's pipes and the flippancies of Birkenhead are sufficiently advertised. We hardly know anything of the men who in ten years' time will take the place of the men of an earlier generation. Should we not be at least as interested in the future as in the past? That is the justification for a note of this kind. "The Janitor" writes of the new generation with intimate personal knowledge. He is often critical and never dull; and the young men he has chosen for study are not altogether too young or unknown to fame. Lord Irwin and Oswald Mosley, Philip Guedalla and John Buchan have already won their spurs in their distinctive avocations. But they are the leaders of the morrow on whom will be centred the hopes and fears of the rising generation.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- THE CHAIN OF HIS SINS. By E. Almaz Stout, G. P. Putnam's Sons, London.
- TALKS WITH THOMAS HARDY AT MAX GATE. 1920—1922. By Vere H. Collins. Duckworth.
- TESS OF THE D'URBERVILLES (A Pure Woman). By Thomas Hardy. Macmillan & Co., London.
- A WEEK IN INDIA AND 3 MONTHS IN AN INDIAN HOSPITAL. By A. Fenner Brockway. The New Leader Ltd., (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price As. 12.)
- THE WORKING OF DYARCHY IN INDIA, 1919—1928. By Kerala Putra. D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Kitab Mahal, Bombay.
- THE RUSSIAN LAND. By A. R. Williams. New Republic. Inc. 421, West 21st Street, New York.
- BUILDERS AND PIONEERS OF AUSTRALIA. By Arthur Jose. J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London.
- THE SHORT STORIES OF THOMAS HARDY. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London.
- THY DARK FREIGHT. By Vere Hutchinson. Hutchinson & Co., London.
- DIANA DREW: A ROMANCE OF INDIA. By Isabel Brown Rose. Fleming H. Revell Company. London.
- THE CITY OF LONDON. Reprinted from the Special Number of the *Times*, Printing House Square, London. E. C. 4.
- A BOOK OF WORDS. By Rudyard Kipling. Doubleday, Doran and Company, New York.
- MY LIFE WORK. By Henry Ford. William Heinemann Ltd., London.
- MEMOIRS OF HALIDE EDIB. The Century Co., New York.
- THE TURKISH ORDEAL. By Halide Edib. The Century Company, New York.
- THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA. Vol III. Turks and Afghans. Edited by Sir Wolseley Haig, Cambridge University Press, London.
- INDIAN CULTURE THROUGH THE AGES. By S. V. Venkateswara, M. A., Vol I. Education and the Propagation of Culture. Longmans, Green and Co., Paternoster Row, London.
- THE STORY OF INDIA. By I. F. K. Hunter, F. R. G. S.—Milne and Hutchison, Aberdeen.
- PROBLEM OF ECONOMICS. By D. M. Keezer, A. T. Cutler, and F. R. Garfield. Harper & Brothers.
- A HISTORY OF EUROPE. VOL. III. By Arthur Hassall, Rivingtons, 34, King Street, London.
- GOTAMA THE MAN. By C. A. F. Rhys Davids. Luzac & Co., London.
- A FEW SUGGESTIONS ON THE PROBLEM OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION. By Beni Prasad, M.A., Ph.D. The Indian Press, Allahabad. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 2-8-0.)
- THE RT. HON. JOHN SINCLAIR, LORD, PENTLAND, G.C.S.I. A MEMOIR. By Lady Pentland, Methuen and Co., Ltd., London.
- THE SILENCE. By Evelyn Whitell, L. R. Fowler and Co., Ltd., London.
- THE MUSIC OF INDIA. By Atiya Begum Fyzee-Rahamin, Luzac & Co., London. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 5-10-0.)
- TOWARDS SWARAJ. By S. K. Sarma, B.A., B.L. Published by Mr. K. Srinivasa Iyengar, Madras. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price. Rs. 5).
- NUMBER 56 AND OTHER STORIES. By Catulle Mendis. Translated by Phyllis Magroz, T. Werner Laurie, London.
- THE LIFE OF SPACE. By Maurice Maeterlinck, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.
- MODERN ENGLISH IN THE MAKING. By George H. McKnight. D. Appleton and Co., London.
- SOVIET RUSSIA. By Jawaharlal Nehru, Allahabad Law Journal Press, Allahabad. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3.
- ANTHROPOSOPIHY IN INDIA. By Dr. Hanes Vioeste, Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta.



AKBAR'S RELIGIOUS POLICY

Akbar has been compared to Louis XIV, Peter the Great and Richelieu. "He is certainly their equal as a statesman, he surpasses them as a

Unlike his successor, Akbar recognised no State religion, allowed no pressure to be put upon the Hindus to abandon their religion; he invited them to choose freely between Islam and Hinduism and proclaimed freedom of conscience.



EMPEROR AKBAR

thinker," says Felix Valyi writing in the December Number of *WORLD TOMORROW*:

I do not speak of those lofty sentiments which led him to raise monuments in honour of the vanquished Rajputs, but of his thought, of his value as a philosopher. The Emperor is eclipsed by the Man. Enfranchised from dogmatism, friend of the Sufis, enemy of all fanaticism, seeking truth before all things, dreaming of the synthesis of all religions, Akbar invited to his court scholars of all countries, lamas from Tibet, hermits from the Lebanon, from Mongolia, Parsis, Portuguese monks recently landed on the shores of India, French and English visitors who came for trade, and discussed with them the future of the world.

He ordered the translation into Persian and into Hindustani of the Vedas, of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, as well as of the Gospel, and of the divers systems of Indian philosophy. He passed long hours of the night on the terrace of his palace in Agra listening to explanations of the symbolic beauty in Hindu pantheism. He had a *vihara* built for the Buddhists at his court and ordered his palace to be decorated by Chinese artists. The Portuguese Jesuits, lodged in the imperial palace, showed him one day a portrait of the Madonna: Akbar found it so beautiful that he ordered a copy to be made for his bedroom, hid it behind a curtain and contemplated the Madonna every evening when, far from the fanaticism of the crowds, he was able to remain alone, or in the company of philosophers, like his intimate friend, Abul Fazl. So profoundly penetrated was he by the lessons of charity given by Buddhism and Sufism that one day he cried: "Would to God that my body were great enough to give food to all men, then no longer should animals suffer for them!"

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

THE INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA. By The Rev. G. Hibbert—Ware. [The Church Overseas, Jan. 1929.]

MISS KATHERINE MAYO'S MOTHER INDIA WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE. By Dr. J. T. Sunderland. [The Modern Review, Jan. 1929.]

INDIA AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS. By Dr. Taraknath Das. [The Calcutta Review, Nov. and Dec. 1928.]

THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA AND THE FUTURE OF INDIAN STATES. By H. Krishna Rao. [The Madras Law College Magazine, Nov. 1928.]

TWO FORGOTTEN SANSKRIT DRAMAS. By R. Ramamurti, M.A., [The Journal of Oriental Research, July—Oct. 1928.]

THE ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya writes a thoughtful article on the All-Parties Conference which is given the place of honour in the current issue of the *TRIVENI*. He compares the Lucknow Conference with the Bombay All-Parties Conference of 1922 and the Ahmedabad Conference of 1924 and asks: Why should we expect better results to follow this agreement at Lucknow? No one outside dreamland would expect a commonwealth to be established in India, close on the heels of the Lucknow Pact.

What then have we achieved? Dr. Pattabhi thinks that the mere fact, that the Conference was able to devise a scheme, more or less agreeable to all parties in India, and was able to bring together divergent elements on a common platform inspired by mutual trustfulness and forbearance, was in itself no small achievement.

For the first time after Gandhi's leadership in the days of Non-co-operation did the Nation give proof of its confidence in its leaders. It is easy to peek at the scheme, to deride it on the score that it is neither federal nor unitary, to criticise that the States have not been pieced into the administrative machinery of the Commonwealth, and to disparage the Dominion Status which is pitted against complete National Independence. In the first place, one has to remember that an All-Parties' Conference has its own limitations. Even in an homogeneous body like the Congress, you are confronted with the obvious inconsistency between an *object* that is Swaraj, and a *goal* of complete independence. The one is embodied in an article which is the creed of the Congress, the other is in the form of a resolution of a particular session. If in a homogeneous body like the Congress, such is the state of affairs, how much more complicated should it be with an All-Parties' Conference?

And then questions relating to Indian Princes and their States, it is said, have been ignored. The language problem and the re-distribution of Provinces are yet to be adjusted to the satisfaction of the provinces concerned. And there are ever so many knotty problems cropping up for solution.

Still that a fairly unanimous scheme was adopted shows that the leaders could rise to the height of the occasion and prove themselves worthy of the confidence and respect of the country.

Dr. Pattabhi, however, thinks that the intrinsic value of the agreement lies in the sanction behind

it—a point on which there is bound to be considerable difference of opinion.

The agreement is an end in itself. But it is also the means to an end, in that it formulates a demand. A demand always implies a sanction behind. At Lucknow, the sanctions were not considered although the need for them was referred to. Was there not really a sanction behind Lucknow? To those that have eyes, it is evident that behind Lucknow lay Bardoli. If Lucknow embodied the demand, Bardoli furnishes the sanction.

INDIAN NATIONALISM

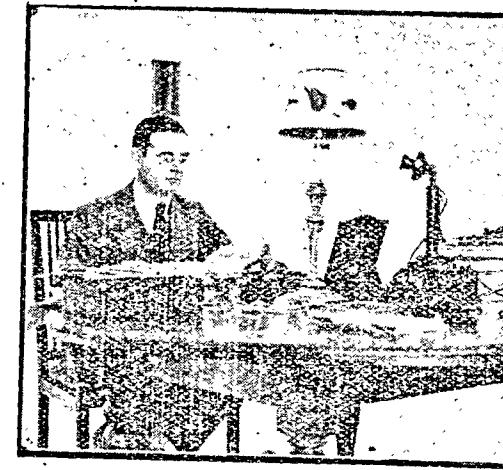
In an article contributed to the *FANJI AKBAR*, the journal for Indian soldiers, Sir Rabindranath Tagore declares that the real problem in India is not political, but social. Nationalism has for years been at the bottom of India's troubles. She has never had a real sense of nationalism, being too vast in area and too diverse in races. She has laid all her emphasis on the law of mutation. "Political freedom", he writes, "will not give us freedom wherein our mind is not free." He continues:—

"When we talk of Western nationality, we forget that the nations there do not have that physical repulsion one for the other that we have between different castes. The social habit of mind which impels us to make the life of our fellow being a burden to them where they differ from us even in such a thing as their choice of food, is sure to persist in our political organisation. How, then, can we think that our task is to build a political miracle of freedom upon the quicksand of social slavery?"

"The educated community of India has become insensible to her social needs. They are talking the very immobility of our social structures as the sign of their perfection. Therefore, they think that all their energies need their only scope in the political field. It is like a man whose legs have become shrivelled and useless, trying to delude himself that these limbs have grown still because they have attained their ultimate perfection. We must recognise that it is providential that the West has come to India. It would be mischievous if the gifts we wish for were granted to us at once."

THE THREE PROBLEMS OF INDIA

Dr. Rushbrook-Williams, who accompanied the Indian Princes' Delegation to England to press their claim before the Butler Committee



DR. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS

and to create a public opinion in England favourable to their cause, says, in the course of an article in the *EMPIRE REVIEW*, "that there are three separate Indian problems which ought to be solved within the next few years." He goes so far as to say that if England does not solve them, she may find that "she has lost India without realising the fact."

What then are those three urgent problems confronting British statesmen? The first is the problem of British India with which Sir John Simon and his Commission are primarily concerned. England has already pledged herself to help India towards responsible Government, and must now look to the methods of fulfilling her pledge. But there is another India—the India of the States—which is not within the Commission's terms of reference. Now this part of India is closely linked with Britain by treaties.

We have undertaken to protect the Indian States as our part of the bargain. In return, they have surrendered

to us the control of their foreign relations and have pledged themselves to be faithful friends. In actual fact, the "protection" has not been all on our side: for they admittedly saved us during the Mutiny and were largely instrumental in keeping India steady during the Great War. So we are bound to see that the India of the States is not forgotten in the general settlement.

Dr. Rushbrook points out that this was, however, forgotten in 1919 when Mr. Montagu hammered out his new constitution for India.

Now to the third of the problems. In addition to solving the problems of British India and seeing that the rights of Indian Princes are respected, there is the third problem of getting British India and the Indian States "to work harmoniously together for the general good of the whole continent of India."

This, says the writer, is perhaps the most difficult of the three problems, because it depends essentially upon compromise, upon give-and-take between the two sides. And so he urges a Round Table Conference between a Committee of the Cabinet and the representatives of British India and the Indian States. Only in such a Conference, can the common problems of all three parties be mutually adjusted and settled. The three problems should be co-related and studied in their relation to one another. And then:—

The representatives of the British Government and the representatives of the States must negotiate direct with each other, if a settlement is to be reached; and, in the present temper of the Princes, this will present little difficulty. A general plan of action for dealing with the three problems of India can then be devised. The portions of the general plan which affect British India can be put into effect by Parliamentary action; the portions which affect the States must be carried through, partly by the Princes themselves and partly by the Crown. The all-important thing is to secure that what is to be done in British India shall so dovetail into what is to be done by and for the States, that, while both sides of India remain free to manage their purely domestic business, a really all-India Government should come into existence for dealing with Imperial problems and with matters of common concern to British India and to the States.

THE SIMON COMMISSION

A writer in the current issue of THE ROUND TABLE contends that it is quite possible that "except on communal questions, all or practically all the co-operating groups would agree whole-heartedly with the views and aspirations of many of the boycott leaders, and that the ultimate goal and even the methods which they would adopt to reach are common to many who find themselves in rival camps." As proof of the success of the Commission and failure of Non-co-operation, he points out to the election by the provincial councils, except that of the Central Provinces, of committees to collaborate with the Simon Enquiry. The writer continues :—

"Boycott, in the real sense of the word, has disappeared, although it is true that non-co-operation on the part of most of the leading All-India politicians remains. Nevertheless, the co-operation of eight out of the nine provincial legislative councils gives the Commission not only ample justification for proceeding with its work, but also moral support of incalculable value."

Next in importance to the Simon Commission, according to this writer, is the Nehru Report. The Nehru Report, he says, has derived its importance mainly by the amount of opposition it has encountered. The writer goes on to say :—

"It is far from being the demand of a United India. It is, in fact, the maximum amount of agreement which can at present be reached between certain sections of opinion which are themselves by no means fully representative of India. The safest thing to say, perhaps, is that it represents what all, except the most extreme section of the progressive Indian opinion, accept as the goal to be attained in a not too distant future but, in the meantime important communities and interests, and first and foremost, the Mahomedan community, are not prepared to accept some of its fundamental provisions without substantial modifications."

INDIA'S CONSTITUTION

In the course of an article in the recent issue of the MADRAS LAW COLLEGE MAGAZINE, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, M.L.A., discusses at length some of the problems for studying India's Constitution. He says that the Constitution of the German Republic, now in operation, affords a parallel more akin to the trend of the development in the distribution of central and provincial powers in India than the colonial examples. "Apart from the usual orthodox classification of the distribution of Powers between the Central and State or Provincial authorities and the retention of residuary powers in either of them, the question how far a scheme of concurrent powers with a machinery of Judicial or Constitutional control for regulating them, can be evolved or found to be more feasible in India, is one which can be studied with profit with reference to recent constitutional developments."

Mr. Iyengar cites the example of Australia in the matter of defining the powers of the central and provincial Governments. He says :—

I may also draw attention to the fact that the general assumption that Government powers in British federations are divided off completely on the basis of residuary jurisdiction between Central and State Authorities is mistaken. There is now a Royal Commission sitting in Australia before which very valuable evidence has been given by Sir Robert Garran, the foremost living authority on the Australian Commonwealth Constitution, and by other authorities and witnesses who have had practical experience of the working of the Commonwealth Constitution there. It does appear from the evidence given by them that even in Australia there is a very large field of concurrent powers which could be exercised both by the States and by the Commonwealth Government. It is also clear from the evidence that attempts to restrict the sphere of the Central Authority so long as it has to be the political entity that has to deal with all external affairs or affairs of common concern to the people of the States as a whole, have, besides producing a crop of conflicts and of unexpected judicial decisions, actually hampered the progress and development of the part States on a full democratic basis. It is part of the programme of the Australian Labour Party which has repeatedly been in office and controlling the affairs of the Commonwealth, to have the authority of the Central Government definitely strengthened by amendments of the Constitution.

It would be interesting to examine these proposals with reference to the establishment of provincial Autonomy in our country.

EDUCATIONAL BACKWARDNESS OF INDIA

In the course of an article in the current issue of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, Mr. -Yusuf Ali I.C.S. (Retd.) reviews the present



MR. YUSUF ALI

condition of education in India. He criticises the educational policy of the Government, and points out how very defective is the present system. With regard to primary education, he says :

Some thing like 75 per cent. of all pupils in educational institutions of all kinds are at the lower preparatory stage, and 65 per cent. in the infant and first classes. The attendance is casual, and the attention which the pupils receive may almost be called negative.

It is estimated that at least 50 p.c. of those who attend primary schools never become literate, and a good proportion of those who leave at that stage soon lose their literacy. Thus even the money and labour bestowed on primary education is wasted.

For real elementary education, there should be well-organised schools with regular attendance, teachers with a sense of vocation, and a certain number of years of

compulsory attendance, and up to a certain appreciable standard of education.

These conditions have not been attained in India, and therefore even our compulsory education, so far as it has been tried, has remained a mere paper affair.

And what about finance? Education is now a transferred subject, but our finances are controlled by the reserved department and our Ministers in charge of education suffer from the usual "want of funds". Altogether, we are now spending 13 crores from public funds which is a vast improvement on the conditions of a decade ago, but our educational demands are unlimited and urgent. Yet we continue "to spend more than four times as much on armaments and defence."

Could we spend the same money in any other way and obtain greater efficiency? Mr. Yusuf Ali says :—

Let us save on shams in order to spend on real education. Let us examine very carefully and critically the allocation of the money to different schemes and apply it most to the parts which will fructify in the minds and character of the people.

Then there is the problem of numbers. The Schools and Colleges have been flooded and the rise has been phenomenal. There are now between 11,000,000 and 12,000,000. What is their scope? Here Mr. Yusuf Ali suggests that special attention should be paid to Secondary Education which alone could fit the boys to their proper avocations.

In secondary education, there are not enough pupils considering the numbers in primary education, and there are not enough facilities for giving a self-contained education such as will fit the best part of the nation to become good men and women, good citizens and efficient workers in our very loose economic system. * * *

Such a reorganisation of secondary education would also afford a solution to the question of numbers in colleges and universities.

A halt should be called to the further multiplication of universities and colleges until the resources are available for well-trained teachers, well-equipped laboratories, libraries and instruments of research, and well-educated students who can profit by the opportunities opened to them. To multiply numbers without these conditions is to ask for the depression of standards. On the other hand, more money should be spent in order to make elementary, secondary, and university education real links in the building up of a harmonious nation.

INDIA AND THE BIBLE

Dr. George Howells, writing in the January Number of the NEW ERA, pleads for the translation of the Bible into Indian vernaculars for helping the foreign Missionaries in extending the knowledge and teachings of Christ. He says :—

We are no doubt rightly accused of giving to the people of India translations of the Bible that have many imperfections from the stand-point of the best vernacular style; and perhaps most of our presentations of theological and Christian truth contain much that fails to appeal to the Indian mind. All that we can plead in the way of excuse is, that all our efforts as foreign representatives of the Christian faith should be regarded as partaking of a pioneering character, and so possessing strong claims to lenient judgment. May we not also ask our critics, whether Hindu or Christian, to attempt something more in the way of constructive effort? Some of the ablest literary men of the West have used their best gifts in putting into Western form some of the noblest products of Indian religious literature. Surely, we may look with hope in the coming years, to some of the most gifted of India's sons, whether Hindu, Mohammedan or Christian, to vernacularising what is by common consent one of the most precious of the world's literary treasures—the Bible—and to interpreting for their countrymen in terms of Indian thought and outlook, the mind and personality of one whom all recognise as a great world-Teacher, the prophet of Nazareth and whom so many of us adore as God-Incarnate, and the World's Saviour.

The writer admits that the Christian Missionaries from the West are in danger of presenting the message of Christ in Western garb, and indeed it would be a superhuman feat, he says, if they should themselves be above such limitations.

CALCUTTA'S PLACE IN MODERN INDIA

"When history sits down to sum up the cultural achievements of modern India of the last century, it will find it impossible to ignore Calcutta's place in it," writes Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal in the Christmas Number of the CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL GAZETTE. Mr. Pal says that this pre-eminence of Calcutta in the cultural history of modern India was no doubt partly due to the combination of circumstances that led the New British rulers of this country to make Calcutta the metropolis of the British-Indian Empire, but it was largely due to the peculiar genius of the Bengalee leaders of thought as Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Swami Vivekananda, Surendranath Banerjee, Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Ray and others.

Mr. Pal continues :—

"In claiming, however, a distinct character and type for the Bengalee mind and thought, no pretension to superiority over the mind and thought of the Indian provinces are set up. As Bengal has its distinctive cultural type, so have also the other Indian provinces. The contributions of the other Indian Provinces to the cultural revival and evolution of Modern India are, therefore, not ignored in claiming a place for Calcutta and Bengal in this great work of Indian re-construction. At the same time the dominating factor in this revival and evolution has been our contact with modern European thought and culture. This also cannot be denied. And it is here that we discover the worth and significance of Calcutta's contribution to our present national evolution."

HUMANITARIANISM IN FOOD

"He who seeks to build human goodness and international amity on the basis of non-humanitarianism in food builds on the most unstable and insecure of foundations", writes Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri in the VADANTA KESARI for January.

"That vegetarian food contains all the elements of nutrition and does not contain any predisposing causes to disease is the declaration of the best doctors and is the experience of countless generations. The organic salt contained in vegetables and fruits is easily assimilable, while common salt is not. The vitamins are quite essential to life. They occur in abundance in green vegetables, butter, grains, milk, and fruits. Tinned foods lose them and are thus worthless in comparison with fresh food, as tinned foods are cooked at high temperatures and thus lose the vitamins in the process of such cooking. The glands secrete humours which affect largely the functions of the body. Iodine is required by thyroid glands which govern the kidneys and intestines and the life-process generally. And green vegetables contain organic iodine

are excellent in their food values. The value of food depends not so much on the weight of proteids and carbo-hydrates and hydro-carbons therein as on the organic salts and the humours contained in them. * * * *

Thus if we wish to have health and beauty and goodness, if our race is to be virile and long-lived and pure, if we desire to realise God, we must learn the value of dietetics and take right foods in right ways and in right measure for right aims in life. Only on the basement of humanitarianism in food can be raised the palace of humanitarianism in life."

INDUSTRIES IN ANCIENT INDIA

"State and the Industries in Ancient India," is the subject of an interesting article by Mr. Akhourri Badrinath Sinha in the latest number of the PATNA COLLEGE MAGAZINE. The writer says that, in Ancient India, the relation between the State and the industries was intimate, and State-Control and State-aid were well-recognised factors. The doctrine of *Laissez faire* was not known. He writes :—

"While none can claim that the policy of State-interference is an unmixed good, yet the beneficent nature of the control cannot be wholly denied. The control was at once discriminate and judicious, and the extent of it varied with different industries. Indeed, it was only a polity and thus was subject to change. According to the ideas and conceptions of ancient Hindu policy regarding the functions of a State, it was deemed obligatory on each good government to aid, supervise, control and guide the industries of the kingdom. Besides granting partial or full protection to young industries by periodical remissions and suspensions of revenue, the Government, directly or indirectly, aided, guided, supervised and managed many industries."

The writer enumerates various industries, such as agriculture, mining, arboriculture, even ship-building, all of which were aided by the Government,

THE NEED FOR A NEW DARSANA

"European knowledge, science and experience have affected Indian life, but have not increased India's energy and initiative, because it has not been absorbed by India into her own life; hence she has lost all the joy of creative power and is but a camp-follower of the new nations." Thus says Mr. S. V. Ramamurthi in the JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH; and he tells us that a synthesis of European and Indian thought must be reached through finding the level in Indian philosophy which European science has now reached. In a true synthesis of East and West, the main contribution of Europe will be science. Indian philosophy has till now been dominated by Vedanta which has emphasized the comparative unreality of the outer world of mind and matter and called it *Maya*, and is therefore as much apart from science as religion is. The predominance of Vedanta has been a barrier to the synthesis of East and West; but the Sankhya-Yoga system might furnish the level at which Indian philosophy might coalesce with European science. *Sankhya* throws mind along with atoms into a *Prakriti* subject to evolution; while in addition to *Prakriti*, there were *Purushas* or souls. Yoga makes the same analysis; but it is concerned with *Purusha* gaining control over *Prakriti*, instead of seeking isolation from it through a process of non-co-operation. Europe has got a counter-part of this Sankhya-Yoga; and the fourth dimensional world of Relativity approximates to the *Prakriti* of Sankhya, in which there are not only gross bodies, but also subtle bodies which do not die with the gross bodies. The Yogic power may be the power to function in a four-dimensional world; and the soul which is posited by the psychical world may be the subtle body of *Sankhya*.

Thus any attempt at the real synthesis of East and West may be facilitated by the creation of a new *Darsana* by Indian philosophy.

THE STATE AND THE CITIZEN.

"A common heresy has taken root (and is rapidly gaining ground) which asserts that the rights of the citizens are the creations of the State", says Mr. Edmund C. A. Church in the December Number of the *ENGLISH REVIEW*. Mr. Church is of opinion that this sort of belief is one of the erroneous dogmas of the Socialist Party. It loses sight of the fact that a man is born a man—not a citizen—and as such, he has certain rights actual and potential in the order of nature. The State exists not to create the rights of the citizens, but to protect them. He continues:—

The traditional conception of the scope and aim of civil government is the well-being of citizens as citizens. The scope and aim of the State is not the prosperity of its members *qua* men, but the temporal prosperity of the body politic, and the well-being of the citizen *qua* its members. The right of the citizens to hold private property is above the State, but if they abuse this right, and to the detriment of the other citizens then it becomes the duty of the State to restrain them from such abuse. The State exists to preserve the liberty of its members, not to abolish liberty, as the Socialists apparently believe, and to reduce the community to a condition of State-serfdom. It exists to ensure that the citizens shall enjoy, in common, religious and political freedom; it exists to guarantee adequate provision for intellectual advancement on a plane which will allow them to compete on at least equal terms with the citizens of other States; it exists to protect the right of its members to hold and enjoy that which is their own, viz. to safe-guard their right to hold private property; it exists to protect them from offenders against the natural laws upon which all religious and civil laws are based; it exists to guard them against feats of arms. In short, the State exists to ensure to the citizens their liberty, and to afford them such protection as is humanly possible in the turmoil of the battle of life.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA

Whatever some men may hope from the industrialization of India, it is safe to say that now, and for a long time to come, the great bulk of the wealth of India must continue to be derived from the land. "With a tropical climate and prospects of agriculture through science and organisation, and the possibility of heavier yields and heavier profits, should India turn from the cultivation of the soil?" asks Prof. G. S. Krishnayya, writing in the pages of *RURAL INDIA*. With regard to the agricultural classes, he observes:—

The proportion to the total population of those depending on agriculture rose from 61 per cent. in 1891 to 66

per cent. in 1901, to 71 per cent. in 1911, and to 73 per cent. in 1921. The Famine Commission of 1880 found that the numbers who turned to the soil for subsistence were far in excess of that needed for its thorough cultivation, and traced the retardation of material progress to this cause. Sir Thomas Holderness calculates that subtracting the land utilized for supplying foreign markets from the total area under cultivation, we shall find that what is left over does not represent more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of an acre per head of the total Indian population. India therefore feeds, and, to an extent, clothes her population from what $\frac{2}{3}$ of an acre per head can produce. There is no country in the world where the land is required to do so much.

Commenting on the indebtedness of the agricultural population and suggesting a remedy for the unemployment which is rampant for the major portion of the year, the writer says:—

Since so large a number of those depending on agriculture is frequently under-employed, it is clear that they may be drawn from the land without loss to the soil or to the output. Again, with the increasing adoption of machinery and other labour-saving devices, the numbers who may be dispensed with without impairing the efficiency of agriculture will go on multiplying, and the growth of this excessive agricultural population will be a heavier indent on her maximum returns. The obvious remedy for this economic maladjustment is to seek other outlets for the surplus population.

THE LEAGUE AND ASIA'S HEALTH

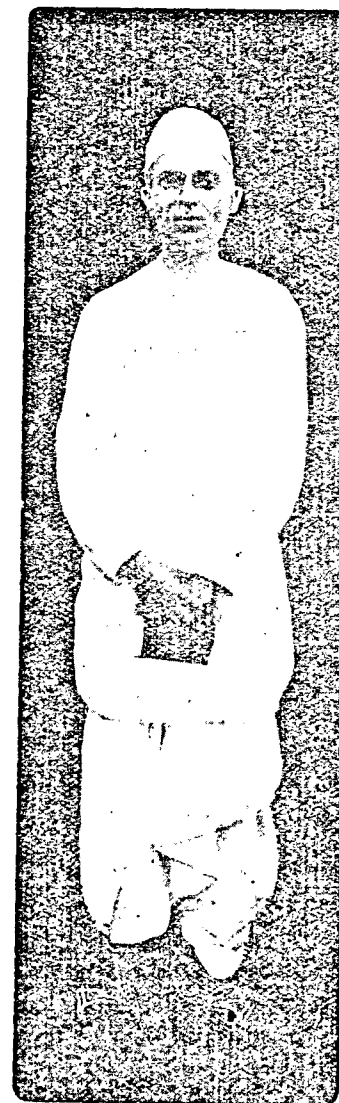
"The work of the League of Nations has had, perhaps, more direct associations with Asia than any other of the League's activities," writes Dr. Dorman White, C.I.E., in the *ASIATIC REVIEW*. That the League takes such an interest in this matter is not surprising when we consider the fact that nothing is more international than disease, and that in its spread, many diseases have a habit of ignoring national frontiers. The writer says:—

Every improvement in world communications postulates added facilities for the spread of infection from country to country, unless such improvement be accompanied by improved health supervision and new measures of disease control. Plague centres are thus of international concern.

Asia has the misfortune to have within its boundaries the most important reservoirs of infection of the three most important international epidemic diseases—plague, cholera and small-pox. Moreover, conditions in Asia are such as to make these diseases singularly difficult to control. With a view, primarily, to giving Asiatic health administrations prompt information regarding the appearance and progress of disease in the ports of the East, and other ports in communication with them, a special Bureau of Epidemiological Intelligence was opened by the Health Organization in Singapore.

THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS

The All-India Trade Union Congress opened at Jharia on the 18th December with Mr. M. Daud in the chair. In the course of a lengthy presidential



PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

address, he said that the Montague-Chelmsford reforms gave official recognition to labour for the first time and that fact proved a great impetus to the trade union movement. Racial inequalities in

the railway service were to be urgently removed. The All-India Railway men's Federation also, which met at Jharia the day previous, complained against the attitude of the Government towards the grievances of the railway men. Mr. Daud next opposed the cult of Independence and felt satisfied with Dominion Status for India. In any future constitution of the country, he wanted adult franchise to be granted to men and women. Seats for labour representation in the Central and Provincial legislatures should be guaranteed. And in other ways also, labour interests should be amply safe-guarded. Among the resolutions passed was one protesting against the arrest of Mr. Johnston, a representative of the League against Imperialism. Dewan Chamanlal moved this resolution and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in supporting it appealed for more solidarity and co-operation among Labour organisations, which he said would give the real answer to the arrest of Mr. Johnston. Another condemned the policy of employers who reduced their cost of production by retrenching labourers and taking more work from the remaining operatives. A third asked for immediate legislation in favour of adult franchise, eight-hour day or 44 hour week, the fixing of minimum wage, the provision of old age, widows' and orphans' pensions, maternity benefit and weekly payment of wages. Lastly, in moving another resolution, Dewan Chamanlal strongly protested against the employment of police and military forces on almost every important occasion of strike or lock-out. He said the only reply to such a policy was for the workers to organise themselves strongly.

Resolutions were also passed condemning the policy of employers in reducing the cost of production, thereby entailing more work on operatives and opposing the methods of retrenching workers and reducing their wages. Protest was made against Imperialism in a resolution moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, suggesting co-ordination and solidarity of workers.

Utterances of the Day

THE VICEROY'S WARNING

H. E. Lord Irwin, replying to the toast proposed by the President of the European Association at Calcutta on Dec. 17, said in the course of his speech:—

"You have referred to the movement recently undertaken in certain quarters in India on behalf of the policy of complete and total independence, and I notice that it has been officially asserted by a recognised political organisation that India can enjoy no liberty unless and until the British connexion is entirely severed. Both your Governor and the Governor of the United Provinces have recently made certain observations on this subject with which I found myself in complete agreement. Indian nationalists have constantly attacked, condemned or misrepresented those whom they allege through excessive caution to be adopting an unfriendly attitude towards India's aspirations.

"I make bold to say that the most bitter and confirmed reactionary could never have it in his power to inflict one-tenth of the damage upon India's cause that it is likely to suffer at the hands of its false friends, who would guide it towards the morass of independence. If it is necessary, as it clearly is, for India to raise her national life on a foundation of true national unity, what greater disservice can any person render to her than by bending all their energies to destroy that which is to-day the principal factor of unity throughout the Indian Peninsula? Of the unifying influences that make for nationhood, I make bold to say that the most important in the life of India to-day, viewed as a single entity throughout the whole wide extent and variety of what her name comprised, are these: first, she is a geographic unit, all parts of which, it may be said, share a broad, economic interest; secondly, and more powerful, is the common loyalty to the person and throne of the King-Emperor; during these latter days we

have been able to measure the affection which binds the King-Emperor to the hearts of all his people, as from every quarter of his Dominions, thoughts have turned together in sympathy, anxiety, and prayer to his long struggle with an exhausting illness, and as that loyalty is the bond of union between the several peoples of different countries, so in India it is shared by Hindu and Muslim, Brahmin and Non-Brahmin, Punjabi and Madrassi, British India and Indian States. Destroy that, and you have by violating the most cherished sentiment of millions, erected an enduring and insuperable barrier to the achievement of a free Indian nationhood.

"Truly then could India say that her wounds were those with which she was wounded in the house of her friends. It is not difficult to forecast what must be the reaction upon British opinion of this assertion of independence as the goal of a great political party, by persons who would claim the title of responsible politicians. Those in Great Britain, who sympathise most warmly with the ideal of India attaining at the earliest possible moment the status of any of the other great Dominions of the Crown, will find the ground cut from their feet, if British opinion ever becomes convinced, as some apparently are now endeavouring to convince it, that the so-called Dominion Status is only valued by India as a stepping stone to a complete severance of her connexion with the British Commonwealth. From the point of view, therefore, of its effect upon Indian unity and public opinion of Great Britain, I can feel no doubt that the demand for independence must do an irreparable injury to India's cause and sadden the hearts of the wiser of India's sons and friends. Is it too much to hope that, on an issue of this kind which is too grave to be resolved by verbal formulas, or mental reservations, those who can appreciate the implications and issues of such a policy should, in unequivocal terms, warn their countrymen against it?"

THE MAHARAJAH OF ALWAR

The Silver Jubilee of H.H. the Maharajah of Alwar, which is being celebrated at Alwar with considerable *eclat*, is naturally an occasion for reviewing the rapid progress that the State has



H. H. THE MAHARAJAH OF ALWAR

made during the last twenty-five years. Apart from the War services rendered by the State, which has received due recognition from the Imperial Government, one notes with satisfaction the all-round advance that Alwar has made under her ruler in almost every other department. Special mention must be made of the administrative reforms, and the expansion of industries during the last quarter of a century. The STATESMAN, in appreciation of the Maharajah, writes:—Great as an administrator, even greater as a man is His Highness Shri Sewai Maharajah Dev of Alwar. "Atmanam Satatam Viddhi"—that is the family motto of Alwar, and the truth and spirit of it has been imbibed by the Ruler.

THE PRINCES & THE NEHRU REPORT

Rajputana States' Conference was opened on Nov. 24 under the presidentship of Seth Amritlal, who urged the imperative need of introducing constitutional reforms, leading to Responsible Government.

He explained various aspects of the Nehru Committee's Report and pointed out that the Princes had nothing to fear in respect of their position and dignity in the future Commonwealth of India. Of course, some amendments were necessary to secure proper consideration of disputes and other matters arising out of treaties, etc. by the Supreme Court, but he opined that reference to the Supreme Court should not be discretionary with the Governor-General-in-Council, but as a matter of course if the people so desired.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN BARODA

The Secretary of H. H. The Maharani Chiminabai Saheb Gaekwar's Hindu Girls' Scholarship Fund notifies that the Trustees of the Fund propose to give about 75 Scholarships to deserving Hindu girls who are studying in Anglo-Vernacular Schools, High Schools, Arts, Science and Medical Colleges of Baroda State or in the Bombay Presidency (excepting Sindh and other Indian States). Forms of application can be obtained from the Secretary, Mrs. Sumant Mehta, Sayaji Gany, Baroda. Applications are to be submitted by the 22nd July next.

THE MAHARAJA OF NABHA

In the House of Lords, replying to Lord Olivier who asked the present standing of the Maharaja of Nabha, Lord Peel said that the rights granted to him in 1923 were abrogated last February, and that the Maharaja was now unconnected with the administration of the State and had been deprived of his former rights to retain his title and salute and to receive State allowance.

INDIANS IN BRITISH GUIANA

Sir Gordon Guggishery, the new Governor of British Guiana, in the course of an interview he gave to a representative of the OBSERVER prior to his departure from England, said that the old scheme of indentured labour immigration from India had proved a failure. Neither the population nor the sugar estates, he said, had profited by the scheme. There are now about 125,000, of whom 68 per cent. were born in the Colony. Speaking of future plans, he said :—

Any scheme should be conducted on the principle of community units, each unit comprising a hundred families, consisting of a father and a mother and two or three children. These should be settled on ten-acre farms, part of which can be devoted to raising quick-return crops, such as rice, ground-nuts, etc., and the rest for the culture of coffee, cocoa, fruit and other permanent products. All land belongs to the Crown, and the root principle of land settlement should be a definite opportunity for immigrants to become owners. Each settlement should have as one of its main features a system of community service, encouraged by the formation of a settlement school, spreading its influence in much the same manner as Hampton and Tuskegee in the Southern States of America.

INDIANS AND THE PHILIPPINES

Several cases have recently occurred, in which Indians wishing to enter the Philippine Islands have been refused *Visas*. What then are the conditions under which Indians are permitted entry under the Philippine Immigration Act of 1917 which is in force?

A close examination of the Act shows that Indians intending to proceed there as merchants must have actually been merchants in India for at least two years. Indians who wish to join firms in Philippine Islands as mercantile assistants and clerks are not also members of the exempted class and are therefore not admissible under the law.

MR. SASTRI'S FAREWELL TO S. AFRICA

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri is bidding farewell to Cape Town amid unanimous and most cordial tributes.

The success of his mission, says Reuter, is echoed throughout the Union.

His keen ability, combined with his vast learning and eloquence, have earned for him the name of "philosopher statesman"; he is equally brilliant whether speaking at university or city hall, or among his brethren.

The CAPE ARGUS, in an impressive leading article, emphasises these qualities as contributing to his success in carrying out the South African Agreement and reconciling the Indians themselves.

"We, as well as the people of India," says the paper, "owe him a great debt for his achievements."

Referring to the future of India, the CAPE ARGUS says that "at the moment, Sir John Simon and his colleagues are toiling at the task of evolving unity from chaos, and two observations only can be made with confidence.

The first is that Mr. Sastri himself fully recognises that India's future must lie within the British Empire, and the second is that whatever form of constitution may be evolved, its successful operation will depend entirely upon the capacity of the people of India to throw and maintain in power men of the type of Mr. Sastri.

South Africa parts from him with very real regret."

INDIANS IN FIJI

The Hon. Badri Maharaj, member of the Legislative Council, Fiji, who arrived in India in May last, has now returned to the Colony after spending seven months in India.

It is understood that Mr. Badri Maharaj met the officials of the Government of India at Simla and had long talks with them on the position of India in Fiji.

INDIA'S RAW MATERIAL

The waste that is going on in India is simply colossal, declared Sir James Mackenna, addressing the Indian section of the Society of Arts. He said that no other country in the world could stand such waste of available raw material. He added that a great responsibility rested with all concerned to put an end to it.

In the course of the discussion that followed, Sir Henry Lawrence said that the Government had not done all it should to the sugar industry. The tariff against imported sugar was not heavy. The fact that the recommendations of the Sugar Committee had not been acted upon for now nearly a decade was a sufficient indication that the economic consideration for sugar industry had not received proper attention at the hands of the Government of India.

Mr. F. H. Skrine, retired Civilian, suggested the fostering of co-operation in sugar industry and improving the standard and production of cane as the best remedies. He did not think that the Government could do any more in the way of tariffs and protective duties.

Mr. Lindsay referred to the tremendous competition between cane and beet. The trouble in India was that the competition between various local factories, instead of reducing, increased the price of home-manufactured sugar owing to competition for raw materials.

The report urges the need for continuous expenditure by way of advertisement, travelling agents and other propaganda.

In conclusion, the report states that the manufacturer should realise that he has an interest in his goods until they actually reach the consumer, and that, even then, there is the necessity for "service after sales."

On the question of the outlook for the import trade, Mr. Ainscough repeats what he said in his report for 1926-7: "India stands to-day on a firmer economic basis than she has ever done."

Her credit, both internal and external, has never been so good. The agriculturist is prosperous, and has probably a greater reserve to-day than he has ever had. The stocks of imported goods, notably textiles, are light and large purchases of them are overdue. All these factors point to a revival in the import trade during the next twelve months."

PROSPECTS OF BRITISH TRADE IN INDIA

In his covering dispatch to the Report referred to in the previous note, Mr. T. M. Ainscough, the Senior Trade Commissioner in India, states that the year under review was a somewhat colourless one, but that it was noteworthy if only for the reason that a definite check was given to the downward trend of the British share of India's imports which had been such a marked feature of the three previous years.

In the body of the report, the writer analyses the extent of foreign competition. American competition in machinery, motor-cars, rubbers tyres, electrical apparatus, and tents; increased shipments from Germany of dyes, chemicals, hardware, machinery, and piece goods of artificial silk and of wool; a very large advance in the value of grey, white, and coloured piece goods from Japan; larger purchases of Italian artificial silk yarn and piece goods, woollens, and coloured woven and dyed cotton goods, and a continuance of severe Belgian competition in iron and steel and railway material.

The need for improved marketing systems lies at the heart of the British trade position in India to-day, says Mr. Ainscough. He finds that increased attention is being paid to the specific needs of India by a number of the more powerful British concerns, but that the vast majority have not yet appreciated the changed conditions which tend to weaken our position, and which call for revised methods and organisation. Actually, the number of efficient modern selling organisations adequately covering the Indian market is extraordinarily few.

THE INDIAN LAND SYSTEM

Mr. C. Jinarajadasa writes to the Press :—

"It is very curious that all that has been suggested of late is what India started with. The plan with which the Indian Nation was started by Manu was that the land belonged to the State. The land is the State's. Each individual person is a lessee. If he likes, he may alienate it, so that he can pass on his lesseeship, but there is always an assessment on the land, which is renewed every thirty years. Therefore, there is no artificial exploitation of land in India. It is divided according to six qualities, desert, dry, wet, and so on. There is a definite assessment of the land, according to whether it gets water, and so forth. If you want to sell, you can. But there is definitely the State assessment on which State tax is collected on the land, with the result that, except in the towns, you know exactly what is the value of the land. As agriculture develops, the value of the land goes up, but no one can exploit. It was the East India Company's misunderstanding that brought a calamity. The landlord could not dispossess the peasants. He was only the land agent. Say he had 10,000 acres or 100 villages. From these 100 villages, he would get his portion, say one-third or one-sixth of the produce. But then, the East India Company put a tax on him and said : "You pay us so much," and then, the landlord tried to get it out of his peasants. The peasant had his land rights, and could not be dispossessed. But Britain, not understanding, and wanting money, passed a law, saying to the landlords : "the land is yours," and from those times, the landlords have been of the British type, with the right to dispossess the peasants. And so the peasants became nothing more than wage-earners, and lost their land.

In India, there is not a perfect scheme, but so far as the vast majority of the land is concerned, there is conservation of the land for the State, and the right of the individual on the land, which has prevented many economic evils.

IMPORTANCE OF VETERINARY SCIENCE

Presiding over the Fifth Conference of the C. P. Veterinary Association, the Hon. Mr. T. J. Kedar, Minister for Agriculture, expressed the view that the profession of Veterinary Surgeons was a noble one, and India being an agricultural country, the importance of this science was found to be realised sooner or later. The Veterinary is the handmaiden of Agriculture. In Western countries, the Department of animal husbandry is part of agriculture. The duty of the State is to fight with, and stamp out, epidemics. The Association should consider the means of popularising the method of serum for stamping out rinderpest. He stated that he was personally of opinion that, if the Cow Protection Fund were used to increase veterinary dispensaries, it would be of immense benefit to the live-stock of the country. He further stated that the science was yet incomplete, and researches were going on in France and Germany. Efforts should also be made to stimulate the use of Indian drugs for the eradication of cattle diseases.

Concluding, he said that, if legislation was necessary to divert the Cow Protection Fund for the spread of veterinary aid, the public should support such a measure.

EDUCATING THE RYOT

It is understood that the car and caravan to carry on agricultural demonstration work in rural areas in Coimbatore and the two adjoining districts are doing excellent work with the result that the Government have now decided to extend the benefit of the demonstration to agriculturists in the northern districts in this Presidency. With this object in view, a car and a caravan similar to those functioning in Coimbatore and Salem are being fitted up, and they will be ready for service in the near future. Through the generosity of a philanthropist, the southern districts, namely, Trichinopoly, Madura and Ramnad, will be enabled to have similar demonstration cars.

ALL-INDIA LIBRARY CONFERENCE

The All-India Library Conference was held at Calcutta on the 26th December. Dr. Tagore could not attend the Conference owing to illness and Dr. Besant, President-elect, was also absent, as she was detained in the Congress Committee meeting.

DR. TAGORE'S ADDRESS

Dr. Tagore's address was read out by Mr. Hirendranath Dutt, in the course of which Dr. Tagore stated that the usual thing for a library to



SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

say was : "Here is my catalogue. Come and select for yourself." But in the usual catalogue, there was introduction, no invitation, no spirit of welcome. That library alone could be called hospitable, he stated, which showed an eagerness to invite readers to feast at its contents. It was such hospitality that made a library big, not its size. That readers made the library was not the whole truth. The library likewise made the readers.

Mr. Pramathanath Bannerjee, President of the All-India Libraries' Association, declared the Conference open and welcomed the gathering to the city of Calcutta.

PROF. RADHAKRISHNAN'S SPEECH

Prof. Radhakrishnan, in the course of his speech, said that it was well known that their country at the present moment was passing through a very critical time. There were so many movements, industrial revolution, social reformation, religious re-awakening, and political changes. They were all confronting them together, and they were trying to find some kind of new life in every one of their activities. At the present moment, most of the men were deliberating as to the future constitution of India. It was that which prevented their President from coming there that afternoon.



PROF. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

They were trying to find out whether the goal of their political future should be Independence or Dominion Status.

The Conference passed Resolutions urging the Government, Local Boards and Municipalities of different provinces to establish public libraries in towns and villages by propagating education among the masses.

WOMEN'S SOCIAL CONFERENCE

The Indian Women's Social Conference, which met in Christmas Week at Calcutta under the presidency of H. H. The Junior Maharanee of



H. H. THE JUNIOR MAHARANEE OF TRAVANCORE Travancore, passed a number of resolutions relating to women's education, revision of Hindu Laws of Inheritance, abolition of compulsory dowry to bridegroom, revision of factory laws and equal rights for women with men in marital life.

Mrs. P. K. Roy, in moving her resolution for women's education, said that Bengal had peculiar difficulties regarding girls' education owing to purdah, early marriage and other social restrictions. She pointed out that Native States showed better record than British India in this connection, and suggested a definite scheme for the establishment of a Special Board for girls' education. Mrs. Aparna Devi (Daughter of C. R. Das) spoke on the evil effects of child-marriage and dowry. "We are a dying race, and unless we are prepared to stem the gathering down-rush of Hindu Society by something strong and tangible, we should soon sink into oblivion and surely become fit to be preserved in Museums like mummies of Egypt in air-tight glass cases".

MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

The All-India Muslim Educational Conference met at Ajmere on Dec. 26 with the Hon. Justice Dr. S. M. Sulaiman in the Chair. Justice Sulaiman, in the course of his presidential address, stressed the need for every kind of education—Vernacular, moral, and vocational,—and also of adult education and education for women. He concluded with the following appeal:—

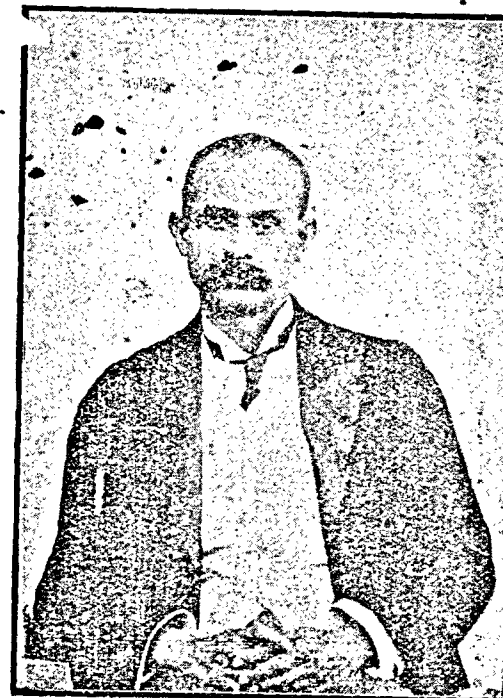
"The progress of India cannot be achieved unless all the communities without exception advance simultaneously. The time has now arrived when no effective success can be gained without active and friendliest co-operation of all the sister communities of the country. Unless all the communities are brought on the same level of progress, and all share equally in the benefits of education, and consequently of administration, there cannot be a uniform and continuous progress, unaccompanied by communal jealousy, bitterness or friction. Let all the communities co-operate with each other to further the cause of the entire population, and by united action, strive to achieve success with equal opportunities and facilities for all, and without any scramble for special advantages or monopolies."

FOUR MILLIONS IN HIGH SCHOOL

In 1880, there were enrolled in the public high school about 110,000 boys and girls, writes *George S. Counts* in the American Journal of Sociology, for July. By 1900, this number had increased to 519,000; by 1910, to 915,000; by 1920, to 2,199,000; by 1925, to 3,650,000; and by the close of 1927, to probably 4,000,000. In addition, there was, of course, the private secondary school enrolment, which, in 1927, must have been considerably in excess of a quarter of a million. Moreover, in the year 1927, close to one-half of the nation's children of appropriate age were enrolled in the high school.

BENGAL MUSLIMS' CONFERENCE.

The Bengal Muslims' All-Parties' Conference was held at the Khilafat Conference pandal, Calcutta,



SIR ABDUR RAHIM

on Dec. 24, with Sir Abdur Rahim in the chair. The Conference was largely attended.

In welcoming the delegates, Mr. S. H. Suhrawardy, Chairman of the Reception Committee, discussed the Nehru Report as far as joint electorates were concerned. He said that the principles on which the recommendations had been made were incorrect and unsuited to India and its peculiar conditions. He pleaded for separate electorates and strongly denied that separate electorates were responsible for the new communal feeling.

In the course of his presidential address, Sir Abdur Rahim surveyed the present political situ-

ation in the country, criticised the Nehru Report, and advised Moslems to earnestly organise themselves. He referred to the fact that the Nehru Report discarded the idea of Federal Government giving control of the entire administration of India to the Central Government. Mohammedans, he said, viewed that with special alarm, for Moslems would always be in a minority in the Central Legislature. He advocated a federal constitution with every province equally represented in the Central Legislature.

He was of opinion that the Report should not be rejected wholesale as that would be a grave political blunder. In his own words: "It will be a disastrous calamity for our common country if the leaders of the two communities cannot find on this occasion a common formula on which to reconcile the different view-points". As regards the question of representation on legislatures, he said that national trust and good will should be fostered.

The Conference adopted resolutions advocating that the future constitution of India should be on the basis of responsible Government with Dominion Status under the British Crown and should be in the form of a federation of fully autonomous States, and that there shall be full responsible Government in the provinces and all the Departments including Law and Order should be responsible to the provincial legislatures and that these should be uni-cameral, and that in the Central Legislature, the Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third, and that the separate electorate system should continue.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

Last month we referred to the appointment of a Standing Joint Committee on Indian affairs. The members from the House of Lords include Lord Middleton, Lord Chelmsford, Lord Harris, Lord Lamington, Lord Amptill, Lord Islington, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, Lord Southborough, Lord Lloyd, Lord Meston and Lord Olivier.

ENGLAND AND AUSTRALIA

A. P. F. Chapman, the English Skipper, in a special interview granted to the Melbourne correspondent of the CEYLON INDEPENDENT, expressed relief at completing the task he had set out to accomplish. He realised that the Australians were improving with every match, and had given the Englishmen many anxious moments in this game. He specially congratulated Hobbs and Sutcliffe on their wonderful display under the most difficult conditions. The Australian plan of placing the field and using the bowlers failed. In comparison with the other matches, the fieldsmen were not so alert, and lack of anticipation lost them many possible chances; even Oldfield was not his usual brisk self. He was of opinion that the rain prevented a possible Australian victory as their spin bowlers would have utilised the worn pitch which the rain freshened up. The Englishmen's experience overcame the difficult conditions.

HENDREN'S HECTIC HITTING

The wicket season in England closed with a riot of runs at the Oval, in which Hendren's hectic hitting sparkled throughout. He hit Macdonald 3 times for four, successively, and collected 17 runs in one over. He scored 79 in 25 minutes and with Ames, another Australian tourist, added 179 in 5 minutes over an hour, three overs yielding 60. Hendren was at the wicket for 2 hours and hit 4 sixes and 21 boundaries. Two overs from Iddon produced 22 and 25 respectively. Sutcliffe and Tyldesley reached their 3,000 runs for the season, being fourth and fifth respectively to accomplish the feat.

HOCKEY IN MURREE

In the final of the Murree Brewery Tournament, the King's Own beat the East Surreys by 1 goal to nil. The game opened with Surrey pressing continually and were unlucky in not scoring on two occasions. A change came over the game, and the King's Own scored the only

goal. The King's Own had the better of the game till the interval. After resumption, play was even with the Surreys making desperate efforts but the forwards were well held by the King's own defence. The cup and medals were presented by General Cobbe V. C. Army.



MISS HELEN WILLS AND MISS EILEEN BENNETT
Miss Helen Wills defeated Miss Eileen Bennett in the French Hard Courts Women's Championship.

M. C. C.'S. RECOMMENDATION

As a result of the meeting of the Advisory County Cricket, the M.C. C. will cable to Australia, recommending that 4 days be allotted for the first 4 Tests in England in 1930 and that the fifth be played to finish if necessary.

DEMPSEY'S NEW ROLE

A close friend of Jack Dempsey has told him that he will never enter the ring again. He will pick up where Rickard let off and devote his time entirely to promoting fights.

ALL-INDIA YOUTH CONGRESS

The third Session of the All-India Youth Congress met at the Convention pandal at Calcutta on Dec. 25. Mr. Subas Chandra Bose, in his welcome address, said

that the renaissance of youth was a world feature, and that even in this country of Lotus Eaters, awakening had come. At this time, he said, he must openly and fearlessly speak about two schools of thought, one, the Sabarmati School (Gandhi), and the other, the Pondicherry School (Arabindo Ghose). The former would take them back to the days of the bullock cart, and declare that the soul was so important that physical culture and military training could well be ignored. The Pondicherry School told them that the best way to conquer nature was not to fight her but to seek refuge in contemplation. He protested against the passivism inculcated by these schools of thought, and declared that India to-day wanted philosophy of activism. India when free must fight the modern enemy with modern methods both in economic and political sphere.

We must resist the cry of back to the Vedas on the one side, on the other, the meaningless craze for fashion and change of modern Europe.

Mr. K. F. NARIMAN welcomed the honour of presidency conferred by Bengal on a member of the Parsi community after 42 years as it was in 1886 that Dadabhai Naoroji presided over the National Congress in Calcutta. Mr. Nariman held that the spirit of comradeship and fellowship amongst the young was bound to produce a salutary effect on the grave communal problems infecting the country. He warned them against converting the youth Congress into a deliberative body as it would only add one more to the glorified debating societies of the country. They should, on the other hand, constitute their pandal into a recruiting camp. "In Egypt, Italy, Turkey, China, and New Afghanistan, youth organizations had brought about a transformation."

Mr. Nariman criticised the Government's educational policy and the Arms Act as the direct causes of the nation's intellectual and physical emasculation.

Finally, Mr. Nariman held out to the Youth Congress the plea to "Bardolise the country."

Bardoli, he said, demonstrated the potentiality of the youth; for it was a band of volunteers from various Ashrams and national institutions of Gujarat who provided the backbone of Mr. Vallabhai Patel's army.



MR. K. F. NARIMAN

He urged that National Ashrams like the Ali Azhars in Egypt and Gaelic Leagues in Ireland be started as recruiting camps for national volunteers.

"The principal aim of the youth movement" he concluded, should be to create a future generation of citizens who would acquire a combination of culture, both Eastern and Western, and a mentally martial spirit and character; and incessant and concerted efforts should be made to "Bardolise" the whole country.

Over a dozen resolutions were adopted by the Congress including one recommending the fixation, as a National Commemoration Day, of May 10, the date on which the Sepoy Mutiny broke out in 1857. Another resolution asked the youth of the country to take up the vow of Swadeshi, a third asked them to espouse the Labour cause, and yet another declared Independence and not Dominion Status to be the goal of India.

Dec. 14. The Bombay Youth Congress concludes its sittings.

Dec. 15. M. Poincare introduces a Coercion Bill.

Dec. 16. The Moslem All-Parties' Conference meets in Delhi.

Dec. 17. The Angora Assembly prohibits sale of opium.

Dec. 18. Mr. Saunders, Superintendent of Police, Lahore, is shot dead.

Dec. 19. Indian Trade Union Congress meets in Jharia.

Dec. 20. Dr. Ansari opens the Congress Exhibition.

Dec. 21. Pandit Motilal Nehru arrives in Calcutta.

Dec. 22. The All-Parties' Convention meets in Calcutta.

Dec. 23. The Convention supports Dominion Status.

Dec. 24. Mr. Ben Spoor is dead.

Dec. 25. Mr. M. R. Jayakar presides over National Social Congress at Calcutta.

Dec. 26. Pandit Motilal Nehru hoists the National flag in the Congress pandal.

Dec. 27. All-India Library Conference meets in Calcutta.

Dec. 28. Women's Social Conference meets in Calcutta.

Dec. 29. Indian National Congress meets in Calcutta, Pandit Motilal presiding.

Dec. 30. The Liberal Federation meets in Allahabad, Sir C. Setalvad presiding.

Dec. 31. Congress approves compromise resolution on Dominion Status.

Jan. 1. Indian National Congress concludes its Session.

Jan. 2. The Third All-India Women's Conference meets in Patna.

Jan. 3. Jacques Oppenheim, the hero of Suez, is dead.

Jan. 4. Signoria Edda Mussolini daughter of Signor Mussolini, arrives in Calcutta.

Jan. 5. The Editor of the FORWARD is sentenced to 6 months' S. I., on a charge of sedition.

Jan. 6. Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia is dead.

Jan. 7. QUESTION MARK (American aero-plane) breaks all endurance records.

Jan. 8. Discontented ex-soldiers of the Punjab besiege Government House in Lahore.

Jan. 9. Government of Bombay extends the internment period of Mr. Savarkar by 2 years.

Jan. 10. The Raja of Kanika succeeds to the office of Executive Council (Bihar.)

Jan. 11. The Assembly Office (Separate) Secretariat works from to-day.



SIR BASIL BLACKETT

Jan. 12. Sir Basil Blackett is appointed Chairman of the Communications Company carrying a salary of £15,000 a year.

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A CAPTAIN (I. M. S.) writes:—"I have developed interest in life and work, both of which had nearly died out of me. My senses are getting acuter again and I am acquiring knowledge by their continued use. "I can't do this" no more occurs to me now, for I have confidence in myself. In short, the course has given me an impetus for general improvement."

A PLANTER writes:—"There are two benefits that I have derived from the course, and these are a considerable gain in confidence, and the acquisition of a greater tendency to tackle a job immediately, instead of delaying until the last moment."

A BARRISTER writes:—"In lucid and interesting language Pelmanism teaches every one how to take an interest in life so that they may live their lives to the fullest extent, and get the best out of it."

A MERCANTILE ASSISTANT writes:—"I have learnt how to think; my memory is good, and I am less self-conscious. I am not sure whether the position to which I am proceeding at the end of the month is directly attributable to Pelmanism; but Pelmanism will make me succeed in it."

AN ARCHITECT writes:—"I have developed concentration, attention and interest powers which I lacked before, and I have now a good knowledge of my professional requirements as a result of training my senses on Pelman lines. My will and power for effort has been considerably improved."

A Writer says that Pelmanism has enabled him to conquer his old absent-mindedness, forgetfulness and carelessness. Also, owing to the mental alertness and confidence developed by Pelmanism, he has been able to secure a good job.

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A NURSE writes: It has given me an aim in life, and has shown me how I can carry it out. It has made the world seem a much more interesting place to live in, and I feel more Self-Confident, with a more reliable Memory."

A LABORATORY ASSISTANT writes:—"Pelmanism has been for me a remarkable method of individual unfoldment, bringing out abilities I

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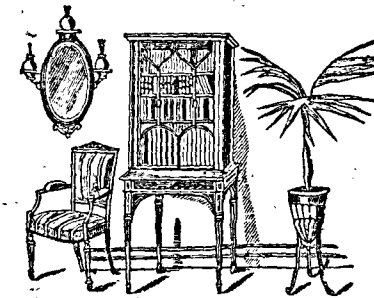
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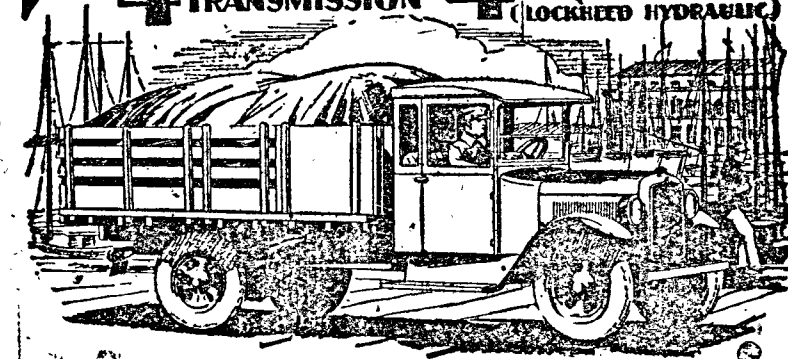
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Steamers	Tons.	Sailing About
		From Calcutta From Madras
S. S. "Margha"	8,278	19th Jan. 1929
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VOL. LX

SUNDAY, AUGUST 25, 1929

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The Madras Mail

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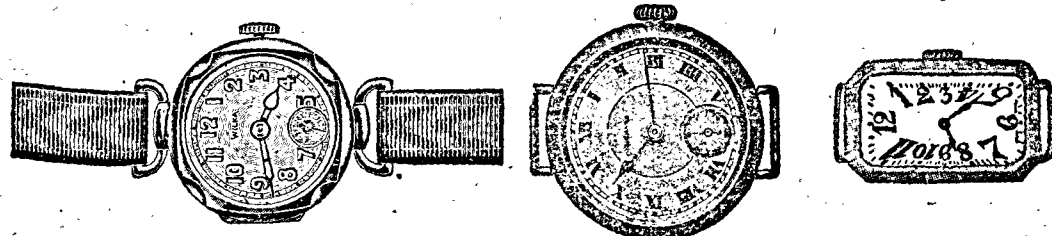
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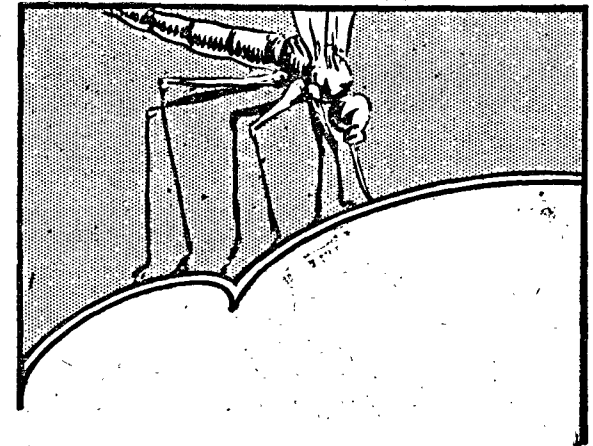
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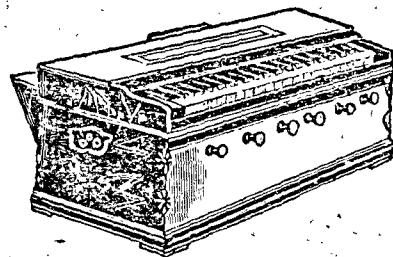
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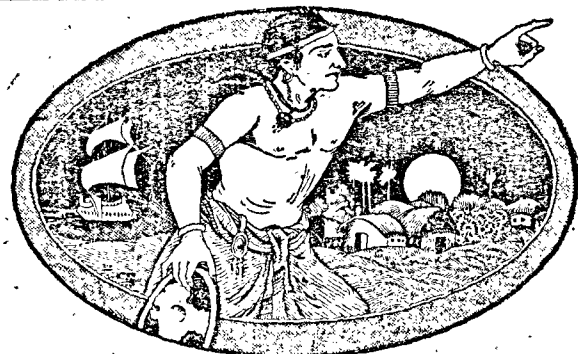


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92	" " " 9 " "	6 6	101	Fancy boxes, contg. one 4 oz. bottle Eau-de-Cologne and 1 tablet Toilet Soap " " "	3 8
123A	Lavender Water " 9 " "	5 8	102	Fancy boxes, contg. one 2 oz. bottle of Eau-de-Cologne and 1 tablet Toilet Soap " " "	2 2
474	Nenita Bath Salts " " "	2 4	981	Glycerine Soap oval cake tablet " " "	0 4
898	Eau-de-Cologne Bath Soap tablet " " "	0 11	905	" " per box of 3 tablets " " "	1 8
897	Lavender Bath Soap tablet " " "	0 11	952	" " per bar " " "	1 4
859A	Eau-de-Cologne Soap box of 3 tab- lets " " "	1 10	985	Glycerine Soap Round bath per tablet " " "	0 8
985	Glycerine Soap tablet " " "	0 8	968	Benzoe Soap " " "	0 13
418	Tooth Paste " each " "	0 9	804	Eau-de-Cologne Soap per box of 3 tablets " " "	2 8
453	Vanishing Cream " " "	1 4	805	Lavender Soap, per box of 3 tablets " " "	2 8
464	Cold Cream " " "	1 0	803	Flower Soap, Asstd, per box of 3 tablets " " "	2 8
627	Talcum Powder—Rhine Violets " " "	0 11	807	Eau-de-Cologne Soap, per box of 3 tablets " " "	2 12
458	Vanishing Cream " " "	1 0	394	Shaving Soap Refill " " "	0 9
475	Bath Salts " " "	1 12	393	" " in Alum. Tins per tin " " "	0 12
476	" " " " " "	1 4	951	Liquid Glycerine Soap White Rose, per bot. " " "	1 8
629	Talcum Powder—Carnation.. " " "	0 11	953	Liquid Glycerine Soap (Eau-de- Cologne) per bot. " " "	1 8
628	Eau-de-Cologne Face Powder (white Rachel and Naturelle) " each " "	1 0	891	Bath Soap White Rose per tab. " " "	0 8
626	Talcum Powder—Eau-de-Cologne each " " "	0 12			
604	Nenita Face Powder—White. Rachel and Naturelle each " " "	1 4			
580	Shampoo Powders " per pkt. " "	4			
477	Eau-de-Cologne Bath Powder in packets " per-pkt. " "	4			
21	Eau-de-Cologne 8 oz. each " " "	4 6			
22	" 4 " " " " " "	2 6			
23	" 2 " " " " " "	1 4			
31	"Imperials 8 " " " " " "	3 8			
32	" 4 " " " " " "	2 0			
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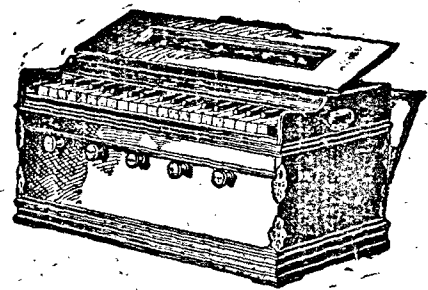
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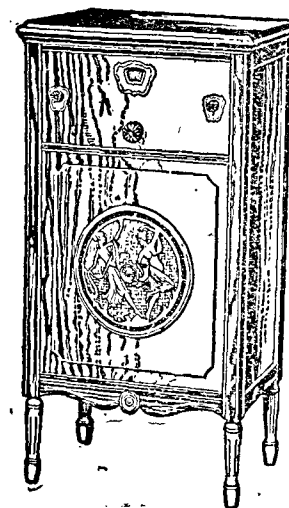
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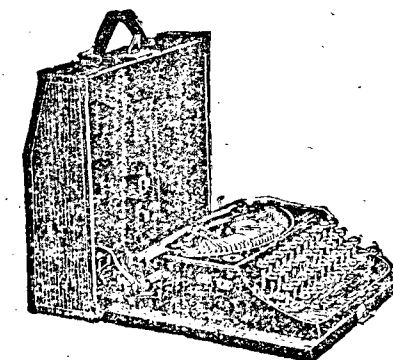


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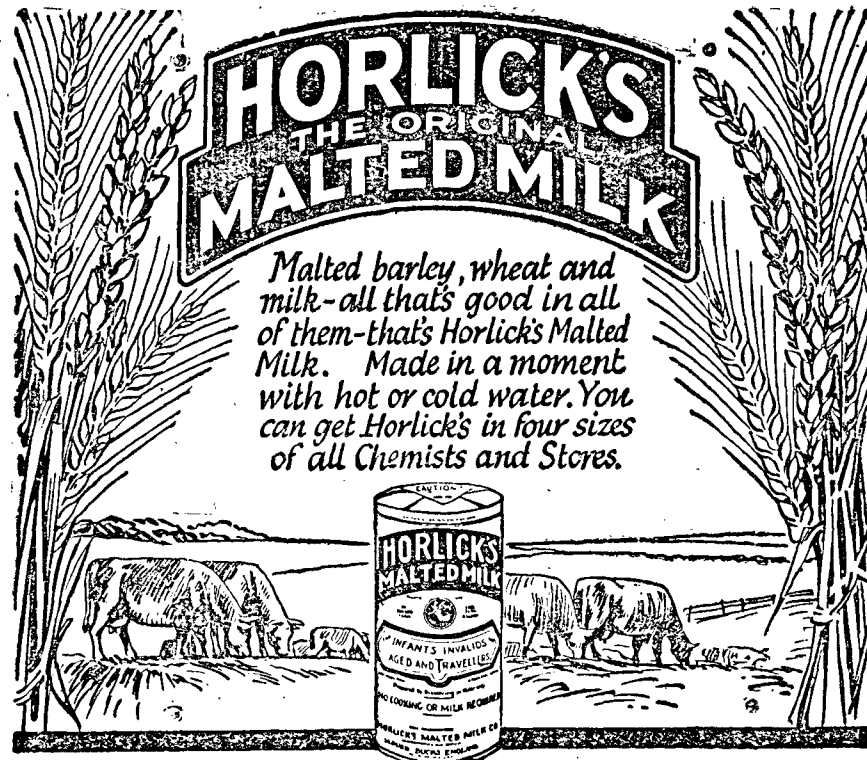
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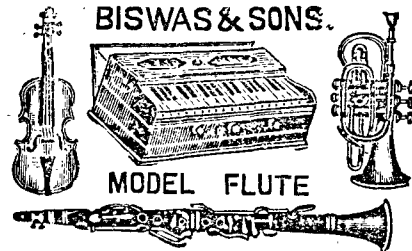
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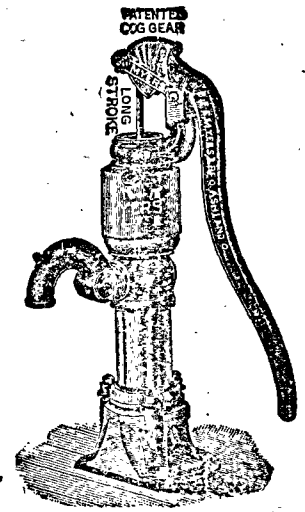
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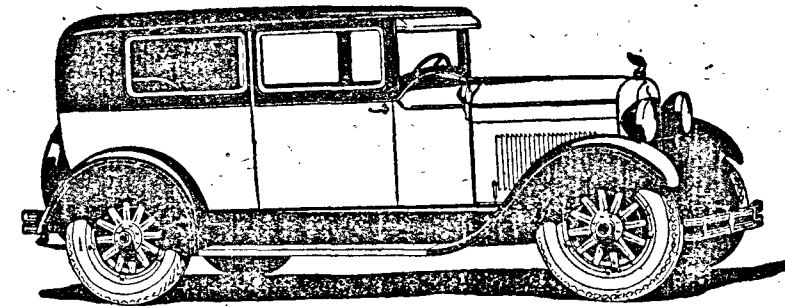
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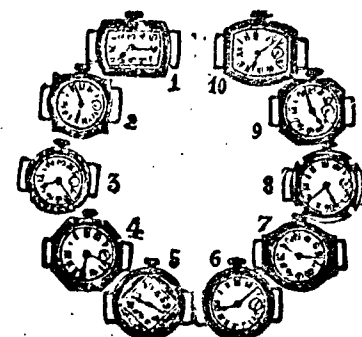
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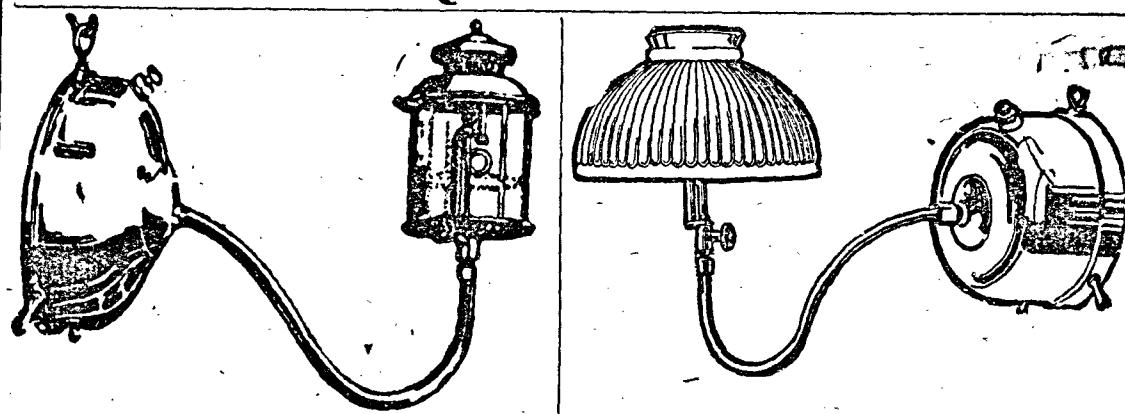
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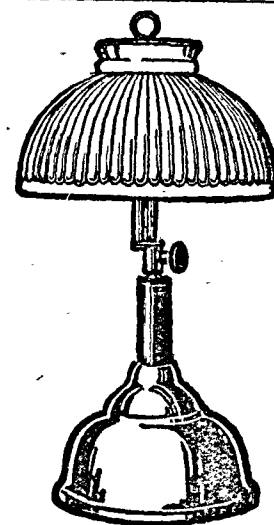
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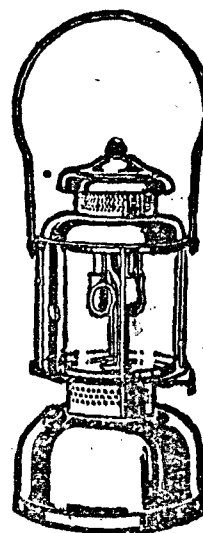


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„ Three Bottles Rs. 2-10-0, V. P. Charges As. 12. EXTRA.

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Its ever increasing demand all over India proves its inimitable superiority. Only a few drops of it applied on handkerchief emit the highly pleasing and lasting odour of daisy and Jasmine flowers.

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