

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL

DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. XXXI.

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No. 3. 1930.

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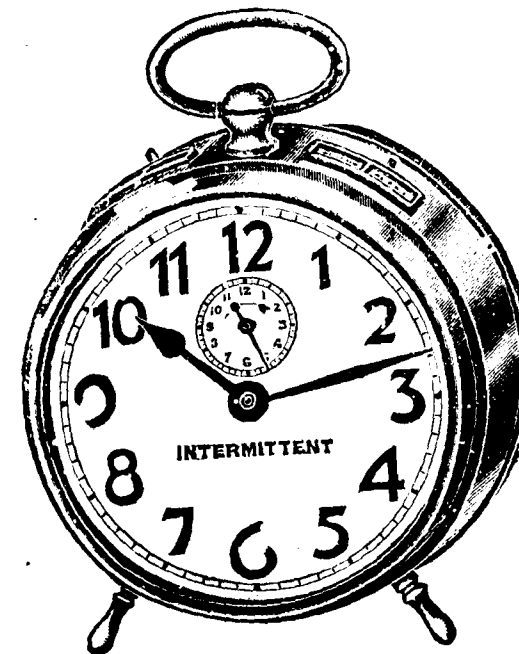
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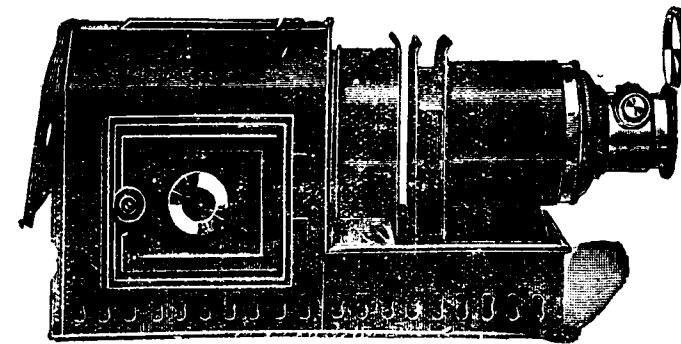
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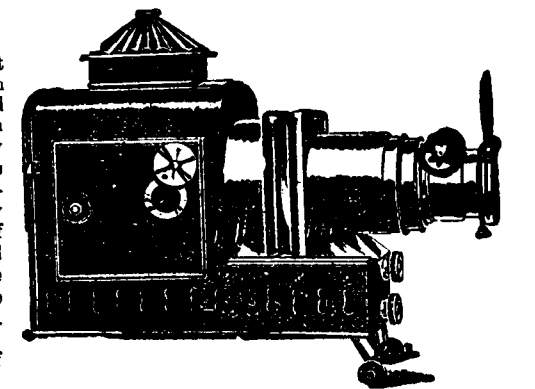
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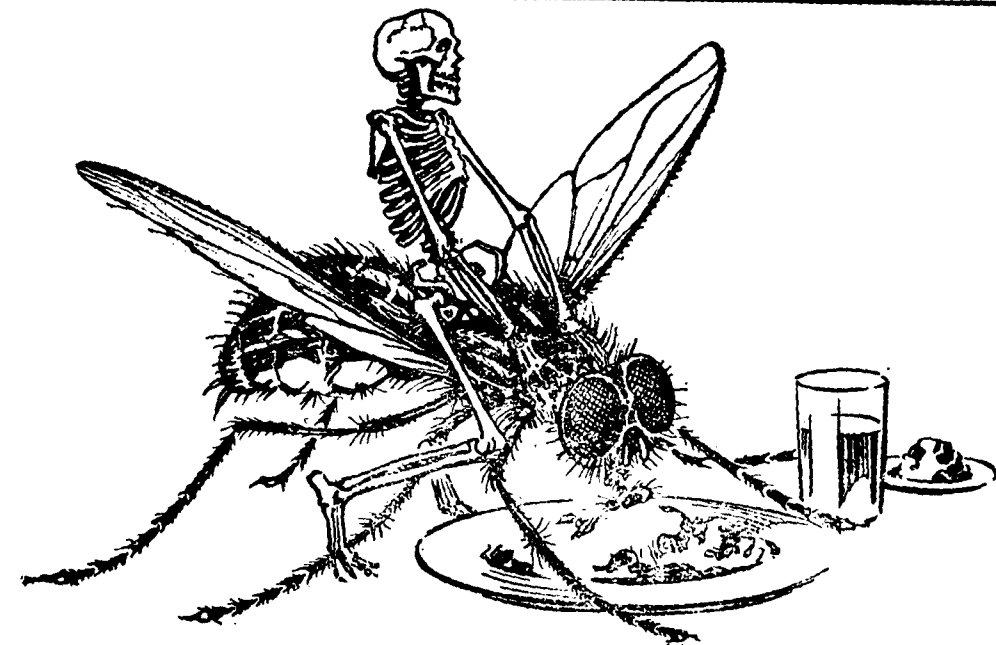


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The Yellow Can with the Black Band

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

VOL. XXXI.]

MARCH 1930

[No. 8.]

The Ethics of Literary Biography

BY SIR DENYS BRAY

HERE is a critical study of the greatest of all German writers by the most fashionable of modern German biographers.* And I

bulk one associates with the ugly word 'tome'; yet its worldly wise author has tempered the wind for English-speaking readers by cutting the German original down to one-half. It is entitled quite simply "Goethe". But the very simplicity is a challenge: for Goethe is not merely the greatest name in German literature; it is a name with a place assured among the eternally great names in the literature of the world.



SIR DENYS BRAY

am left wondering by what criterion one ought to judge it. It is a work in two volumes of a

* Goethe. The History of a Man. By Emil Ludwig, Putnam, 2 vols., 15/-

I can well imagine orthodox scholarship—especially in Germany!—tossing Emil Ludwig's tomes aside unread on finding them innocent of note or foot-note, and with nothing more than an occasional breezy suggestion of the authority for assertion or quotation in the text itself. For was there ever a life at once so documented and so enigmatical, so provocative of seemingly endless controversy as Goethe's; so complex, so tangled a yarn that no one (least of all perhaps Goethe himself as he toiled at his autobiography) has been able to separate out the WAHRHEIT from the DICTUNG, the truth from the fiction or rather the crude facts from the poet's

creative transmutation of them? Were there ever writings so perspicuous at times, so magnificent in the magniloquent simplicity of inevitable and indefeasible greatness; at others so obscure, so burdened with thoughts hardly to be packed into the narrow compass of literary form, that learned and unlearned alike may be thankful, unfeignedly and without a blush, for the guidance some industrious editor may offer from his researches into their origins and meanings and (for there is as yet no end in sight to the process) into the researches of others? To most of us the very Goethe conjures up labour; past labour of love, labour well repaid in a struggle to understand something of the workings of a great mind, a great poet, a great personality, who, throughout his long life, gathered round him a wealth of contemporary comment, conjecture, controversy, and in the hundred years (save two) since his death, has gathered round him an even greater wealth of study and research.

And here comes Herr Ludwig, fresh from making short and brilliant work of Napoleon and Bismarck, modern Germany's co-creators (if for brevity's sake the paradox may be allowed to stand) and strange contrast! of Wilhelm II, and with a like brilliance and consummate self-assurance depicts (to quote his sub-title) "The History of a Man" who is the embodiment of the German spirit, creative and contemplative, at its best and most characteristic, and for that very reason perhaps of the German spirit in its most universal aspect.

By what criterion should one judge these volumes? If the criterion is the voraciousness of readers in Germany and the

rapidity with which the first English edition was exhausted, criticism must be silenced. But are we really to abandon all attempt to rate a book by Milton's magnanimous standard and sink effortless from idealism to the level of the largest circulation, the level of the greatest ephemeral happiness of the greatest number?

It seems unlikely that I for one shall long give these volumes board and lodging in my shelves. They are too journalistic, too impressionist, too dangerously picturesque, to find a secure and permanent home in an old-fashioned library so tiny as mine. The epithets are not far off the mark, I think. Journalistic? Take Ludwig's very headings—I had almost called them 'captions': Part I Genius and Dæmon, Part II The Earth-spirit, Part III Tragic Victory. The antithesis between Genius and Dæmon is, I suppose, inescapable in any analysis of the life-history of the man that wrote FAUST. But none but a journalist surely would pepper 'Dæmon' and 'dæmonic' (in German happily, the words are not quite so unpleasing as in English) on almost every page of a work which, even in its abridged English version, runs into 700 pages and more. Impressionist? I can think of no apter, at any rate no kindlier, description for Ludwig's sub-headings: Rococo, Prometheus, Eros, Daemonic, Activity, Duty, Liberty, Loneliness, Proteus, Empyrean, Resignation, Phoenix. Dangerously picturesque? Take the opening of the book:—

In a fancy shop at Leipzig, stands a sixteen-year-old student, choosing among powder puffs and hair ribbons; and as he turns them over, he glances at a graceful gilt-framed mirror, and does not soon look away . . . When this young gentleman, on leaving the shop, encounters a fellow student and begins to talk, the charming mouth emits phrases of precocious wisdom, the outcome

more of vanity than conviction and full of a confident omniscience, alert to bring everything—God, universe, and art—down to a level whereon nothing need be venerated. Through the old streets they wander; and as they go, the admiring or wanton glance of every girl they greet is a mark for their disillusioned ribaldry, as are also the faces, figures, and teaching capacities of all their professors, to say nothing of the German State and King Frederick.

If this stood alone, one might conceivably regard it despite the historic present (which to be sure is much less unforgivable in German) as a brilliant bit of writing, a fine flight of the imagination. But this sort of thing is Ludwig's standard opening for a new section or a new train of thought. It very soon becomes tiresome. And it becomes worse than tiresome when Ludwig uses it as framework for an imaginative presentation of the innermost thoughts of Goethe and his associates. There is a particularly bad example at the beginning of Chapter VIII:—

The Belvedere. Tea with the Duchess in the little drawing-room. It is an evening at the beginning of August; all the windows are open. Goethe stands at the table. On its inlaid surface, he has spread out some Roman sketches, carefully mounted, many of them lightly framed, and now he unrolls a map of Rome and shows the Duchess, over whose chair he is bending, where he had lived. She finds the big map very puzzling. . . . 'Would it really be worth while for a month or two?' thinks Herder—who has not yet started for Rome, after all. He turns over the pages of the Vatican Catalogue. 'We can't stay abroad for two years; only this upstart can do things of that sort.' * * * 'How long the Duchess is listening to him?' thinks Caroline Herder. 'It's time that Herder went to Rome—that trip of Goethe's has given him too great an advantage * * * Goethe will have to arrange it—it was he who brought us here, after all! Out of affection? I cannot get rid of the feeling that he never really does anything that isn't going to be useful to him. Perhaps, he is the more gifted, but certainly not the more profound.' * * * 'He doesn't care a button about all these things he's showing!' thinks Knebel, * * * 'You flee from me because you think I might understand you!' 'We might as well not exist!', thinks Anna Amalia * * *

And so on and on, revealing through five long pages to a presumably credulous world secret thoughts and feelings of that brilliant coterie which makes Weimar one of the literary pilgrimages of the modern world.

And at this stage in Goethe-criticism was it really necessary for Ludwig to dwell so much in such detail, with such warmth of colour on Goethe's unending roll of amorous adventures? True, but for Lotte and Lili and Kathchen and the rest, the world would have been the poorer by some of its best-known poems. But after a hundred years and more, one may fairly look to a literary critic to spare us details of the particular experiences, often commonplace, sometimes not very creditable which were the stimulating cause of Goethe's literary work and to concentrate on the worth and meaning of the work itself.

And yet—And the hesitation brings me back at the close to the question with which I started. By what criterion ought one to judge two heavy volumes of literary criticism so eagerly bought up as this? There is one criterion in which I myself believe profoundly; and it seems to run counter to nearly everything I have so far written. The highest service a literary critic can render is to rekindle interest in the works of each great author he criticises. And if Ludwig drives us to read or re-read Goethe's immortal works, he surely deserves well of us all. Even as I write, my eye falls longingly but conscience-stricken, on that long line of shabby volumes on my bookshelf acquired many a year ago in Stuttgart, in Oxford, in Dusseldorf, in London, fitfully, laboriously, one by one as the odd shillings or marks were saved up, once well thumbled, since the outbreak of the War neglected. Thanks to Ludwig, they shall lie neglected no longer.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

BY MR. M. V. SUBRAMANYAM, M.A., L.T.,

Lecturer in History, St. John's College, Palamcottah.

"IF there be one lesson which history clearly teaches, it is this, that free nations cannot govern subject provinces. It they are unable or unwilling to admit their dependencies to share their own constitution, the constitution itself will fall to pieces, through mere incompetence for its duties." (Froude).

"Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it." (Abraham Lincoln).

IT is a matter of common knowledge, that, of late, opinion has been growing in America that, for more reasons than one, she should relinquish her self-imposed responsibilities in the Philippine Islands. The question of Philippine independence has become a 'live issue' with the Congress, and Representative Knutson of Minnesota has introduced a Bill to grant independence to the Islands on Feb. 2. The possible decision of the U. S. A. Government to grant independence to the Filipinos has roused the anxiety of Jingoists in England who declare that an independent Philippines will become a prey to Japanese aggression and commercial exploitation. The question of Philippine independence is therefore a topic of current interest and it is the purpose of this article to describe the struggle of the Filipinos for independence and to examine the consequences of the possible grant of independence.

THE CONQUEST OF THE PHILIPPINES

Speaking on December 30, 1924, in the course of a discussion on American Imperialism in New York, the well-known banker, Otto H. Kahn said, "Owing to the limitation of the time available, I cannot enter into the matter of America's ownership of the Philippines except to point out that it came to us

as an unforeseen incident of the Spanish-American War unsought and decidedly unwanted: but having come, it involved a national responsibility which, in self-respect and in duty, we are bound to discharge, and of which we cannot divest ourselves until it is fairly discharged." The statement of Otto H. Kahn that the Philippines came to America 'unsought and decidedly unwanted' is a travesty of truth. It is a matter of history that America had an eye on the Philippines, for, as a distributing centre with half the population of the world living within a radius of 3,500 miles from Manila, the possession of the islands was indeed tempting. In fact, it was the Spanish-American War that gave the U. S. A. an opportunity to wrest the islands from the hands of Spain and keep them in hers.

For nearly 350 years, the Philippines had been under Spanish rule. During that period, the misgovernment of the islands by Spanish Proconsuls, the predominant influence of the Roman Catholic Church, and the rottenness of the economic organisation made the islands a centre of disaffection. Before 1872, there were as many as 34 revolts against Spain, and all of them were put down sternly. After 1872, the movement to overthrow Spanish rule got considerable strength within the islands. Several causes contributed to this patriotic movement. In the first place, the opening of the Suez Canal brought the islands closer to Europe, and the contact with the West, where nationalism was running riot, made the Filipi-

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PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

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nos yearn for independence. This desire for freedom was increased when the Spanish governors showed racial discrimination between the Spanish-born Whites known as Spanish Recollects and the native Malays. Further, the shortlived revolution against Queen Isabella in Spain was not without effect in the Philippines. The islands were seething with discontent, and the oppression of the Spanish Governors gave a convenient handle to agitators. Dr. Jose Rizal, a cultured Filipino, published a novel entitled *NOLI ME TANGERE*, which depicted the evils of the friar system in the islands and the injustice that resulted from it. The book was suppressed by the Spanish officials. In 1892, Dr. Rizal formed a 'Philippine League' with the object of improving the educational, moral and economic progress of the islands. To the Spanish officials, Dr. Rizal was what the red rag is to the bull. They therefore managed to exile him, but the exile of this peaceful Revolutionary was a triumph for the party of violence. Soon after the exile of Rizal, a secret society, called the 'Katipunan', under the leadership of Andras Bonifacio, was formed to overthrow Spanish domination in the islands. The formation of the Khatipunan was soon followed by the execution of Rizal. His execution was the signal for a general rebellion in the islands. Just before this rebellion, Cuba, one of the West Indian possessions of Spain, had revolted, and the U. S. A. had interfered on behalf of Cuba. Consequently, America and Spain were at war on the eve of the Filipinos rebellion. The Spanish-American War, or the Cuban War—as it is also called—gave a convenient pretext for the U. S. A., to interfere in the Philippines and to put an

end to Spanish rule, or to be more accurate, 'misrule'. In 1898, the American Admiral Dewey sailed for the Philippines and destroyed the Spanish fleet.

When the American fleet made its appearance in the Philippine waters, the Revolutionary leader, Aguinaldo, hailed the American admiral, for he thought that America would enable the Philippines to secure her freedom from Spain. Aguinaldo was led to this inference rather irresistibly, because the U. S. A. had helped Cuba to become independent. Aguinaldo co-operated with Dewey, proclaimed the independence of the islands, and set up a temporary constitution with himself as President. Unfortunately, the Revolutionary leader could not fathom the mind of America; he could not suspect that the U. S. A. was interfering in the Philippine revolt only to secure the islands for herself.

The combined efforts of the Revolutionary troops and the American naval and military forces were certainly more than a match for the Spanish troops. Spain was forced to abandon the islands which she had held for over three centuries. After the withdrawal of Spain, the Filipinos hoped that the American forces also would evacuate the islands, thus enabling the Filipinos to become independent. But they were disappointed. In the Treaty of Paris which terminated the Spanish-American War, the U.S.A. purchased the Philippines from Spain by paying 20 million dollars within three months. This action of the U.S.A. has no justification. The U.S.A. had always insisted that governments rest on the consent of the governed, and President McKinley had proclaimed "that forcible annexation was not

to be thought of as it would be criminal aggression and that our priceless principles could not change under a tropical sun." Yet, in 1898, the U.S.A. got the help of the Philippine revolutionaries to drive the Spaniards away, and then annexed the islands to her Empire against the wishes of the Filipinos.

The moment the Filipinos realised that they had been deceived by America, they prepared to resist American Imperialism. Then followed a short war between the American forces and the Revolutionary troops. The Filipinos could not resist the power of America, and with the capture of Aguinaldo, the rebellion was at an end, and the Philippines became an American dependency.

We see, therefore, that America had long been coveting the Philippines on account of her favourable situation and her resources like sugar, tobacco, vegetable oil and fats, and when the opportunity came, she availed herself of it. But America proclaimed to a credulous world that her mission in the Philippines "was to educate the Filipinos, to teach them the rudiments of self-government and to lead them out into the bright sun-light of Western civilisation." Judge Taft, the Governor of Philippines, declared in 1904 that, in due time, America would decide whether the Filipinos had proved themselves fit for independence and whether independence was good for them. But the steps taken by Taft were not calculated to prepare the country for independence. American capitalists were invited to acquire larger and larger interests in the Islands, and these capitalists controlled the Philippine Administration. The Filipinos were permitted only 'civil liberties',

and even these were, on occasions, trampled by resolute Governors, the O'Dwyers and Craddocks of the Islands.

THE JONES LAW—THE WOOD-FORBES REPORT

Perhaps the most important landmark in the history of Philippine independence was the Jones Law—a law which ranks in importance with the famous August Declaration of the late Mr. Montague on Indian Affairs. The Jones Law declared "that it is and always has been the purpose of the people of the U. S.A. to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognise their independence as soon as a stable Government can be established therein". In order to speedily accomplish the purpose, the new law set up a government in which the Filipinos were given a greater control over domestic affairs than before. It was also announced that the fitness of the Filipinos for independence was to be tested by the way in which they worked the constitution established by the Jones Law.

The Filipinos worked the constitution in such an excellent manner that the late Dr. Woodrow Wilson told the Congress on December 7, 1920, that America should grant independence to the Islands. But, unfortunately for the Filipinos, the Republican Administration under Harding succeeded Wilson. Harding appointed a Commission to report on the advisability of granting independence to the Philippines. The Commission consisted of two Republicans, General Wood and Governor Forbes, and their report, known as the Wood-Forbes Report stated that they had found marked progress in the Islands, but declared nevertheless that the hour for independence had not yet come. The Filipinos

were disappointed at the findings of the Commissioners, and they sent a Delegation to America to lay their case for independence before the Congress. The Philippine Delegation presented the case for independence in such an able manner that the Insular Committee was inclined to propose a Bill favouring independence. But the hopes of the Philippine Delegation were dashed to the ground, when in March, 1924, President Coolidge announced that the majority of the Filipinos were content to remain under the *aegis* of America, and that, therefore, independence could not be granted then. The action of Coolidge was certainly deplorable, for while the Congress was favourable to Philippine independence, the President, at the behest apparently of a few American capitalists, denied independence to the islands.

THE CASE FOR PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

The Filipinos were not disheartened with this bomb-shell of Coolidge. They went on agitating for independence, and their efforts have not been unsuccessful. Of late, American opinion has been growing distinctly in favour of Philippine independence. There are no doubt Retentionists in America, and this party is largely recruited from the capitalists who stand to lose by the grant of independence to the islands. The Retentionists argue that if independence were granted, the islands would pass into the hands of an oligarchy. To this it may be replied that the present Government is in the hands of a narrow clique of American capitalists, and that if, after the withdrawal of America, an oligarchy were to dominate over the Islands, which is unlikely—the Filipinos would at least have the satisfaction of being dominated by

their own men. Another argument for the retention of the islands in American hands is that, if independence were granted, the islands would be thrown into the vortex of a Civil War, and that the people would take to mutual slaughter. This argument ignores the fact that the instinct for self-preservation is as strong among the Asiatics as it is among the Western nations. The Filipinos also point out the passage in the Wood-Forbes Report which pays a tribute to the remarkable progress achieved by the Filipinos in a short time, and the testimony of President Harding that the Filipinos' progress "is without a parallel anywhere in the world." But the imperially inclined Americans say that the progress was due to American supervision. This is a great assumption, and this is the way in which every teacher is apt to think of his pupil's achievement. Even granting that the Filipinos will commit mistakes if America withdraws from the islands, what is the harm? Upon what basis could America demand perfection in government when the recent exposure of the Tea Pot-Dome Scandal shows that public morality was not held in high esteem by some of her administrators? If the Filipinos commit mistakes, they will learn by experience and bring their government on a par with that of the most civilised country in the world.

INDEPENDENCE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

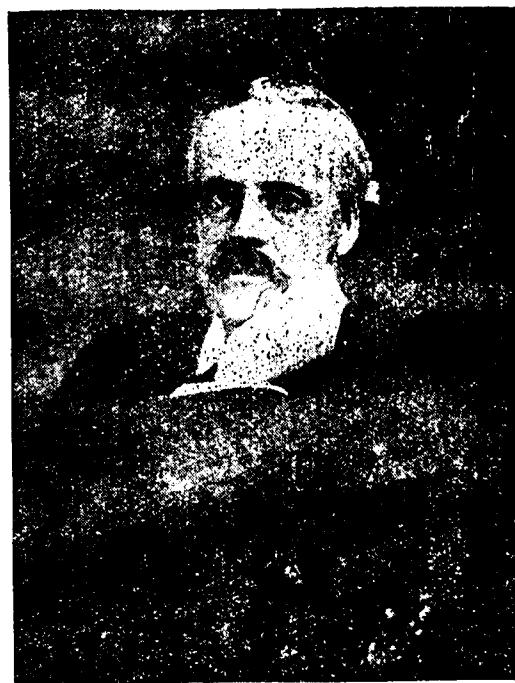
The propaganda carried on by the Philippines during the last few years has been eminently successful, for there is growing in America a feeling that the Philippines should be granted independence at an early date. We understand that the Committee on Territories of the Senate and the Committee on

Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives will hold joint hearings early in the coming session on the question of Philippine Independence. The American Government feels that the grant of independence to the Islands would reduce considerably her expenditure in administering the dependency, would limit her naval requirements, and thus take America on the road to Naval Disarmament. Besides, an independent Philippines will be a friendly neighbour to America, and as much of America's future prosperity is intertwined with the future of the Far East, it is statesmanship to grant independence to the Philippines at a very early date.

But Jingoism in England are alarmed at the possible decision of the U.S.A. to relinquish her responsibilities in the Philippines. These Imperialists who have never agreed with the decision of the Ramsay MacDonald Cabinet to slow down the construction of the Singapore Naval Base have now set up the bogey of 'Yellow Peril' to make the Labour Government to strengthen the naval bases at Singapore and Hongkong. They fear that an independent Philippines will be a prey to Japanese aggression, political and economic. The 'Yellow Peril' is merely the figment of their imagination. What with the unhealthy climate of the Philippines, what with the League of Nations protecting the interests of small nations as well as big, it will be impossible for Japan to annex the islands to her Empire. With regard to Japanese economic penetration into the Philippines, it may be pointed out that Japan will have as much right as America or Britain to develop peaceful trade relations with the islands so

long as her economic dealings do not impair Philippine sovereignty. We have a shrewd suspicion that the bogey of 'Yellow Peril' has been set up in some Conservative papers in England only to influence the Labour Government to 'go ahead' with the Singapore Naval Base.

When the French historian, Guizot, asked Lowell how long the American Republic would last, he replied: "As long as the ideas of the men who founded it continue dominant." Americans should therefore realise that the ideas of liberty and equality, which are indeed the foundation of the U. S. A. Government should not be allowed to weaken and endanger the life of the Republic. The grant of independence to the Philippines is as much to the interest of America as it is to the Filipinos themselves.



THE LATE EARL BALFOUR

The Philosopher-Statesman and the last of the great Victorians, who has passed away in his 82nd year.

HINDU-MOSLEM UNITY

BY

PROF. NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA,

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ARE the Moslems and the Hindus so very different in race as to pass the limit of unity? It is an undoubted fact that except a small section composed of outsiders, the majority of the Muhammadans in India consists of converted Hindus. According to the Census Report, even in the Punjab, only 15 p.c. of the Muhammadans can show a real foreign origin, and if this be true of the Punjab, what must be the state of things in other provinces? The Punjab being nearly the westernmost province of India must of course contain a higher percentage of men of foreign origin than, say, Bengal or Bombay. Thus we may reasonably maintain that the Muhammadans and the Hindus are in the main not ethnologically separate. As Mr. Deoji Kanji said in a meeting of the All-India Muslim League, "India is the homeland of the Muslims as of the Hindus by the same *sand*. By becoming Muslims we have not ceased to be Indians. The blood of the Pandavas and the Kouravas flows in the veins of the overwhelming majority of the Muslims of India. They are the blood brothers of the Hindus". As to language, the Muhammadans in each province speak generally the same provincial tongue as the Hindus. Certainly the language difficulty is a provincial question not a communal one.

The theoretical and speculative side of religion does not lead to dissensions. It is the concrete or historic aspect that matters. Those who are closely acquainted with village life know that in those parts where there is no vigilant Mulla, the Muhammadans attended the Hindu religious festivals and even pay offerings to the Hindu Gods. The Bengal Census Report says about the taints of Hinduism how the Muhammadans make offerings to some tree or even at a temple dedicated to the Hindu Goddess Kali along with their Hindu

neighbours. The critic may point out to the cow question and the problem of music before mosques. He has sufficient evidence the other way. The frequent riots are there to tell the story as to how differences have become discords. It is not the place here to enter upon an elaborate discussion of the causes of the riots. Suffice it to say that they are no evidence of the fact that the barriers are insurmountable. Under foreign rule, each member of the society or each community can assert its private desires and interests because it can gain nothing by suppressing them. The joint and united action of the whole people is not necessary for protection or any political activity. No individual or community feels itself dependent on the good will of its neighbours. So each is disinclined to give to the other individually or as a body in any matter which concerns its own interests, and naturally unimportant questions become vital matters of discord. Patriotism, as Acton says, "consists in the development of the instinct of self-preservation into a moral duty."

The late Sir A. Chaudhuri is said to have remarked that a subject nation has no politics, and the remark is no doubt applicable to India of the nineteenth century. The people had, as it were, sunk into stupor. But the advance during recent years has been rapid, and rapidly has India advanced to another stage which may be described in the words of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, "A subject nation has nothing but politics". Why then, the critic would ask, has Hindu-Moslem antagonism been intensified during recent years? In this matter, communal electorates play a very large part. But leaving that topic aside, we can say that though the Hindus and the Muhammadans are living side by side throughout the whole of the British period of Indian history, there has

been no abiding spirit of interdependence for reasons stated above. Then came a sudden outburst of political activity. The Hindu-Moslem *entente* that was established was superficial. This artificial unity has been followed by wild outburst of communalism of which the riots are the evidence. It is not certainly proper to take a stand on the recent riots and say that the spirit of which they are an evidence is a great hindrance to political advancement, especially as "it is only when people feel themselves advancing that their hearts expand, and when they are busy, they cease to brood gloomily". The solution of Hindu-Moslem differences is not speeches, committees or Conferences but political advancement.

It may no doubt be argued that the social barrier between the Hindus and the Muhammadans will always favour the growth of communalism. Of course, the social habits and customs are to a great extent divergent. But as Sister Nivedita says, "The Muhammadan derives his customs from Arabia and from a period in which the merging of many tribes in a national unity was the great need; the Hindu bases his habits on his own past and on the necessity of preserving a higher civilization from modification by a lower. In other words, the differences between the two deal with matters of household, woman and priesthood than those interests out of which the lives of men and activities, civic and national, are built". In spite of the differences stated above, there need not be antagonism if one community does not assume an air of provoking superiority over the other. No doubt the Hindu used to look down upon the Muhammadan, and this attitude was very much resented by the Muhammadan intelligentsia. But those days are gone by. The Hindu now feels that he cannot advance without his Muhammadan neighbours. The political sense of the educated Hindu at least has been sufficiently advanced to make him realize that Muhammadan

is his yoke fellow, his coadjutor and not merely an adjunct. The assumption of a provoking air of superiority is practically gone, and if any trace of it remains, it is not fated to last long.

So far as the economic position is concerned, the Muhammadan is far behind the Hindu. Even in the independent professions, the Hindu is far ahead. The Muhammadan cannot cope with the Hindu for Government appointments in open competition. He looks to the Government for special privileges which the Government has granted. So far as the loaves and fishes of office are concerned, the Muhammadan sees that communalism pays his community and he takes to it. The communalism of the educated Muhammadan can be explained to a certain extent on the economic basis. But certainly the general economic interest of the Hindus and the Muhammadans does not differ. Is there any difference in economic interest between the Hindu peasant and the Muhammadan peasant, between the Hindu Zemindar and the Muhammadan Zemindar? So, in the economic sphere, communalism, so far as the Hindus and the Muhammadans are concerned, can be explained away as a scramble for office. The Hindu with his stronger position cries for efficiency for *laissez faire*. Undoubtedly, the ideal of citizenship is that 'restrictions upon the choice of careers involve a loss to the community (in the sense of collectivity) as well as injury to the individual.' But the problem must be investigated not from an ideal but from a practical point of view. There is always a limit to what may be acquired from outside by begging from others. The limit is almost the same with the Muhammadans as with the Hindus. So long as that limit is not reached for any community, it seems as if there is no limit, as if we would reach the *summum bonum* of our existence in that way. It is at this stage that we quarrel among ourselves as to who has got the more and who the less. Whenever that limit is reached, discontent sets in. As it has been with the Hindus so it will be with

the Muhammadans. Moreover, we must not overlook the fact that this new policy of the Government, called by critics a favourite wife-policy, serves a national purpose. I speak from personal experience that it has given an impetus to Muhammadan education which may not be apparent so soon but will certainly be palpable within a decade. Because it has been rather easy for the Muhammadans to get Government appointments, many persons of obscure origin hailing from remote villages get substantive appointments and one such appointment within an area of, say, thirty miles, creates such a stir among the ignorant parents that many of them who under normal circumstances would not have sent their children to school now do so with a view to make them Hakims, the Hakimship (if such a word can be coined) now seeming to them to be within easy reach. Whatever might be the aim, it leads to the spread of education and thus serves a national purpose. It was the lure of office that first led to the spread of education among the Hindus, and from that, step by step, the Hindu, once the servant *par excellence*, is now conspicuous in the opposition. The same will be the state of things with the Muhammadans, but in their case more rapidly as they are already conscious of a great leeway to make up.

As to tradition, the Muhammadans and the Hindus apparently have little in common. But we know what an important part tradition plays, 'what habits are to the individual man, that to a nation are its traditions. They are the memories of the past turned into standards of the present.' But what do we find here? The fondest dreams of the Hindus go back to the Hindu period, with which the Muhammadans think they have little to do. Chandragupta, Asoka, Kanishka, Vikramaditya are the objects of admiration, the idols of the Hindus but not of the Muhammadans. During the Muhammadan period, the Hindus and the Muhammadans no doubt lived peacefully in many parts

of the country under many tolerant Muhammadan rulers, but the general impression of Muhammadan rule for which history is responsible is that of invidious distinction, religious intolerance, of Jizia and Jahor. The Muhammadan period heroes of the present day Hindus are Protap Singh and Shivaji, whose names are associated in their mind with successful resistance to Muhammadan authority. The most cherished memories of the Muhammadans are however associated with the defeat of Hindu chieftains and the conquest of Hindu territories; their heroes are mostly those whose names are anathema to the Hindus. The Hindus and the Muhammadans have no common triumph to boast of. During most of the British period, both the communities are happily or unhappily in the position of having no history. But a sure basis for Hindu-Moslem unity lay only in common love and respect for India. A large proportion of Indian Moslems are descended from Indian ancestors and they have as much reason to be proud of Hindu achievements in the Hindu period as the Hindus themselves. The Modern Greeks and Romans are Christians, but are they for that reason less proud of the achievements of their pagan ancestors. All that we need is a re-awakening of the spirit of history. Gibbon, speaking of the 'eternal in History' says, "spiritually speaking, the past is by no means a finished story. It is always open to the present to discover, to stir up, something new in it. Even the past is still in the making". A distortion of history for the sake of patriotism as was done in America is the last thing I would suggest. As Ernest Scott says, "History should be wholly patriotic in its uplift; but it is bad history that sets patriotism before truth and bad patriotism that desires such disservice. But we must lay more emphasis on the unifying elements in the history of India during the Muhammadan period than we have hitherto been accustomed to do. Our history

has hitherto been written by foreigners more conscious of the differences existing than of the elements of unity. They do not take note of the fact that 'Peace hath her victories more glorious than those of war'. Husani Shah, Nusrat Shah, Yusuf Adil Shah and other tolerant rulers are dealt with in a summary fashion while we are given the most harrowing details about the doings of Aurangzeb and Alamgir. Take again, for example, the case of Shivaji. He has been represented as the champion of Hinduism against Islam which is certainly taking a wrong view. Even Khafi Khan notes his reverence for the Quran. Toleration was the most marked feature of his rule. He was red against the Central Government, not against Islam. We must note the popular religion of Medieval India, Sufism, the Urdu language and the Indo-Saracenic art, which were the common property of the conquerors and the conquered and 'tended to blend the two together as closely as the granite walls of the caste system would permit.' Why overlook the fact that 'while the old scriptures and strict theory kept the two sects apart, a common destiny and the common weal and woe of life under the same Indian sun drew them together except for occasional crescentades by a Puritan Sultan or Padishah'. Thus it is our communal mentality helped by a lack of the true spirit of history that has played havoc with our national spirit.

Now, as to common aspiration, Mr. Deoji Kanji, who has been quoted above, said something which should be noted: "Outside our home lands and corn fields, we have our holy places and Khalif and 300 millions who share in our faith. By blood and religion, the Mussalmans of India are the uniting links of brothers in blood and brothers in faith. Who can say that blood is thicker than faith or faith is thicker than blood?" Pan-Islamism has received a shock by the abolition of the Caliphate and recently by the disestablishment of the Moslem church in Angora. The

current of world events forces the Indian Muhammadan more and more "to emphasise that particular branch of his Imam which is called Hubulwatam (love of country)." Now at last the common aspiration of achieving national unity and independence ought to inspire the Muhammadan to join hand in hand with other communities. But the Muhammadans being a minority community think that they must have a complete sense of security in the India to be, before they can join whole-heartedly with the Hindus.

Enough has been written to show that it is not proper to assert, as Mr. Coatsman has done, that 'the gulf between Hindu and Muhammadan interests is wide and deep.' As has been said before, differences there are and there will remain, but that these have been elevated to the rank of discords, is due entirely to a state of things which is not at all permanent and can easily be removed.

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RESTRAINT ON MUSSALMAN CHILD MARRIAGE

BY MR. AHMAD SHAFI.

CHILD Marriage is not a feature of the social life of Mussalmans, yet the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, has exorcized a considerable section of the community. Much of what is being said against the Act may be reduced to two fundamental objections. It unnecessarily restrains the freedom of action permitted by his religion to a Mussalman in his personal relations. It creates a new crime which has no room in the jurisprudence of Islam.

There is a difference between the modern jurisprudence under which our legislatures function and the Islamic jurisprudence from which the "anti-restraint" section of Mussalmans would seek guidance. The modern jurisprudence, by its nature, is an experimental science. It entails the process of (1) registering cases which have occurred over a series of years in a particular field of human activity, (2) tabulating results, and (3) appointing Commissions of trained men who are carefully selected for this purpose. By so doing, it seeks to devise measures by perpetual correction, selection, adaptation and elimination. The result is that every new law costs a country a huge price before it receives its true construction. The Islamic jurisprudence derives its sanction from different sources and recognizes three main channels of law which slightly vary in the order of their validity. The premier position has been assigned to the Quran, the revealed will of God. This must not be disobeyed. The *Sunnah*, the practice of the Prophet who had the privilege of divine guidance, comes next. This may not be safely ignored. Lastly follows *Ijthad*, the consensus of the opinion of Muslim jurists. A departure from this may be permitted under certain circumstances. It is only in respect of this last that the Islamic jurisprudence reaches nearest the principles and ideas of modern law making.

There are as many as seven passages which may be quoted from the Quran:

"And one of His signs is that He created mates for you from yourselves that you may find *quiet of mind* in them and He put between you love and compassion." (The Romans, XXX, 21.)

"And treat them with kindness." (The Women, IV, 19)

"And if you do good to them and guard against evil, then surely Allah is aware of what you do." (The Women, IX, 128)

"They (Your women) are a garment for you and you are a garment for them." (The Cow, II, 187).

These passages indicate the relations which should subsist between a man and his wife and it does not require any stretch of imagination to perceive that such happy relations can be maintained only in the case of post-puberty marriages. Child marriages discount the effects which these precepts are designed to produce for the community which takes Quran as its guide. The Mussalmans all over the world have attempted to live up to this ideal of social life and discouraged child marriages. Perhaps it is due to the paucity of child marriages that the Mussalmans do not as keenly feel the evils of the practice as they should and are naturally suspicious of the precise effects of the Act.

But this is not all. There are three passages which are being interpreted to mean that the Quran does not prohibit child marriage specifically.

"And if you fear that you can not act equitably towards orphans then marry such (other) woman as seem good to you." (The Women IV, 3.)

This refers to the practice of the Arabs who used to marry their orphan wards not so much to afford them the protection of a husband as to usurp their property. The wording of the verse created an apprehension that the marriage of an orphan may have been invalidated. In another verse, the matter was made clear.

"And they ask you (the Prophet) a decision about (orphan) women. Say, Allah makes known to you His decision concerning them, and that which is recited to you in the book (Quran) concerning orphans of the women whom you do not give which is appointed for them while you desire to marry them". (The Women, IV, 127).

The term "orphan" has been interpreted by reference to a tradition of the Prophet that one ceases to be an orphan after attaining majority. Mark the method of interpretation. The two verses relating to the orphans therefore imply that an orphan girl may be given away in marriage if marriage is in her interest, even before she has attained her majority. The permission here accorded is hedged round by sundry safe-guards and provisos which need not be detailed here, but the fact remains that a freedom of action (some would faint call it a privilege) existed which the new Act has neutralized. One more verse has been cited from which sanction for child marriage is being read.

"And those of your women who have despaired of menstruation, if you have a doubt, their *iddat* shall be three months, and of those too who have not had their courses." (The Divorce, LXV, 4.)

Iddat is the period during which a husband may take back a wife whom he has divorced, and after which the woman who has been divorced, may marry again. The concluding words of this verse have been interpreted to refer to girls who have been married and divorced before reaching the age of puberty.

This almost exhausts the sanctions recorded in the Quran. The drift of the injunctions and the import of the precepts in the Quran leave no doubt that child marriages are to be an exception to be resorted to in case of necessity rather than rule to which some sections of the community are drifting.

To correct any evil that the abuse of the sanction of the last three verses quoted above may create, a girl married in her minority may immediately on attaining majority break the marital tie. This provision has acted as a salutary check on reckless child marriages. The Prophet allowed resort to it in at least one authentically reported case. He discouraged marriage of girls of tender age. The case of his wife Aysha, an unusually precocious girl, cannot form a precedent for wide-

spread custom of child marriage. His companions followed in his footsteps, and though some instances of child marriages have been reported, there is not enough material to prove that it had become a custom, hence an evil, to be curbed by a definite order to the contrary. The jurists seem to have followed the lines of least resistance in this matter and have relied more on the good sense of the community than on the efficacy of any injunction which might create a situation similar to the one which the passage of the Child Marriage Restraint Act has created in India to-day.

The tendency of the social legislation the whole world over is to impose as much restriction on liberty of individual action as is consistent with the interests of society as a whole. The Mussalmans are feeling the irksomeness of this process rather than the danger of the prospect of awkward interference in their personal social or religious law. Situated as we are in India, we can not escape or keep free from the infection of the evil customs of our neighbours and any corrective measures that may be prescribed for one community shall have to be applied to the other communities which may show similar symptoms. Enactment of sectional laws is possible, but the question is, to what extent the central legislature, constituted as it is, can be guided in its legislative activities by the divines or theologians, or jurists of any one community. This is a difficult question to answer as it may not be considered desirable to create a department of, say, Islamic jurisprudence, for the guidance of the Legislative Assembly. Yet, this is apparently the goal towards which the agitation against the Act seems to be directed. The creation of such a department will have the effect of perpetuating the rigidity in the Islamic law which is now fast being softened under the impact of the influences of the civilisation of the West. It will deprive us of all chances of renovating our society by legislative action, the last resort of social reformer whose missionary endeavours meet with scant success.

THE PROBLEM OF THE INDIAN COMMON SALT

BY PROF. K. C. VIRARAGHAVAN, M.A.

READERS of the INDIAN REVIEW may be aware that the people of the Madras Presidency get their common salt mainly from the sea-water by solar evaporation. There are as many as sixty factories on our East Coast and the average annual consumption of salt in our Presidency is eleven million maunds or very nearly 400,000 tons.

The people in Upper India get their salt from either the salt lakes of Rajputana or the salt ranges (hills) of the Punjab. The people of Bombay get their salt from Karachi factories or Aden and the people of Bengal and Burma get their salt all the way from Liverpool. Why does the anomaly exist in the latter provinces? Can not India be self-sufficient with regard to salt at least, having regard to her extensive seaboard and her rich salt mines in the North? That is the problem.

Certainly the people of Bengal should have once been contented with the salt available in the land before the introduction of the Cheshire salt. As in the case of cloth, a taste for the foreign article has been created and, no wonder, habit has become second nature. But there was a period of intense anxiety during the Great European War, and owing to many war-time conditions, Cheshire salt could not be imported. What was done then? The pages of the Munitions Board Handbook bear ample testimony to the fact that improvements could be made, and India can be made self-sufficient in many articles, especially in salt. The experts offered many suggestions for improving the quality and improving the quantity of salt produced in India. They went further and showed how large quantities of by-products, called by the general name Bittern, were wasted, as given in the following table:—

1. Magnesium Chloride	...	193,000 tons.
2. Magnesium Sulphate	...	127,000 "
3. Potassium Chloride	...	20,000 "
3. Bromine	...	1,800 "

They wrote, "Till the War began, Germany supplied the world's demand of Potassium salts. Bromine is not produced in the British Empire, and hence all sources must be investigated." But, unfortunately for common salt and other industries in India, the War ended and the impetus has waned. The salt problem has become more acute. Why?

The fiscal aspect of salt has added to the complexity of the problem. The salt tax was Rs. 2-8-0, per maund from 1888 to 1903. Indeed, it was a heavy one for the poor man. That great servant of India, the friend of the poor, the late Gopala Krishna Gokhale, fought for the reduction of this tax during the Budget discussions of those years and got it at Rs. 2 in 1903 and at Re. 1-8 in 1905 and at Re. 1 in 1907. It is said that the consumption of salt during these periods increased by 25 per cent. But the World War imposed heavy responsibilities on India, and the salt tax was raised to Re. 1-4 in 1916 and Rs. 2-8 in 1923 and again lowered to Re. 1-4 in 1924. These fluctuations have their own tale to tell.

The Government of India this year have asked the Tariff Board to enquire into the conditions of the salt industry and report on the necessity for taking steps to encourage the production of salt in India suitable for consumption in those markets which are at present largely supplied from abroad. Certainly their considered recommendations will be awaited with interest.

Let us consider the possibilities of the Madras salt. Tuticorin manufactures pure snow-white salt. It must easily be possible for the manufacturers there by co-operative and joint-stock effort to refine it further if necessary, and get it ground finely or crystallised as a meal so as to be suitable for the Bengal market. There has been one persistent opposition to the manufacture of fine

white salt in the East Coast factories. The Government levies the duty by weight and the merchants sell salt by measure. Consequently there is the desire on the part of the manufacturers to produce as light a salt as possible so as to procure a large profit consistent with reasonable purity. Ghee is sold by measure in Tinnevely and by weight in other Districts. There is no standardisation in the use of measures and weights. If only all sellers will make up their mind to sell salt by weight and thus put an end to the greedy aim of the manufacturers to produce a light salt, the problem will have been solved half way. The Government by legislative action can initiate this reform also.

Can Tuticorin achieve the result with this reform? The following facts collected from Government reports will speak for themselves: (1) The Tinnevely merchants with great difficulty managed to secure a market in Calcutta in the year 1921-1922 for about six lakhs of maunds. (2) They found it profitable to send only about four lakhs of maunds in 1922-1923. (3) One noticeable feature during the year 1923-1924 is that there were no exports to Calcutta by sea. The main cause for this decline in export is the larger imports into India of foreign salt and the high freights demanded for transport by sea from Tuticorin. Another reason is the want of golla accommodation in Calcutta for Madras salt. The enhanced rate of salt duty during the year 1923-1924 also partly accounted for the fall in exports. To crown all these, the rules for export were till then rather rigid and it was believed that the rigidity of the rules discouraged exports. How can an industry flourish under these conditions? The true fact is, as was truly portrayed by Sir Basil Blackett in the Legislative Assembly in 1924, that the chief obstacle in the way of Indian salt displacing foreign salt is neither the incapacity of the Indian factories to produce a sufficient quantity, nor, in the case of some Indian salt, the superiority of the

imported salt. It is not possible for the coasting steamers or for railways to quote freights which can compete with the favourable rates offered by vessels which would otherwise have come into India in ballast. From these statements it can be clearly inferred that Tuticorin can produce good white fine-grained salt.

But the problem is one of transport. The shipping difficulties and the railway freights have been referred to already. If the freight is lowered and if Indian coasting vessels can offer favourable rates, certainly India can supply all her salt by herself. A similar problem has been recently experienced by Germany with regard to her wheat supply. People in West Germany, it appears, can buy the imported British wheat cheaper than the wheat imported from East Germany. The problem has been solved there by the system of export bounties.

Moreover, there are many industries which are built on common salt as a raw produce. When the Pykara and the Papanasam Hydro-electric Schemes are brought into fruition, many small chemical industries will rise up, using common salt on a large scale. Furthermore, it may interest the readers to know that some young chemists of South India are interesting themselves in the utilisation of the large quantities of bittern that are now being wasted (referred to by the Munitions Board) and are hopeful of finding a use for it as an intermediate in solving one of the manurial problems connected with agriculture.

It appears that attempts are being made to concentrate all efforts at producing fine white salt near Karachi and thence to export it to Bengal and other places. The transport problem will be greater from Karachi to Calcutta than from Tuticorin to Calcutta. So it will be far better to concentrate the efforts at improvements in salt manufacture at Tuticorin also and get the other necessary facilities for transport and thus solve one of the many industrial problems of the land.

INDO-MALAYAN RELATIONS

By MR. A. H. FONSECA,

Malayan Civil Service.

BRITISH Malaya is the designation of an administrative conglomeration of several islands and small states in the Malayan Peninsula, south of Siam. The several units are divided into three groups, the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States and the Non-Federated Malay States. They are administered by an official appointed by the Colonial Office. In relation to the first group, a Crown Colony, he is a Governor, in relation to the other two, which are protected states, he is a "High Commissioner."

The administrative nucleus of all these units is the Straits Settlements, viz., Penang, Malacca and Singapore. This group was the earliest to come under British rule, and the aggregation of British Malaya as stated above was a later development, arising out of the influence of, and control exercised by, the three earlier Settlements.

The islands of Penang and Singapore with small strips of land on the mainland and the port of Malacca were acquired by the East India Company at different times, the first and second by treaty with the neighbouring native chiefs, the third in exchange for the English trading settlement of Banca in Sumatra which was surrendered to the Dutch. These acquisitions were formed into the Straits Settlements and were under the administration of the East India Company, and after 1858 the Government of India until 1867 when they were transferred to the Colonial Office.

It is not surprising that the Government of India agreed to hand over these settlements to another administration. Great results had been anticipated from their establishment and large salaries had been paid to the civil servants in charge but very little revenue was derived. Difficulties of administration having arisen, there were many changes. Thus in 1826, they were made a Presidency of India. In 1829, they

were put under the Bengal Government and there was a ruthless retrenchment in the salaries of the civil and military establishment which led to much dissatisfaction and discontent. In 1836, Singapore was made the headquarters. In 1851, they were all again put under the Supreme Government of India. There was some improvement in the States of the Company's servants but not such as to remove all discontent.

In some respects, the Straits Settlements were not a success. Penang, however, had its uses as a penal colony, and matters continued in this state till after the Mutiny of 1857 when it became necessary to provide accommodation for the large number of prisoners that the Government of India had on its hands. It was decided to use the Andaman Islands as a penal settlement and work was begun on the clearing up of the jungle and in building camps. The effort was successful and convicts were sent there, making it unnecessary to send any to Penang.

About the same time, merchants and planters interested in the Straits Settlements started agitating for their transfer to the Colonial Office. Retired Civil servants seconded their efforts. The agitation was successful, and in 1867, the transfer was sanctioned by an Order in Council. In 1868, the transfer took place.

To-day the revenues of Malaya are greater than an equivalent area of any province in India. Singapore is a more important port than either Karachi, Calcutta or Bombay, and it may be said without fear of contradiction, that if the Government of India had foreseen the future development of the Straits Settlements, it is doubtful if it would have agreed to the transfer. After the event, the most important question between the two Governments was the one of emigration from British India. In the Straits Settlements and the adjacent lands that gradually

came under their influence, are the tapioca, sugar-cane, cocoa-nut and spice plantations. A demand for labour had been growing up and here as in other parts of the British Empire, the South Indian labourers were found useful. Many of them had followed the Madras regiments to Penang and Singapore while others came over at the invitation of recruiting agents.

As long as the Straits Settlements were under the Indian Government, no difficulties had arisen. After the transfer, a case came up in a Madras Court, the subject matter being an alleged abuse in recruiting. The Magistrate looked up the law on the subject and found that by Act XIII of 1864 which defined emigration as "the departure of any native of India out of British India for the purpose of labouring for hire in some other place" and made recruitment for such a purpose a penal offence, that, recruitment for service in the Straits was illegal, as by that Act, British India was declared not to include the Settlements of Penang, Singapore and Malacca. Recruiting between 1864 and 1867 had therefore been illegal!

The Straits Settlements Government protested against this anomaly, and in 1872, an amending act was passed allowing emigration.

In 1876, the Government of India tried to legislate in favour of a maximum term of indenture and a minimum wage. The Colonial Authorities by an Ordinance of August 1876 fixed the term of contract of labour at three years, but the proposal for a minimum wage came to nothing.

Restrictions imposed on Indian Labour were found to be harassing, so much so, that emigrants made use of the ports of Karaikal and Pondicherry in French territory. This led to restrictions being removed, and by 1883, labourers were practically free to leave the country for Malaya.

In 1887, the Straits Settlements granted a subsidy to a shipping company, the British Indian Company, to carry labourers across, and in 1890,

opened a depot at Negapatam. In 1910, the system of indenture was abolished. In 1916, owing to the demands of the Imperial Government for labour battalions, the emigration of males between the ages of 18 and 25 was prohibited.

In 1922, there came a change over the situation. The grant of partially responsible Government to India led to the passing of an Emigration Act the object of which was to control and restrict Indian emigration. The Act has been described as "a comprehensive measure which makes every provision for the protection of Indian interests and Indian honour that experience or foresight could suggest."

By making emigration lawful only to those countries where the condition of emigrants is such as to satisfy both chambers of the Indian Legislature, emigration has been put on a new basis.

As a result of negotiations between the Government of India and the authorities in Malaya, several amendments of the labour laws of Malaya, were decided on, among the most important being:—

- (1) Abolition of fines for labour offences.
- (2) The power to compel employers to provide schools for labourers' children.

Under the Act, an Agent was appointed to watch the interests of Indian labour in Malaya.

Beneficial results have followed the action of the Government of India. The status of the Indian labourer has been raised. The Indian community in Malaya feels that its dignity and self-respect has been restored. One of the first results of this new 'complex' was the appointment of the late Mr. P. K. Nambyar to the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements, and a further result was the appointment of Mr. S. Veerasamy to the Federal Council. There has been a quickening of life in the local Indian community, and many schemes for mutual advancement have been propounded and are being considered.

There is another matter which the Government of India or the Government of Madras should give serious attention to, and that is, the fostering of trade between Malaya and India. The appointment of a Trade Commissioner was seriously considered by the Madras Government in 1927, but nothing eventuated. Considering the wealth of Malaya, its deficiency in food products, its considerable Indian population, a little stimulation of the export trade will undoubtedly be attended with the most beneficial results not only to India but also to Malaya.

The Idea of Function in Education

By DR. G. S. KRISHNAYYA, M.A., PH.D. (COLUMBIA),

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THIS idea which is increasingly influencing modern education is derived from Biology. It points out the contrast with the older point of view in science and education which emphasized the study of structure. The problems of Botany were largely those of identification, description and classification. But the theory of evolution centred attention on a new class of problems, those of genesis, growth and function. We try to find out now what are the characteristic modes of adaptive behaviour of plants, and what their significance is in their *habitat*.

This change from structure to function may be illustrated in the teaching of some of the school subjects. In civics, instead of an analysis of the great departments of Government—Legislative, Judicial and Executive—and a detailed description of how these are constituted, what are the officers in each, how they come to these offices, their qualifications, terms of office, salaries, prescribed duties, etc., progressive schools start with the problems of social or community life. What things have to be done when people live in communities which do not have to be done when they live in isolation? How will the community get these things done? Thus we raise the question of social needs and then we study the governmental machinery that has been developed to meet these needs. The structures are studied to throw light on the methods by which those functions are carried on. From this point of view, in physiology, a larger emphasis is put on hygiene and a relatively small amount of time is given to the mastery of anatomical details as mere matters of fact. In grammar, this shift of emphasis will ensure that more attention will be given to forms as media or mediums of expression and less to logical details of analysis and diagramming. Geography is becoming more and more a study of the

methods of human life as determined by climatic and physiographic factors, and much less, structural, analytic and descriptive. History will soon be much less a matter of records of events and dates to be learned and more a matter of principles of the development of civilization and of the life of nations.

The tendency to throw into the foreground the idea of function and to subordinate that of structure to the part that it plays in perfecting functions is bound to have a wholesome effect on examinations. We shall then test not merely what a boy knows, but whether he knows how to use his knowledge, whether his skill or knowledge will function when necessary. As Ruskin puts it, "all knowledge is lost that ends in the knowing". The only adequate test of school education is action. The nearer we can reproduce in our tests the conditions which will confront the child in adult life, the better. We can always present for his consideration ideal situations which correspond to those which he will later find. This principle is followed in the Law examinations when hypothetical or real cases are presented for consideration. It is more obviously in evidence in examinations of medical students, for they are expected to diagnose disease or treat actual cases. The time will soon come when teachers in training will be examined more in their ability to deal with certain possible or actual school and class room problems, (adopting therefore the "case" or "problem" method) and less in their capacity to cram lecture notes. It is the application of knowledge that matters in the school or in the world. It is the amount of usable knowledge and knowledge in use, that counts, not the quantity of information in cold storage! Such information might as well remain in some book shelf if it confers no functional advantage.

The Mineral Wealth of India

By MR. N. BHASKARAN PILLAI, B.A.

INDIA has witnessed during the last few years a general awakening in her industrial activities, and she promises to occupy in the next few decades a prominent place among the metallurgical nations of the world. Certain important minerals, capable of very profitable exploitation, are found in large quantities in India, and it is hoped that a general study of these minerals will be profitable to all those who are interested in India's material and economic welfare.

Copper occupies an important position in the arts and industries, and it has been in use for industrial purposes for a very long period. Since pre-historic times, copper ores have been smelted in India, and during the years 1906—08, the Singbhum deposits of Bihar and Orissa were systematically drilled by the Geological Survey of India. The encouraging results then obtained led to much exploratory work which proved the existence of large reserves of ore. A copper-producing plant was soon built, and to-day it is the only one of its kind within the Indian Empire.

It is a noteworthy fact that the extraction of silver in India has now proved a commercial success. The silver contained in the lead ores of Bawdwin in the Northern Shan States, is being extracted successfully. Much of the metal that is extracted in Burma, is being used in Indian coinage.

Gold is a rare and costly metal, and it is rather remarkable that certain Gold-bearing ores are found in large quantities in India. The well-known Kolar Gold Field of Mysore is the most important of them all, and at present, there are five companies at work finding employment for over 25,000 persons, and disbursing over 11 lakhs of rupees annually in wages alone. A hydro-electric installation on the Cauvery Falls forms a very convenient source of power-supply, and the power thus obtained is transmitted to the mines

over a double line ninety-two miles long. In recent years, gold-bearing quartz veins have been mined on a large scale at Dharwar in Bombay, at Hutti in Hyderabad, at Anantapur in Madras, and in the Katha district of Burma.

India's consumption of iron is gradually increasing with the general expansion of her industries. Though her domestic production of iron is at present unable to meet her ever increasing demands, yet there is much to be hoped for in the future. Nearly 200 miles west of Calcutta, there are huge iron ore deposits which, in the words of Cecil Jones, "are remarkable for the enormous quantities of extremely rich ore they contain and will undoubtedly prove the largest and the richest in the world." Operations for the metallurgy of iron were started in 1874 by the Barker Iron Works Company, (which later became the Bengal Iron and Steel Company) and the results then obtained were very encouraging and successful. The next step was the inauguration of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd. Till the late War, Pig-iron was being exported from India: but during the War, its export was prohibited, and the entire output of Indian steel rails was taken for use in Mesopotamia, East Africa and Palestine.

In Upper Burma, large and very promising silver-lead-zinc ores of the sulphide variety are found to occur, and ere long, Burma promises to become a prominent factor in the world's production of lead. These deposits are being actively developed, especially because of their rich silver content, and there is every hope of success in that direction.

It is indeed a piece of India's misfortune that she is poor in deposits of sulphur and the natural sulphide ores which may be utilised in the manufacture of sulphuric acid. India can never hope to attain the position which her mineral wealth warrants, if she fails to find out some effective

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method of obtaining cheap local supplies of sulphuric acid. In the lead-silver-zinc sulphide ores of Bawdwin, India possesses a large reserve of sulphur quite adequate to meet all her present demands, and it is truly deplorable that the proposal to utilise them has not taken a tangible shape.

It seems that zinc was known and extracted in India even prior to the 16th century. During recent years, the industrial importance of zinc has increased considerably, as it is well evidenced by the fact that the world's total output has almost quadrupled itself in the past 30 years. The prominent place which this metal occupies in the industrial world, is mainly due to its most valuable property of preventing the corrosion or rusting of iron when this latter metal is coated with it. Moreover, zinc is a valuable constituent of brass, an alloy which, at the present day, is widely used in the arts and industries. The large deposits of silver-lead-zinc ores of Upper Burma are being actively developed, and though they have as yet exerted little influence in the world's supply of zinc, yet there is every prospect of its rising into prominence in the near future.

The nitrates are very important in the manufacture of explosives and chemical manures, and it is noteworthy that the world's supply of nitrates was once virtually monopolised by India. Large quantities of it are made in the Punjab.

The Manganese industry in India promises to be a very thriving one. The deposits of that metal occurring in the Vizagapatam District of Madras were opened up in 1891, and as a result of the marvellous development of that industry, India displaced Russia in 1908 from the top of the list of the world's producers of Manganese. The Russian exports almost ceased after 1914.

It is now nearly 26 years when the mining of Chromite was commenced in Baluchistan; later on, Mysore and the Singbhum district of Bihar and Orissa came into the field of Chromite production.

On the whole, 34,762 tons valued at Rs. 5,17,382 were produced in 1921 in India, and it is stated that of this, Baluchistan alone contributed 25,000 tons.

Years ago, India occupied a very prominent place among the mica-producing countries of the world. Those obtained in the Nellore District of the Madras Presidency are very valuable and important. Phlogopite, an amber-coloured, soft variety of mica, occurs largely in the Travancore State.

Besides mica, certain rare-earths are found to occur in large quantities in Travancore. The titaniferous iron ore deposits in the beach sands of Travancore may very profitably be exploited. Though monozite is widely distributed in India, those obtained in the sea beaches of Travancore alone have proved a commercial success. Five large deposits occur between Quilon and Cape Comorin. In quantity the monozite deposits of India are the largest in the world, while taking quality into consideration, the Travancore mineral easily wins the first place. Recent investigations have proved that the helium content of monozite sand obtained from the Travancore State is of the order of 1 c. c. per grain. This discovery is all-important, because though helium gas was only a laboratory curiosity before the great World War, yet because of its non-inflammable property, it promises to displace hydrogen very soon from use in air-craft. For every 100 tons of monozite sand worked up in Travancore, approximately 100,000 litres of helium are allowed to escape into the atmosphere. Experimental investigations on the extraction of helium from monozite sand were recently carried out by certain eminent Western scientists, and as a result of much patient and laborious work, they have succeeded in obtaining pure helium. If India makes capital use of this important discovery, it is quite possible that in the near future, Travancore may become one of the most important helium-producing centres of the world.

It is stated that with the exception of the United Kingdom, India is the greatest coal producing country in the British Empire. But the methods of coal making now practised in India are rather crude and are followed by much avoidable waste of one of the most valuable of India's assets. It is a matter for regret that India has not yet thoroughly learnt the lesson that the success of all industrial operations depends upon the proper utilisation of her waste products.

On a careful study of India's mineral wealth, it will be seen that there are, at the present day, certain serious obstacles retarding her industrial growth. By fighting against these obstacles successfully, she is sure to come to the forefront among the industrial nations of the world. There

is still ample field for experimentation and research, much food for thought for our young scientists, and let all of us who are interested in India's material welfare remember that the interests of the whole population, directly or indirectly, are dependent upon the success with which India develops her metallurgical art. It has to be mentioned, not without deep regret, that the system of scientific education received by us in the schools and colleges, does not adequately encourage scientific research. It may anyhow be hoped that in spite of the prevailing political conditions, and the great odds which India has to overcome, she will, by proper utilisation of her mineral wealth, occupy in the near future, a glorious position among the industrial nations of the world.

Hindu Woman's Inheritance Rights

BY

MR. P. S. PHADNIS, B.A.

THE prime cause of Hindu woman's pitiable plight has been, the annihilation of her ancient rights of inheritance in the course of centuries of mal-administration and misinterpretation of Hindu Law by arbitrary authorities. So far back as 1822, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, that powerful advocate of the rights of womankind, pointedly drew attention of the Government and the public to the pressing need of restoring to woman her ancient inheritance rights. The rights have not been restored although ever since Ram Mohan's publication of his memorable tract on the subject of female inheritance, the cry has gone forth from a hundred thousand platforms to give woman her due. Largely it has been a cry in the wilderness, the conservative mass Hindu mind not proving amenable to its appeal. Recent-

ly, Mr. Jayakar, in his illuminating address to the All-India Women's Conference, expressed sentiments voiced by the Raja in the early nineties. That testifies to the slow pace at which things move in India and in the whole East. Now that the erst-while silent sufferers, the women, have become vocal and are ventilating their grievances, there is room for buoyant optimism about the future.

ANCIENT RIGHTS

The legal treatises of Yajnavalkya, Katyayana, Narada, Vishnu, Brihaspati and Vyasa, embody Hindu woman's ancient inheritance rights. Indeed, they are exalted. They are on a par with men. The Rishis of ancient India, the sole legislators for the community, were zealous promoters of female comfort and well-being.

The mother's share in the deceased husband's property is declared equal to that of the son. "After the death of a father, let a mother also inherit an equal share with her sons in the division of the property left by their father", says Yajnavalkya. And says Katyayana, "The father being dead, the mother should inherit an equal share with the son". The privilege extends to step-mothers. The Hindus are a polygamous people. The step-mothers can expect but little sympathy from the step-sons. Brihaspati is explicit on the point. He also mentions the daughter's share in the deceased father's property. "After his (father's) death, a mother, the parent of his sons, should be entitled to an equal share with his sons; their step-mothers also to equal shares: but daughters to a fourth part of the shares of the sons." Vyasa recognises the equal claim of the son's grandmothers. "The wives of a father by whom he has no male issue, are considered as entitled to equal shares with his sons, and all the grandmothers are said to be entitled as mothers". No important female personage is left without due provision. But that was in the days of the Rishis.

HINDU WOMAN TO-DAY

To-day, the Hindu woman stands despoiled of all her ancient inheritance glory. The authors of the spoliation of Hindu woman's inheritance rights are the modern expounders of Hindu Law. Pre-eminent among these stand the writers of the Dayabhaga and the Dayatattwa. They rigidly limited the widow's inheritance rights. The extent of their rigid limitation Ram Mohan thus brings out in a few telling sentences. He observes: "In short, a widow, according to the (their) exposition of the law can receive nothing when her husband has no issue by her; and in case he dies leaving only one son by his wife, or having had more sons, one of whom happened to die leaving issue, she shall, in these cases, also have no claim to the property; and again, should any one leave more than one surviving son, and they,

being unwilling to allow a share to the widow, keep the property undivided, the mother can claim nothing in this instance also. But when a person dies, leaving two or more sons, and all of them survive and be inclined to allot a share to their mother, her right in this case is only valid."

Not rest content with setting aside the widow's inheritance rights, they proceeded to rob the daughter of her share in the father's property. This they did by declaring that only the expenses attending the marriage need be defrayed by the brothers.

THE CONSEQUENCES

The consequences of the annihilation of Hindu woman's inheritance rights have been grievous. In the past, Sati was encouraged. To-day, it promotes female serfdom, and has been directly responsible for the wide-spread practice of polygamy among the Hindus, the grand object of a Hindu being to secure provision only for the offsprings—and that too, male offsprings. Ever since the abolition of the daughter's claim in the parental property, the sale of girls by their parents to decrepit, old men has been quite frequent.



HEAD OFFICE:—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.
E. Sept. '30

THE INDIAN BUDGET

SIR George Schuster, the Finance Member, introduced the Government of India Budget in the Legislative Assembly on February 28. Reviewing the financial position of the Government, Sir George said that the income for the year 1930-31 will, on the present basis, cause a deficit of 410 lakhs which will have to be covered by fresh taxation. On the basis of the new taxation the year will close with a surplus of Rs. 70 lakhs.

The Budget contains several new tax proposals including the raising of the revenue duties on cotton goods, silver, sugar and kerosene and an increase of a pie per rupee in the tax on incomes over Rs. 15,000 per annum. The proposals are:—

(1) Additional revenue duty of 4 per cent. on all cotton imports.

(2) A protective duty of five per cent. with a minimum of $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas per lb., on plain grey goods against all cotton-piece goods from outside the United Kingdom, the protective duty to remain for three years only and to be reviewed by the Tariff Board before the end of that period. (Items 1 & 2 will yield 125 lakhs).

(3) Increase of the excise duty on kerosene from one anna to one and a half anna and a reduction of the import duty from two and a half annas to two and a quarter annas, reducing the marginal duty in favour of indigenous oil from $18\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. to $9\frac{3}{8}$ per cent., yielding an additional income of 35 lakhs.

(4) Increase of the import duty on sugar from Rs. $4\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. to Rs. 6, per cent. yielding Rs. 180 lakhs.

(5) Increase of the income-tax by one pie per rupee on income of Rs. 15,000, and above with a corresponding increase in the super-tax in all grades other than flat rate of super-tax on companies, which will come to 70 lakhs.

(6) An import duty of 4 annas per ounce on silver which will fetch 1 crore of Rupees.

(7) A reduction of the export duty on rice from three annas per maund to two annas three pies per maund, involving a loss of revenue of Rs. 30 lakhs.

The expenditure for the coming year is estimated at 557 lakhs more than during the current year, due to a great extent to debt provision and administrative work while the revenue side shows an improvement of only five lakhs. This would have resulted in a deficit of 552 lakhs which it is now proposed to meet by economy in Civil Estimates of 62 lakhs, a reduction in military expenditure of 80 lakhs and the income expected from the new taxes which is estimated at 510 lakhs.

Another item which goes to make up the deficit is the windfall of Rs. 156 lakhs, which was held in suspense in the German Liquidation Fund and which the Hague Conference has now decreed to India.

The Government propose to borrow Rs. $23\frac{1}{2}$ crores during the next year of which only 7.4 crores will be new money, the balance of 16.1 crores will be utilised for redeeming outstanding loans, principally 1930 Bonds, and to reduce Treasury Bills outstanding from 21 crores to 20 crores at the end of the year. The Finance Member said:—

I feel justified in saying that, provided only that political disturbances do not upset either conditions in India or confidence in England, our borrowing programme is of such a nature that we could confidently look forward to a general appreciation in Government securities.

Discussing the new cotton duties, Sir George Schuster said that the Government proposals strove to make provision of revenue as well as to give assistance to the Indian cotton-mill industry.

The question of fiscal autonomy was raised in connection with the imposition of the cotton duties. The convention was real, declared the Finance Member, and he explained how the Government of India had replied to His Majesty's Government that they deplored the possibility of serious effects in England of any duties imposed by India, but that they were clearly bound to put India's interest first.

Gandhi's Letter to the Viceroy

[The following is the text of Mahatma Gandhi's letter to H. E. the Viceroy, explaining the reasons for the independence movement and the proposed Satyagraha campaign. The letter was entrusted to one Mr. Reginald Reynolds, an Englishman who has been an inmate of the Ashram for some months past, and was delivered in person to the Viceroy's Private Secretary on Tuesday the 4th March. In his reply, which is brief, His Excellency regrets that Mr. Gandhi contemplates "a course of action" which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace." Ed. I. R.]

DEAR FRIEND,

Before embarking on civil disobedience and taking the risk I have dreaded to take all these years, I would fain approach you and find a way out. My personal faith is absolutely clear. I cannot intentionally hurt anything that lives, much less fellow human beings even though they may do the greatest wrong to me and mine. Whilst, therefore, I hold British rule to be a curse, I do not intend to harm a single Englishman or any legitimate interest he may have in India.

I must not be misunderstood. Though I hold the British rule in India to be a curse, I do not therefore consider Englishmen in general to be worse than any other people on earth. I have the privilege of claiming many Englishmen as dearest friends. Indeed much that I have learnt of the evil of British rule is due to the writings of frank and courageous Englishmen who have not hesitated to tell the unpalatable truth about that rule.

And why do I regard the British rule as a curse?

It has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation and by a ruinously expensive military and civil administration which the country can never afford.

It has reduced us politically to serfdom. It has sapped the foundations of our culture. And, by the policy of disarmament, it has degraded us spiritually. Lacking inward strength, we have been reduced, by all but universal disarmament, to a state bordering on cowardly helplessness.

In common with many of my countrymen, I had hugged the fond hope that the proposed Round Table Conference might furnish a solution. But when you said plainly that you could not give any assurance that you or the British Cabinet

would pledge yourselves to support a scheme of full Dominion Status, the Round Table Conference could not possibly furnish the solution for which vocal India is consciously, and the dumb millions unconsciously, thirsting. Needless to say there never was any question of Parliament's verdict being anticipated. Instances are not wanting of the British Cabinet, in anticipation of Parliamentary verdict, having pledged itself to a particular policy.

The Delhi interview having miscarried, there was no option for Pandit Motilal Nehru and me but to take steps to carry out the solemn resolution of the Congress arrived at in Calcutta at its session of 1928.

But the resolution of Independence should cause no alarm, if the word "Dominion Status" mentioned in your announcement has been used in its accepted sense. For, has it not been admitted by responsible British statesmen that Dominion Status is virtual Independence? What, however, I fear, is that there never has been any intention of granting such Dominion Status to India in the immediate future.

But this is all past history. Since the announcement many events have happened which show unmistakably the trend of British policy.

It seems as clear as daylight that responsible British statesmen do not contemplate any alteration in British policy that might adversely affect Britain's commerce with India or require impartial and close scrutiny of Britain's transactions with India. If nothing is done to end the process of exploitation, India must be bled with an ever increasing speed. The Finance Member regards as a settled fact the 1s. 6d. ratio which, by a stroke of the

pen, drains India of a few crores. And when a serious attempt is being made, through a civil form of direct action, to unsettle this fact, among many others, even you cannot help appealing to the wealthy landed classes to help you to crush that attempt in the name of an order that grinds India to atoms. Unless those who work in the name of the nation understand and keep before all concerned, the motive that lies behind the craving for independence, there is every danger of independence itself coming to us so charged as to be of no value to those toiling voiceless millions for whom it is sought and for whom it is worth taking. It is for that reason that I have been recently telling the public what independence should really mean.

Let me put before you some of the salient points. The terrific pressure of land revenue, which furnishes a large part of the total revenue, must undergo considerable modification in Independent India. Even the much vaunted permanent settlement benefits a few rich Zamindars, not the ryots. The ryot has remained as helpless as ever. He is a mere tenant at will. Not only, then, has land revenue to be considerably reduced, but the whole revenue system has to be so revised as to make the ryot's good its primary concern. But the British system seems to be designed to crush the very life out of him. Even the salt he must use to live is so taxed as to make the burden fall heaviest on him if only because of the heartless impartiality of its incidence. The tax shows itself still more burdensome on the poor man when it is remembered that salt is the one thing he must eat more than the rich man both individually and collectively. The drink and drug revenue too is derived from the poor. It saps the foundations both of their health and morals. It is defended under the false plea of individual freedom, but, in reality, it is maintained for its own sake. The ingenuity of the authors of the Reforms of 1919 transferred this revenue to the so-called responsible part of

dyarchy so as to throw the burden of prohibition on it, thus from burden of prohibition on it, thus, from the beginning, rendering it powerless for good. If the unhappy minister wipes out this revenue, he must starve education, since, in the existing circumstances, he has no new source of replacing that revenue. If the weight of taxation has crushed the poor from above, the destruction of the central supplementary industry, i. e., hand-spinning has undermined their capacity for producing wealth.

The tale of India's ruination is not complete without a reference to the liabilities incurred in her name. Sufficient has been recently said about these in the public press. It must be the duty of a free India to subject all liabilities to the strictest investigation and repudiate those that may be adjudged by an impartial tribunal to be unjust and unfair. The iniquities sampled above are maintained in order to carry on a foreign administration, demonstrably the most expensive in the world. Take your own salary. It is over Rs. 21,000 per month besides many other indirect additions. The British Prime Minister gets £5,000 per year, i. e., over Rs. 5,400 per month at the present rate of exchange. You are getting over Rs. 700 per day against India's average income of less than annas 2 per day. The Prime Minister gets Rs. 180 per day against Great Britain's average income of nearly Rs. 2 per day. Thus you are getting much over 5,000 times India's average income. The British Prime Minister is getting only 90 times Britain's average income. On bended knee I ask you to ponder over this phenomenon. I have taken a personal illustration to drive home a painful truth. I have too great a regard for you as a man to wish to hurt your feelings. I know that you do not need the salary you get. Probably the whole of your salary goes for charity. But a system that provides for such an arrangement deserves to be summarily scrapped. What is true of the Viceregal salary is true generally of the whole administration,

A radical cutting down of the revenue, therefore, depends upon an equally radical reduction in expenses of administration. This means a transformation of the scheme of Government. This transformation is impossible without independence. Hence, in my opinion, the spontaneous demonstration of 26th January, in which hundreds of thousands of villagers instinctively participated. To them Independence means deliverance from the killing weight. Not one of the great British political parties, it seems to me, is prepared to give up the Indian spoils to which Great Britain helps herself from day to day often in spite of the unanimous opposition of Indian opinion.

Nevertheless, if India is to live as a nation, if the slow death by starvation of her people is to stop, some remedy must be found for immediate relief. The proposed Conference is certainly not the remedy. It is not a matter of carrying conviction by argument. The matter resolves itself into one of matching forces.

Conviction or no conviction, Great Britain would defend her Indian commerce and interests by all the forces at her command. India must consequently evolve force enough to free herself from that embrace of death.

It is common cause that, however disorganised, and, for the time being insignificant, it may be, the party of violence is gaining ground and making itself felt. Its end is the same as mine. But I am convinced that it cannot bring the desired relief to the dumb millions. And the conviction is growing deeper and deeper in me that nothing but unadulterated non-violence can check the organised violence of the British Government. Many think that non-violence is not an active force. My experience, limited though it undoubtedly is, shows that non-violence can be an intensely active force. It is my purpose to set in motion that force as well against the organised violence force of the British rule as the unorganised violent force of the growing party of violence. To sit still would be

to give rein to both the forces above mentioned. Having unquestioning and immovable faith in the efficacy of non-violence as I know it, it would be sinful on my part to wait any longer. This non-violence will be expressed through civil disobedience, for the moment confined to the inmates of the Satyagraha Ashram, but ultimately designed to cover all those who choose to join the movement with its obvious limitations.

I know that in embarking on non-violence, I shall be running what might fairly be termed a mad risk, but the victories of truth have never been won without risks, often of the gravest character. Conversion of a nation that has consciously or unconsciously preyed upon another, far more numerous, far more ancient and no less cultured than itself is worth any amount of risk.

I have deliberately used the word conversion. For my ambition is no less than to convert the British people, through non-violence, and thus make them see the wrong they have done to India. I do not seek to harm your people. I want to serve them even as I want to serve my own. I believe that I have always served them. I served them up to 1919 blindly. But when my eyes were opened, and I conceived non-co-operation, the object still was to serve them. I employed the same weapon that I have in all humility successfully used against the dearest members of my family. If I have equal love for your people with mine, it will not long remain hidden. It will be acknowledged by them even as members of my family acknowledged it after they had tried me for several years. If people join me as I expect they will, the sufferings they will undergo, unless the British nation sooner retraces its steps, will be enough to melt the stoniest hearts.

The plan through Civil Disobedience will be to combat such evils as I have sampled out. If we want to sever the British connection, it is because of such evils. When they are removed,

the path becomes easy. Then the way to friendly negotiation will be open. If the British commerce with India is purified of greed, you will have no difficulty in recognising our Independence. I respectfully invite you then to pave the way for an immediate removal of those evils, and thus open a way for a real conference between equals, interested only in promoting the common good of mankind through voluntary fellowship and in arranging terms of mutual help and commerce suited to both. You have unnecessarily laid stress upon the communal problems that unhappily affect this land. Important though they undoubtedly are for the consideration of any scheme of government, they have little bearing on the greater problems which are above communities and which affect them all equally. But, if you cannot see your way to deal with these evils and my letter makes no appeal to your heart, on the 11th day of this month, I shall proceed with such co-workers of the Ashram as I can take, to disregard the provisions of Salt laws. I regard this tax to be the most iniquitous of all from the poor man's stand-point. As the Independence movement is essentially for the poorest in the land, the beginning will be made with this evil. The wonder is that we have submit-

ted to the cruel monopoly for so long. It is, I know, open to you to frustrate my design by arresting me. I hope there will be tens of thousands ready in a disciplined manner to take up the work after me, and in the act of disobeying the Salt Act lay themselves open to the penalties of a law that should never have disfigured the Statute book.

I have no desire to cause you unnecessary embarrassment, or any at all, so far as I can help. If you think that there is any substance in my letter, and if you will care to discuss matters with me, and if to that end you would like me to postpone publication of this letter, I shall gladly refrain on receipt of a telegram to that effect soon after this reaches you. You will, however, do me the favour not to deflect me from my course unless you can see your way to conform to the substance of this letter.

This letter is not in any way intended as a threat, but is a simple and sacred duty peremptory on a civil register. Therefore, I am having it specially delivered by a young English friend, who believes in the Indian cause and is a full believer in non-violence and whom Providence seems to have sent me, as it were, for the very purpose. I remain, your sincere friend, M. K. Gandhi.

THE EDUCATION OF RURAL INDIA

BY MR. A. RAMAIA, M.A., B.L., F.R.E.S.

ONE of the most urgent, and from the stand-point of national progress one of the most vital problems of social and economic life in India is the removal of illiteracy from the vast masses of her population. In a country where not even a tenth of the population are able to read and write, it is no surprise that progress has been slow in the past. If we realise the further fact that even of the tenth, more than three-quarters are to be found in urban territory, and so much as 5 millions out of a total population of 285 millions living in the rural parts can be classified as literate, the seriousness of the situation appears patent. Even

among these, it will be necessary to remember, the literates are to be found mostly among the Brahmins and higher class non-Brahmins, and the masses of the agricultural population comprising nearly 270 millions know not what reading, writing or arithmetic is. Again if we take the population by sex, we find that among females literacy is still more miserably absent. Out of a total of about 156 million females, not even 5 millions are literate; and even these latter are mostly found among the residents of towns and in the higher classes. So that if we picture to ourselves the gloomy spectacle of a vast agricultural popu-

lation where members of both sexes are living in utter darkness, devoid of even the rudiments of education, we have in it the real gist of the anatomy of Indian backwardness and stagnation.

For a clear understanding of the situation, the following statistical information may* be useful:—

	All-India	British India
Area in square miles ...	1,805,332	1,123,904
Number of { Towns ...	2,316	1,561
{ Villages ...	686,302	500,068
Total popula- { Towns ...	30,107,722	23,846,898
tion in { Villages ...	285,930,029	223,156,395
Male popula- { Towns ...	17,845,248	12,826,304
tion { Villages ...	146,150,306	114,045,812
Female popu- { Towns ...	14,630,028	10,129,465
lation { Villages ...	140,316,898	110,001,712
Number of primary schools for males (both rural and urban) ...	192,545	164,761
Number of primary schools for females (both rural and urban) ...	32,563	26,480
Number of male pupils in all primary schools ...	7,942,687	6,364,467
Number of female pupils in all primary schools ...	1,978,466	1,434,678
Total literate { Towns ...	18,986,491	14,401,646
population { Villages ...	5,046,292	3,668,358
Total literates { Towns ...	15,559,537	11,652,403
(Males) { Villages ...	3,892,806	2,793,393
Total literates { Towns ...	3,426,924	2,749,243
(Females) { Villages ...	1,153,486	874,965

The responsibility for this state of things is, so far as British India is concerned, certainly on the Government which, deriving as it does a vast revenue from the produce of the land, has not cared to provide the cultivators of the soil with one of the chief requisites of social well-being, viz., the elements of an educated state suited to the conditions of rural life. Government cannot escape responsibility in this respect by simply pleading want of funds, for while public money has been lavishly spent on the military and extravagant civil services, the rural population receive no *quid pro quo* for the land revenue taken from them. Neither the inefficient and costly police system which is unsuited to the environment nor the wasteful general administration can be justly pleaded against the necessity of educational expenditure. More than law and order, education is a national necessity.

* [Note: the information relates to the year 1927-1928.]

and in this as well as every other country, it is the duty of the State to confer and the right of every child of the soil to receive at least an elementary education at the expense of the nation as a whole. Not only has this aspect of the matter been ignored by the Government in India but under the guise of a reformed Constitution, "Education" has been made a "Transferred Subject" under the direction of Ministers in the Provinces who in their turn have transferred the responsibility to local bodies (the District Boards and Municipalities) which are already hungering for funds, with the result that progress has been slow, shamefully slow.

Lord Olivier, in his speech before the International Socialist Congress last year, rightly pointed to the need for the economic and social, before thinking of, or at any rate side by side with, the political emancipation of India. The result will otherwise be, from the point of view of the nation, only a mere change of rule from a foreign and, for all ostensible purposes, an impartial power to the hands of a few of the educated section of the people in urban centres, among whom themselves there is already a bitter communal race for the possession of power and office. The ignorance and voicelessness of the rural population by disabling their discerned participation in the struggle will only perpetuate the communal rivalry and conflict in public affairs, to the great detriment of the country's progress. Further, one essential condition of social peace as well as economic efficiency is the spread of literacy, a kind of democratic education (suited to environment) which is capable of invoking in the minds of the recipients a power of social vision and a power and capacity to share in the realisation of that vision.

While it is the duty of the Government to provide an elementary education for all the people in the country, the manner and form in which it has to be imparted so as to suit the needs of an agri-

cultural population like that of India, has to be considered. In the past the aim of Government was simply to provide a kind of education which would make available a market for different grades of men suited to carry on the work of administration in all its branches and grades. The larger aspects of the country's interests were little inquired into or cared for (there was no necessity felt for doing so); and practically no attention was paid for improving the tone of life of the people. While reading and writing are two fundamental requirements of literacy for all classes of people, the training of village children with special reference to the country-side so as to make them intelligent and efficient farmers or wage-earners as the case may be, is an essential item of rural education, and any system which ignores this aspect of the matter will fail of its purpose. As the Indian Agricultural Commission pointed out in its Report,

if at the end of his primary course a boy can read and write with facility and intelligence and can do simple calculations in terms of the marketing of his father's produce; if he knows the simple rules of health, has been taught the use of his hands and has been imbued with a love for the country-side and a sense of fair play to his neighbours and to dumb animals, then there will be firmly established both the desire and the power to make the village a better place to live in, and both the teacher and the system may be said to have abundantly succeeded.

Thus it will be seen that the first requisite of an efficient system of rural primary education is a curriculum of instruction suited to the conjuncture. This must include not only the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic, but a general education in all the varied aspects of rural life. Suitable text-books in the vernacular will be necessary for this, and though a little of English may also be administered, it is not necessary. A knowledge of the rights and duties of citizenship is insisted on in all other countries where a system of compulsory primary education has been in vogue.

No less important is the teacher, his character and training. As the Agricultural Commission stated, to make a system of rural education really

useful and efficient, rural teachers should be recruited "to the utmost practical extent from men of rural origin and up-bringing." It is only such men that will be in a position to encourage the pupils to seek their interests in the everyday life of the country-side. If the character or training of the teacher is such that he takes little or no interest in village life, if he teaches his lessons and does his sums in terms of urban life, and is not capable of explaining to his children in their impressionable age the conditions of life and conduct that pass under the pupils' own very eyes, he is apt to create in their minds impressions not in keeping with or conducive to agricultural life and progress. At the same time he should be careful enough not to narrow down their outlook to the life of a self-sufficient village community, but give them a wider social vision to which they may aspire.

More important than a system of compulsory school education, and in fact what is essential to the securing of lasting literacy as well as a sense of responsible citizenship among a rural population spread over so wide a country as India, is the establishment of a free public library and reading room in each one of the 500,000 and odd villages in British India. On account of the circumstances that there is no scope for even those cultivators or farmers who happen to receive an elementary education for a year or two in their boyhood, to retain that education in after life, there is a general lapse into illiteracy after leaving school. What is essential in this respect from a national point of view is not only to see to the retention of literacy but to encourage a healthy growth of knowledge by providing a flow of social and political information through means of a public library and reading room, where the villagers may meet and receive, discuss and exchange news and information. The expenses of this equipment (it being as we already mentioned a pre-eminently national concern) must be met from out of the national exchequer or partly from out of it and partly from a fee levied for the purpose by the village community on its propertied members according to ability.

MR. SASTRI'S REPORT ON THE KENYA PROBLEM

[In another page we publish the Memorandum presented to Lord Passfield by the East African Deputation. Since then the Rt. Hon. Sastri has published a report of his recent mission to East Africa. The report is in the form of a letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands. The instructions given to Mr. Sastri in connection with his deputation were:— (1) to help the Indian Communities to state their views to Sir Samuel Wilson on matters arising out of the Hilton-Young Commission's Report, and (2) to be at Sir Samuel Wilson's disposal if he wished to make use of him in dealing with Indian deputations. In this report Mr. Sastri discusses the Indian problem in Kenya at length, and his recommendations thereon will be read with interest.—[Ed. I.R.]

AS was anticipated, the feelings of the Indian community are deeply engaged on securing a common electoral roll. For many years they have concentrated their efforts on it. At intervals they have practised non-co-operation, abstaining from the legislature and from municipal bodies, to which, under present arrangements, they could have access only through communal registers. Certain events led them to withdraw from these bodies in 1927 and they remain out now. They look upon the common roll as a sign of political equality, an ideal to which they are attached by the deepest and strongest sentiment, not only on their own account, but on account of the people of India. In addition, they value a common roll as the only safe basis of Kenya citizenship and guarantee of the progress and welfare of the Colony as a whole.

The leaders of Indian opinion see vividly the moral and material disadvantages of abstention from the legislative and municipal bodies; and in fact desire that the extent of these disadvantages should be regarded as a measure of their anxiety to secure a common roll. Though I made earnest attempts to induce them to abandon the non-co-operation policy, I produced but little impression, especially in view of the recommendation of the majority of the Closer Union Commission in favour of the common roll.

DISAPPOINTED HOPES

The community fully expected that the authorities in Great Britain and in Kenya would take this recommendation seriously and set about the task of getting the consent of the local European community, which had been laid down by the Commission as a necessary condition. This expectation was doomed to utter disappointment. Nothing ostensible was done in this behalf by Government. The declaration, made in Parliament by the then Secretary of State for the Colonies to the effect that the main basis of the franchise which was laid down in the White Paper issued in the time of the Duke of Devonshire could not be altered except by consent, brought them no comfort.

A hope, however, lingered that Sir Samuel Wilson, although not exactly a High Commissioner in the terms of the recommendation of the Hilton-Young Commission, might yet conduct preliminary inquiries regarding the basis of a civilisation franchise and bring together the leaders of the different communities for the discussion of the question. Sir Samuel Wilson however called the attention of the Indian deputation on the 31st to the fact that, although the majority of the Hilton-Young Commission were in favour of a common roll, they nevertheless pointed out that this ideal could only be realised by the

consent of all parties. * * These statements caused the deputation a shock of disappointment and grief. However, they repeated their arguments with vigour, and are not wholly without a hope that, when Sir Samuel should bring them to the notice of the new Government, they might have better chances than ever before of favourable attention.

CENTRAL COUNCIL

At the same interview, Sir Samuel explained his proposals as to closer union which involved the establishment of a Central Council with legislative powers over economic subjects of common interest and presided over by a High Commissioner who was to be a King's representative, having precedence over the local Governors, taking the chair at their conferences and enjoying a power of veto over resolutions of local legislatures on central subjects. The deputation saw in these proposals grave danger of eventual political union, and denounced them wholesale. At the same time they were emphatic in demanding that, should the Central Council be established in spite of their protest, one of the two non-official representatives from each province should be an Indian. They would not be content to leave the matter to the discretion of local authority, as Sir Samuel suggested. Their experience of the way in which such discretion was in point of fact exercised was most unfortunate, and they must insist on Indian representation being made to rest on prescription.

As regards the legislature of Kenya it will be remembered that the Government of India were inclined to favour recommendation of majority of Hilton-Young Commission, provided change was not meant to be the beginning of a process which was to end in the establishment of European unofficial majority. The Indian deputation did not allow themselves to forget that the majority of the Closer Union Commission had avowed their intention to extend the substitution of official by unofficial representatives if the first experimental step should prove successful; and, therefore, set their face definitely against the proposal. * * * *

EUROPEANS' ATTITUDE

No one who visits Kenya can fail to be struck by the utter lack of mutual understanding in political outlook between the Indian and the European communities. I admit that my stay was brief, and my opportunities for ascertaining European feeling were necessarily limited. Nevertheless, it was clear to me that the predominant view of that community was that they should be arbiters of the destiny of Kenya, and that Indians should be allowed only a very subordinate voice in the administration of the affairs of the Colony, irrespective of their numbers, wealth, capacity or contribution to the taxation,

On the Indian side, one seldom heard a desire expressed to seize the direction of the Colony's affairs or a claim made to anything like political dominance. But with passionate fervour all leaders demanded equality of status and, while some might be willing to advance towards equality by steps, none would be content to contemplate a lesser goal or destiny for the Indian people. In this contention they are sustained by the thought that the position of India in the Commonwealth of Great Britain is really at stake. It is easy to understand how this fundamental opposition of political aim between the communities has caused them to drift apart, so that occasions even of ordinary social intercourse are extremely restricted.

GREATER TOLERANCE

In the circumstances, I am in a special degree thankful for the opportunities that were afforded to me of meeting Europeans of influence and trying to understand their points of view. For these I am indebted to the hospitality of many friends; and I am in particular glad to acknowledge the ungrudging help of the Acting Governor Sir Jacob Barth and his staff. During the discussion alike of policy and of grievances which took place, one circumstance became apparent. The extreme anti-Indian view no longer occupies the field so exclusively as before. A more tolerant attitude finds expression here and there. Even where our assertion of equal political status is not welcomed, the disparity between the two communities as to the essential conditions of well-being, education, medical relief, etc., is regarded as a blot on the administration. A few ardent spirits regard even a common electoral roll as not hopelessly beyond the range of practical politics. And I have brought away the impression that, if the healthy opinion, now incipient on the spot, should be fostered by the firm and clear enunciation from the head-quarters of the Commonwealth of principle and policy consonant with its real character, the next few years may witness in Kenya the beginnings of a common citizenship full of promise for the future.

By sad experience our people know how the real character and ideals of the Commonwealth are obscured to the vision of local authorities, derived exclusively from one race and in touch with the sentiments and wishes exclusively of that race. Naturally the Indians in Kenya will oppose by all constitutional means open to them not only the abandonment but even the relaxation of the control now exercised by the Colonial Office.

* * * * *

DEPUTATION TO LONDON

The small improvement in atmosphere to which I have referred might have been utilised by me to promote negotiations for a mutually satisfactory and honourable settlement of questions now outstanding between the European and Indian communities. But the advent to office of a new Government in Great Britain made local leaders uncertain as to the trend of its policy regarding Eastern Africa and, consequently, disinclined to discuss terms. Moreover, it was recognised that Sir Samuel Wilson was in no sense a plenipotentiary of the Imperial Government, empowered to promote binding agreements, but merely to investigate and to report. The general feeling was that the proper venue for negotiation and settlement would be London. The Indians in East Africa fervently trust that when the Labour Government takes up consideration of the problems of Eastern Africa, they will be given an opportunity of representing their views, and that in this task, they will have the

active assistance and support of the Government of India, preferably through one or more representatives especially deputed to England for the purpose. This hope I fully share.

INDIANS' DISABILITIES

Before leaving the subject of the situation in Kenya, I would revert briefly to the question of the disabilities suffered by the local Indians in respect of educational and medical facilities, and of their representation in the public services of the Colony. I have already forwarded to Simla a copy of Pandit Kunzru's memorandum on the subject. It affords disquieting evidence of the danger of leaving our people without adequate means of voicing effectively their grievances and their needs before the Government and Legislature of the Colony. * * I am not without hope that ameliorative measures will be undertaken in the near future. It is, I submit, the duty of the Government of India to support the Indian claims for redress by all the methods open to them.

TANGANYIKA AND UGANDA

It is asserted with some truth that the mutual relations of Indians and Europeans are better elsewhere than in Kenya. Uneasiness, however, exists all over among Indians as to their lot within these territories. For instance, I was surprised at the vigour with which the claim of our fellow-countrymen in Uganda for equality of representation in the Legislative Council was resisted. In this province we dominate the situation by numbers, wealth, capacity and magnitude of interests. If race and colour were not sovereign considerations, we should have something more than parity of representation. Tanganyika too would give cause for pessimism if the general attitude of some of the White Settlers, approximating as it does to that of their *confreres* in Kenya, were not counteracted by the mandate of the League of Nations and by the high-minded and courageous character of the present Governor. The high ideals of labour and the declaration of Mr. Johnston in the Commons during the debate on the Colonial Estimates encourages the hope that the Labour Government will make a clear statement of policy which will assign to the Indian populations in East Africa a status compatible with the description of 'equal partners.'

RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, I respectfully suggest that the Government of India should—

- (a) press for inquiries as to the basis of a civilisation franchise which shall be common to all races alike;
- (b) invoke the good offices of the Colonial Office and of the Government of Kenya in securing the consent of the European community to the establishment of a common roll;
- (c) oppose the grant of responsible government to Kenya or of any institutions leading up to it;
- (d) oppose the establishment of a Central Council on the lines proposed by Sir Samuel Wilson;
- (e) demand, in case of the establishment of some such body, that the unofficial representatives from each province should include an adequate number of Indians;
- (f) advocate the continuance of the official majority in the Legislative Council of Kenya;
- (g) demand that the representation of natives in the Kenya Legislative Council should be by natives or by Europeans and Indians in equal proportions.

Customs Revenue in India

BY MR. M. K. MUNISWAMY AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

THE financial stringency, due, either to a falling Exchange, or disturbances caused by the Great War, has necessitated considerable revisions of the Customs Tariff in India. During recent years, the first material modification of the Customs Tariff took place in the Budget of 1917-1918. In this year, the export duty on Jute was doubled; the import duty on cotton was raised from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the general *ad valorem* duty was fixed at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. At present of course, the general *ad valorem* duty is 15%, though in the case of cotton goods imported, it is only 11%. * According to the Budget Estimates for 1928-1929, Customs duties are expected to bring in a Revenue of Rs. 50,18,37,000.

The first thing that strikes us about the existing schedule of rates in India, is that imported articles are grouped under about only 150 heads. There is not that minute sub-division into ratings, which characterize the ratings in other countries. The Indian Fiscal Commission do not give us any lead as to the question, whether a general revenue duty of 15% is reasonable; nor do they advocate raising of the rates of duty on purely revenue considerations. They, however, point out that

when a large revenue is required, it is generally found that taxation has to be imposed on articles of almost universal consumption, which may be classed as necessities, but, in general, the necessities, of life should be taxed as lightly as possible.

There are two sources, from which the existing amount of customs revenue is threatened (1) for the champions of the rights of Native States, who want a share of the maritime customs dues, now completely appropriated by the Government of India. (2) Advocates of Prohibition, who, if they succeed, would bring about a fall in the total amount of Customs Revenue.

Smuggling is an obstacle in the way of our realizing a more substantial amount from customs.

* Since raised to 15%. This article was written before the presentation of the Budget. [Ed. I.R.]

To some extent, this arises out of French, Portuguese and other foreign possessions in the country. The Indian Government may well enter into some sort of arrangement with these foreign Powers, so that there might be uniform tariff administration in the country.

A vigilant staff of Customs officials, a sufficiently penal legislation and the adoption of low rates of duty on articles, easily capable of being smuggled are the only remedies against smuggling. To put down smuggling, a certain substantial percentage of the contraband articles detected may be offered to the detector, the remaining going to the Government. Another piece of salutary reform to lessen the inducement to smuggling, would be to charge, at not more than a nominal duty, articles that are especially small in bulk and likely to escape the eyes of the Customs official.

Further, the existing Statistical Department of the Government of India may well be utilized for the business of ascertaining and publishing the fluctuations in the market prices of taxable commodities, which would be required for determining tariff valuations. The Indian Fiscal Commission rightly recommended that greater resort in future must be made to the system of Tariff Valuations, than *ad valorem* or Special Customs Duties. The latter classes of duties have drawbacks of their own. Tariff Valuation, as every one knows, is a combination of the two systems of *ad valorem* and specific duties. The principle of Tariff Valuation is that the Government from time to time determines the value of the article for purposes of assessment. The sanctioned *ad valorem* rate is then applied to the conventional value fixed for the article. If the adjustments are made at frequent intervals, the intentions of the Legislature, regarding the rates of duty, will not be defeated by fluctuations in price, and the public

will know exactly, the actual rate, that is being collected.

There is a great danger in the extremely rapid development of customs duties, that has characterized Post-War Indian finance, that the duties have become regressive. In its essence, as Dr. Marshall has pointed out, "the problem of taxation is one of constructive ethics: though on its technical and financial side, it calls for a study of its economic and political aspects."

With regard to the long-standing claim of the Indian States for a share of the revenue, derived from Maritime Customs, to be arranged with individual States, on an equitable basis, the Butler Committee committed itself by saying that "the States have a strong claim to relief, their grievance in the matter being substantial and calling for immediate redress". Realizing the magnitude of the problem, the Butler Committee has recommended that an expert body should be appointed to enquire into the claims of the State or a group of States, to a share in Customs Revenue, and the adequacy of their contribution to Imperial burdens.

We had a right to expect, that after such prolonged deliberations, the Butler Committee would have made concrete, and more detailed proposals, in regard to a matter, which practically constitutes the most important economic question, between the people of the Native States and the Government of India. We do not know when the expert body is going to be appointed. But at any rate, in any short study of Indian customs-duties, we have to stress the aspect of Reform;—the proper distribution of the amount derived from Customs duties, between the Government of India and the various Native States.

When and if a considerable portion of Revenue is handed over to the Native States, as their share of Customs dues, the question arises, how the Government of India is to face the reduction, in the amount realized from customs duties. There are certain increases in Import

duties, which may well be made; there are certain export duties, whose possibilities, have not been explored by the Government of India; and the increases from these duties will be augmented, if smuggling is considerably reduced, and arrangements are entered into with Foreign Possessions in India. It is time, at this critical junction, in the history of Indian Cotton Mill Industry (Vide report of the Bombay Riots Enquiry) that the existing rate of import duty on cotton piece-goods, is raised to at least 15% (the proposal by the Government of India itself in the Budget of 1922-23.) The question of imposing export duties on raw cotton and oil-seeds, has been discussed at length in the report of the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee; but curiously enough, they have not unanimously recommended the imposition of a moderate duty on raw cotton, which would bring about 2 crores of Revenue to the Government of India. For France, Italy, Germany and Japan, and to a lesser extent, the United Kingdom, there is no other source of supply but India, for the short-stapled cotton. A moderate duty of 5% on Indian exports would lead to resuscitation of Indian cotton growers, and would fall on foreign nations. Again, if an export duty on Oil-seeds is imposed at the rate of 5%, such a duty would produce to the Government of India, nearly a crore of rupees. This calculation is based on the figures of export for 1926-1927, as a matter of fact, the lowest of Post-War records of exports of oil-seeds.

In case the Native States are going to be given their legitimate share of Customs dues, we have to provide for a deficit of nearly Rs. 16,00,00,000, and it is doubtful, if we can make up this amount, by carrying out these suggestions. There is really no case for reducing the import duty on luxuries from 30 to 20% *ad valorem*, which the Government of India has recently done. In this connection, I may point out that, as regards the incidence of the increased Customs duties, the Taxation Enquiry Committee found, that there was an increase of 307 per cent. in the case of articles of direct consumption, consumed by the population as a whole, which, in the case of articles, mainly consumed by the richer classes, the increase was only in the extent of 254 per cent. during the period 1914-1924. These figures prove a certain amount of shifting of the burden from the richer classes to the general population.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

MEMORANDUM TO THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

[The following is the text of the memorandum which was submitted to Lord Passfield, Secretary of State for the Colonies, by the East African Deputation which waited on him in November last. The memorandum is signed by Messrs. Hirday Nath Kunzru, Tyab Ali, R. J. Udani and H. S. L. Polak.—]

THE Closer Union Commission have enunciated two principles which ought to guide future policy in East Africa. They emphasise the soundness of the doctrine of paramountcy of native interests laid down in the White Paper of 1923 and urge the necessity of securing co-operation between different races in the interests of future progress. Indians in East Africa are in hearty accord with these views and recall with legitimate pride the fact that they took no mean part in pressing the policy of native trusteeship on His Majesty's Government six years ago.

The main subjects which engaged the attention of the Commission were European demands for more political power, constitutional changes in Kenya, and the Federation of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika.

The Commission considered carefully the practicability of granting responsible government to Europeans in Kenya, and creating an unofficial majority consisting wholly of elected European members, or partly of elected and partly of nominated unofficial European members, but found itself unable to regard any of these courses as feasible. It is unnecessary to refer at any length to the cogent arguments by which they support their conclusion. It may, however, be briefly stated that, apart from the reaction which the political conditions in Kenya will have in Tanganyika, where, leaving officials out of account, the proportion of the British to the non-British immigrant population is considerably less than one to two, they reject the idea of transferring political control to the settler community within any foreseeable future for three main reasons. In the first place, it will be inconsistent with the doctrine of native trusteeship which requires that the Imperial Government should be ultimately responsible for the observance of a policy designed to promote native interests. In the second place, it will place power in the hands of a single and numerically insignificant section of the population, the interests of which may be opposed to those of other communities. As the Natal Native Affairs Commission (1906-07) remarked, 'say the Commission, "a white parliament by its origin and composition stands virtually in the relationship of an oligarchy to the natives, and naturally studies more the interests of the constituencies to which its members owe their position than the interests of those who had no voice in their election, more particularly when the interests or the represented conflict with those of the unrepresented." In the third place, they are afraid that the conferment of responsible government on the whites will stimulate the political ambitions of the natives, whose demands for the widening of the franchise and a share in the government of their country it will not be possible to resist for long, and in the end endanger the very interests it is meant to secure.

The rejection of the other two methods of extending the political power of the Europeans follows inevitably from the decision against responsible government. They are bound, says the Commission, to create friction bet-

ween the official element and the unofficial European majority, and, as history shows, will lead inevitably to complete self-government in the end.

Indians, who have repeatedly declared that they have no desire to control the machinery of government, entirely concur in the conclusions reached by the Commission. Any increase in the political power of the Europeans will inevitably operate to the serious detriment of the natives and further embitter the relations between the various races inhabiting Kenya.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IN KENYA

The constitution of Kenya should be examined in the light of the two guiding principles formulated by the Commission. To what extent does it provide for the participation of natives who may in future qualify themselves for it, in the affairs of their country and encourage the assimilation of diverse racial interests? The natives take no part at present in the election of members of the Legislative Council. The other communities enjoy adult suffrage and are to vote separately for the election of their representatives. There is, therefore, no incentive for them to join in a common endeavour for the furtherance of general interests. The Commission are of opinion that 'a comparatively rapid advance may be expected in the civilisation of the African races.' It may be possible to provide opportunities for the political development of the natives in the reserves separately from the other communities but natives who have broken away from their tribal organisation cannot take advantage of them. They are bound to put forward a demand to a place in the political system of the settled areas. If it is refused it would be inconsistent with the declaration of his Majesty's Government that 'Kenya, primarily, is a native territory' and would create fierce racial antagonism. 'Yet if the claim were admitted,' say the Commission, 'all the immigrant communities would eventually be overborne by the sheer weight of numbers of the Africans, for even in the settled areas they represent already, and must always represent, an enormously preponderant majority. The security afforded by separate electorates will prove illusory as, owing to the great disproportion in numbers between native and other electors, a claim for the effective representation of natives is bound to be asserted. The Commission are therefore driven to the conclusion that "bitter racial animosities are to be prevented from growing up and Europeans to be saved from being submerged under the rising tide of native consciousness, adult suffrage must be replaced by a civilisation franchise which could be acquired by any British subject in the settled areas and would be a safe-guard against a too sudden native preponderance. They recommend an early enquiry to devise a satisfactory test of civilisation and suggest that the Northern Rhodesian system, with its common roll for all British subjects, might well be taken as the starting point of the enquiry suggested by them.'

INDIAN CLAIM TO A COMMON ROLL

It will thus be seen that the Commission propose a civilisation franchise and express their preference for a common roll, not as a concession to Indian sentiment, but in the interests of Africans and Europeans. They naturally express the same opinion when they pass on to the consideration of the Indian claim to a common roll, which is only a particular aspect of the larger question already discussed by them. Inasmuch as they are convinced that 'the progress of the territory must depend on co-operation between the races,' they declare that, the ideal to be aimed at is a common roll. It is true that they think that 'this ideal can only be realised by consent,' but if this is to be understood in a reasonable sense it should not be held to endow the European community with an absolute veto to be exercised at their discretion. It should only be taken mean, in the words of the Commission, that Europeans should be 'given a feeling of security that their interests and institutions are not in danger of being overwhelmed by the numbers of the other communities.' In order that this security may be provided, the Commission recommended that before the new franchise was determined an enquiry should be held to ascertain the number of electors of each race in each constituency. The result was to be laid before the leaders of the Indian and European communities and an attempt made to bring about an agreement among them. The Indian community would have welcomed such an enquiry but not only has no investigation been undertaken, but Sir Samuel Wilson who was accompanied by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, told the Indian deputation that the late Government had decided not to reopen the question of a common roll as it would serve no useful purpose. The profound disappointment which this announcement caused found strong expression during the interview and was subsequently communicated by letter to Sir Samuel Wilson before he sailed for England.

Although Indians were deprived of the opportunity which the enquiry would have given them of showing their readiness to allay reasonable European apprehensions, they have on more than one previous occasion agreed to the provision of proper safeguards for European interests. In 1922, when the Wood-Winterton Agreement was negotiated, in return for a common roll they consented to a franchise which would limit the number of Indian voters to 10 per cent. of the Indian population, to reservation of seats for the two communities in order to avoid the possibility of inter-racial contests, and to the scheme of representation suggested in the agreement which would have given them four seats as against seven assigned to Europeans. And in 1927 they reaffirmed this position in their evidence before the Commission, and expressed their willingness to consider any further safeguards which might reasonably be regarded as necessary for the security of European interests.

Apparently the only ground on which the European community rejected the settlement proposed in 1922 was that it gave no guarantee against the predominance of Indians in the electorate in future. It should, however, be noted that even the present system does not ensure absolute protection to Europeans. Indians are prepared to make great sacrifices to establish a system which will lay the foundation of a common East African citizenship, but should the obstinacy of the European community be allowed to stand in the way of the progress of the Colony, there would be nothing to prevent them from

demanding representation proportionate to their population.

Separate representation in Kenya is sometimes compared to the communal system of election which prevails elsewhere. The comparison is however, fallacious. If minorities in other countries were granted the concessions which Indians are prepared to make to Europeans, it may be taken as certain that the question of separate electorates would find no place in modern political problems. What, however, is more important is that the system which prevails in Kenya is not communal, but racial. It creates two types of citizenship, one higher and the other lower, and has demonstrably a tendency to make one section of the population regard itself as the governing class.

The Special Commission on the Ceylon Constitution, which laboured in a different field from that of the Closer Union Commission, arrive at the same conclusion as the latter with regard to the superiority of the joint over separate electorates. 'It was generally admitted,' they say, 'even by communal representatives themselves, that the communal form of appointment to the Legislative Council was a necessary evil and should only continue until conditions of friendliness and acknowledgment of common aims were developed among the different communities. It is our opinion, however, that the very existence of communal representation tends to prevent the development of these relations, and that only by its abolition will it be possible for the various diverse communities to develop together a true national unity. . . As has already been suggested, it tends to keep communities apart and to send communal representatives to the Council with the idea of defending particular interests instead of giving their special contribution to the common weal.' This condemnation of communal electorates applies with special force to racial electorates such as those which prevail in Kenya.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S VIEWS

Writing to the Secretary of State for India in 1920, the Government of India said: 'We are convinced that the only reliable safeguard for Indian interests is adequate representation on the Legislative Council. At the same time, we desire to reiterate our opinion that there should be a common electoral roll and a common franchise on a reasonable property basis plus an educational test without racial discrimination for all British subjects. We fear that separate representation for the different communities will perpetuate and intensify racial antagonism. On the other hand, a common electorate, whereby a member of one community would represent constituents of another community, would tend to moderate and compose racial differences. In no other way, we believe, will the diverse races in East Africa become a united people.' The experience of the last nine years amply confirms this view. Racial differences have intensified, the social gulf between the two communities has widened, and even the elementary needs of Indians with regard to education and medical relief have been neglected.

There is no question on which Indians have shown greater keenness or unanimity than on that of the common roll, no question is more vital to the progress of Kenya. The security of various interests and the future of the Colony alike depend on the development of a common East African citizenship. Kenya is administered directly under the authority of his Majesty's Government.

A heavy responsibility therefore rests on them. It is earnestly to be hoped that they will not allow the future of the territory to be jeopardised or the application of high Imperial and international policy frustrated by the prejudices of a small community, but that, on the contrary, they will arrive at a decision which will smooth racial differences and promote the peace and prosperity of the Colony.

Indians strongly repudiate the view that an urgent reform should be held up unless it is assented to by Europeans. If it is accepted its inevitable corollary is the right of Indians to demand that no changes shall be introduced which are not approved by them. If Europeans are allowed to have the last word on one aspect of constitutional change, Indian views must be entitled to equal deference regarding other aspects of it.

The evil of separate electorates is not confined to the Legislative Council, but extends to municipal government also. Here, too, the Government of India pressed for a common electoral roll and a common franchise in 1920. It cannot be said that if municipal members are elected jointly by the two communities British civilisation would be endangered or Indians would be in a position to dominate the Colony. On the contrary, mixed electorates in the case of municipalities would have provided a valuable opportunity to the races concerned of learning to work together for civic end and paved the way for a larger unity.

KENYA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The White Paper of 1923 regarded the retention of an official majority in the Kenya Legislative Council as essential. His Majesty's Government, after declaring the grant of responsible government as being out of the question, say: "Nor, indeed would they contemplate yet the possibility of substituting an unofficial majority in the Council for the Government official majority. Hasty action is to be strongly deprecated, and it will be necessary to see how matters develop, especially in regard to African representation, before proposals for so fundamental a change in the Constitution of the Colony can be entertained."

The White Paper of 1927 created considerable uneasiness in responsible quarters. Mr. Thomas spoke of it in Parliament in July, 1927, as deliberately upsetting the previous policy, but even that Paper, after referring to the possibility of changes being required in the power and composition of the existing legislature, said: "In any such changes it will be essential to maintain the principle that the administration of the East and Central African territories is based on the exercise by his Majesty's Government of a trust on behalf of the African population, and that while they may now be prepared to associate with themselves to that trust the members of the resident immigrant communities, they are still under an obligation to ensure that the principles of this trusteeship will be observed." It thus appears that the White Paper of 1927 also upheld the necessity of maintaining the official majority, for there seems to be no other way of ensuring the protection of native interests without creating friction. The Commission nevertheless propose to dispense with it. The Council at present consists of twenty officials, eleven elected Europeans, five elected Indians, one elected Arab, and one nominated missionary member to look after native interests. The Commission recommend that to begin with four unofficial members

nominated to represent native interest should replace four official members, and contemplate further changes of the same kind later on. Missionaries, European settlers and retired administrative officers (who are all Europeans) are referred to as the sources from which representatives of natives may be drawn, and it is expressly admitted that "native interests will in the first stage be represented by Europeans nominated for the purpose." It is thus clear that while the unofficial majority will in the first instance be composite, later on unofficial Europeans will preponderate in the Council. Sir Edward Hilton Young expresses the opinion, which few will dispute, that nominated unofficial Europeans, whatever designation may be given to them, will have the same general views and outlook as the elected European members, and proposes the immediate creation of an unofficial European majority consisting of elected and nominated Europeans. The Commission strongly condemn this proposal on grounds already referred to, but the reasons which they advance against Sir Edward Hilton Young's scheme apply with equal cogency to their own. By encouraging further demands on the part of Europeans and creating friction between Government and unofficial Europeans it will inevitably end in responsible government. The Commission complain that already "in Kenya unofficial opinion has in practice obtained a much larger influence in the counsels of Government than accords with the strictly constitutional position," and that the control of the Secretary of State is "in practice subject to limitations which make its exercise difficult." Yet they recommend changes which, even in the first stage, will further weaken the position of the Imperial Government, make the enforcement of an enlightened native policy more difficult, and render the position of the Indian community more precarious. Responsible government having been declared to be out of the question as far as can be foreseen, no measures should be countenanced which are likely to lead in this direction.

Indians must not be understood to be opposed to the representation of native interests in the Legislative Council through natives themselves. They would welcome the nomination of natives to the Legislative Council, but till natives are appointed members of Council they strongly urge that the official majority should not be abandoned.

Native interests are already indirectly represented by Imperial officials. If, for some reason which it is difficult to understand, it is decided to transfer their care to unofficials, it is necessary to see that Indians are not placed at a greater disadvantage thereby. The Wood-Winterton Agreement conceded four seats to Indians as against seven provided for Europeans, but the Government of India regarded the Indian proportion as inadequate. Speaking in Parliament in connection with the policy of associating the two immigrant communities with the responsibilities of Government in Kenya, formulated in the White Paper of 1927, Mr. Thomas said: "Certainly, I do not hesitate to say that if ever the question arises as to what part in Government the native or Indian can play, there will be no more enthusiastic supporters than my friends on these benches." Indians should, therefore, be eligible to represent natives and be chosen in equal numbers with Europeans for this purpose. Unless this is done, native representation will be regarded as a device for indirectly adding to the number of non-official European

members. Whatever may be said about the relations between Indians and natives, the presence of Indians has not created any of those difficulties which have followed in the wake of European settlement, and their comparative freedom from racial prejudice will be admitted on all hands.

FEDERATION

The primary reason why the Commission has recommended the creation of a central authority for East Africa is the need for a uniform and consistent native policy. In existing circumstances the control of native policy in all East African territories from a single centre has an element of serious danger in it. In any scheme of federation Kenya Europeans are likely to exercise a preponderant influence owing to their numbers and aggressiveness. The unification of native policy may therefore, mean the extension of the illiberal Kenya policy to the mandated territory of Tanganyika and the protectorate of Uganda. Indeed Dr. Buell expresses the opinion in his "Native Problems in Africa" that the conference of Governors has already compelled Tanganyika to modify its policy in order to suit European interests. The Indian deputation which met Sir Samuel Wilson at Nairobi therefore opposed any scheme for a uniform native policy unless it was laid down that the enlightened policies of Tanganyika and Uganda would not be altered for the worse in order to be brought in the line with the backward policy of Kenya. The same position has been taken up by Sir Donald Cameron, the Governor of Tanganyika, who considers it indispensable that suitable principles should be laid down before any attempt is made to co-ordinate the administration of native affairs in East Africa.

The enunciation of a uniform native policy to be applied to the whole of East Africa has an important bearing on the proposals relating to constitutional changes in Kenya. According to the Commission themselves the constitution of the Kenya Council should be changed only if the general principles of their scheme for the institution of a central authority are excepted. If their main recommendation on this subject is not carried out their authority cannot be quoted in favour of the relinquishment of the official majority.

It may be thought that the co-ordination of certain services like customs and railways can be considered independently of the other recommendations of the Commission. Here, again, the opinion of the Governor of Tanganyika deserves serious consideration. He considers that if a Governor-General with the powers recommended by the Commission is appointed "he should study on the spot the difficult problem of the common services with all the implications, financial and otherwise. It is a very difficult problem and requires deep study and full consultation with all the interests affected; it could not be settled in a few weeks or indeed in a month, or two." Again such experience as has been gained of the common policy pursued in regard to tariffs and railway shows that it has not given satisfaction to Tanganyika and Uganda. In the opinion of Dr. Buell the co-ordination has been more in the interests of Kenya than in those of the other territories.

The services which are proposed to be transferred to the federal authority are the most important sources of revenue. As Sir Samuel Wilson admits, there is a natural fear that the authority which controls them will ultimately exert its influence over

all other departments. The high position of the Governor-General who will preside over the Governors' Conferences, the Railway Council, etc., will add to the prestige of the Central Council and enable it to concentrate political power in its hands. Questions relating to native affairs and inter-racial interests will be decided in accordance with political influence exercised by Kenya. Such a development should not be permitted unless a permanent and well defined policy is previously laid down for East Africa by his Majesty's Government.

If, however, it is decided to establish a central council, Indian interests should be safeguarded by providing that half the unofficial members nominated from each territory should be Indian. It is necessary that the Imperial Government should lay this down formally, as in view of the manner in which the power of nomination has been exercised in the past, Indians are afraid that if the matter is left to the discretion of the Governors they may not be nominated at all or may fail to secure adequate representation.

UGANDA AND TANGANYIKA

Indians are unable to agree with the recommendation of the Commission that no changes should be made in the constitution of Uganda and Tanganyika Legislative Councils. The European population in Uganda is under 2,000, including officials, and the Indian about 11,000. About two-thirds of the cotton trade appears to be in Indian hands and about half the cotton exported from Uganda is consigned to India. The present Governor of Uganda observed in 1926 that the role of the Indian community in Uganda's development has been not merely important but positively indispensable. Yet while the European community is represented by two nominated members, Indians have to be content with one.

In Tanganyika, while the British population, including officials, is about 3,000, Indians number about 18,000. Indians occupy an important position in trade and commerce. They own most of the landed property in Dar-es-Salaam, and some of them are demonstrating their capacity to hold their own in agriculture in competition with other communities. But of the seven nominated unofficial members of the Tanganyika Legislative Council, five are British while only two are Indian.

The numerical and economical importance of the Indian community requires that they should receive adequate representation in the Legislative Councils of both Uganda and Tanganyika. In the circumstances referred to above their representation should be equal to that of the European community.

PUBLIC SERVICES

While Indians are employed in a subordinate capacity throughout East Africa, they are conspicuous by their absence in the higher services. Not a single Indian occupies a position of responsibility in Kenya, Uganda or Tanganyika. Their complete exclusion from superior posts has all the appearance of being the result of a racial bar. It is interpreted as a sign of the political inferiority of the Indian community and adversely affects the social relations of Indians and Europeans. His Majesty's Government have recently appointed a committee to enquire into the system of recruitment for the Colonial civil services. Indians earnestly hope that the disabilities under which they labour in this respect will soon be removed. The appointment of Indians to high

offices will not conflict with the Imperial trusteeship for native welfare, for Indian officers will be as much under Imperial control as European officers are.

SIR SAMUEL WILSON'S REPORT

The deputation of Sir Samuel Wilson to East Africa was regarded by Europeans as a sign of the success of their agitation against the principles laid down by the Closer Union Commission and produced a corresponding apprehension among the Indian community. Indians objected that his Majesty's Government should without any justification institute a fresh enquiry into the basic problems discussed by the Commission and allow one individual without the knowledge possessed by the Commission to sit in judgment over them. Sir Samuel Wilson's report abundantly justifies the view which the European took of his deputation in East Africa and the fears entertained by Indians. It even goes beyond the dissenting minute of the Chairman of the Closer Union Commission. The only reassuring feature of the report is the foreword of the Secretary of State for the Colonies that his Majesty's Government must not be supposed to be committed to it or to agree with its views.

Before passing on to the proposals made by Sir Samuel Wilson it is necessary to deal briefly with a few statements of a general character contained in his report which do not give a true picture of the situation or give an erroneous idea of the position of the Indian community. 'With the power reserved to the High Commissioner or Governor to veto legislation contrary to the veto of the Majority of the Council,' says Sir Samuel Wilson, 'no one, except the Indian communities, disagreed with the Hilton Young Commission that it would be both safe and advantageous to relinquish the official majority in the Kenya Legislative Council.' He further states that the scheme proposed by him 'except so far as the Indian communities are concerned would be generally welcome.' These statements create the impression that other communities besides the European and Indian were consulted by Sir Samuel Wilson, and that they supported Europeans and disagreed with Indians, who were isolated owing to the unreasonable attitude which they took up. The only other community which could have been consulted was the native community. It is not known to Indians what steps, if any, Sir Samuel Wilson took to ascertain native opinion in Kenya, but if he thought that natives could express an intelligent opinion on the constitutional problems investigated by him the objection to the nomination of natives to the Kenya Legislative Council disappears, and the basis of the scheme proposed by him is utterly destroyed. If, however, the only communities consulted were the European and Indian communities the language which he has chosen to employ is open to the strongest objection as being highly misleading.

INDIANS BITTERLY DISAPPOINTED

Another statement to which exception must be taken relates to the position of Indians regarding the Kenya Legislative Council. Sir Samuel Wilson thinks that if his Majesty's Government gave a theoretical undertaking that the question of a common roll was not closed for ever and the Kenya Government promised to use its good offices to bring the European and Indian communities together, Indians would be satisfied and would be prepared to enter the Legislative Council on a basis of nomination. It is not known who 'the leading

Indians in Kenya' were who confidentially supported this view, but it derives no support from the statements made by authoritative spokesmen of the Indian community. In the interview which the East African Indian National Congress Deputation, which the first undersigned had the honour to lead, had with Sir Samuel Wilson, some members, after expressing their bitter disappointment at the announcement which he made regarding the common roll, expressed the opinion that if His Majesty's Government had accepted the principle of a common roll and then made the enquiry recommended by the Commission for defining the precise qualifications which should constitute a civilisation franchise, Kenya Indians would have been prepared to accept nomination to the Legislative Council pending the introduction of a common roll in order to give proof of their good faith and to create an atmosphere of goodwill during the period of enquiry. This, however, is very different from the impression recorded by Sir Samuel Wilson. There are Europeans in Kenya who are known to be out of sympathy with the views of the Convention of Associations, but Sir Samuel Wilson does not invoke their authority to discredit the opinions expressed by the representatives of the up-country Europeans. It is not easy to understand why a different procedure should have been followed by him in dealing with the Indian view point.

It is not necessary to discuss Sir Samuel Wilson's proposals in detail. The main document which requires consideration is the report of the Closer Union Commission. Sir Samuel Wilson's report ought not to be allowed to usurp its place. It is hoped, in view of the announcement of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that attention will be concentrated on the report of the Commission itself.

There are only two features of Sir Samuel Wilson's report which require notice: the constitution and working of the Federal Council and of the Kenya Legislative Council.

The Commission recommended the creation of a Federal Council mainly in order to tighten Imperial authority in matters of native policy and inter-racial interest. Indians desired that if such a Council was established the same representation should be conceded to them as might be conceded to Europeans. Sir Samuel nominally proposes that there should be an official majority in the Council, but says: 'My personal view is that the official members of the Central Council should have freedom of voting power after they have heard the question debated, and that their hands should not be tied beforehand by their local governments. Further, I am not in favour of the High Commissioner having the power to call on the official members of the Central Council to support his views. For, if in a Council with an official majority the High Commissioner cannot by his own personality and the arguments of his official advisers obtain a clear majority of free votes, it is, in my opinion, much better that his view should not prevail.' Thus the Council, which was to be the means of reasserting and enhancing Imperial authority in essential matters, is made the instrument of un-official European ascendancy throughout East Africa. A stupendous question of principle has been lightly disposed of as a side issue in an indirect manner.

As regards the composition of the Council, Uganda and Tanganyika each will be represented by three unofficial

members, and Kenya if it gets an unofficial majority in the local Council by four unofficial members. The representation proposed for Uganda and Tanganyika will make the equal representation of Indians and Europeans impossible. It might theoretically be otherwise in Kenya, but as Kenya is to have four unofficial members, only if it gets an unofficial majority in its own legislature, the intention there, too, seems to be that European representatives should be in a majority.

REPRESENTATION OF NATIVE INTERESTS

As in the Federal Council, so in the Kenya Legislative Council Sir Samuel Wilson proposes to give freedom of vote to officials. He is so much in favour of this procedure that he suggests that it 'might well be adopted in all Colonial legislatures which include nominated official members.' Taken in conjunction with his proposal for the creation of an unofficial majority in Kenya Legislature, this suggestion means that official Europeans should reign supreme in the Council. If the practice grew up of officials voting normally as they liked, unofficial European opinion, which is already shown too much deference, would make it all but impossible for the strongest Governor to direct the officials to support his view even in exceptional cases.

Sir Samuel Wilson does not lay down that native representatives should be only European. He would leave their choice entirely to the Governor. But he knows that Europeans 'are strongly opposed to any addition to the number of Indian representatives in the Council,' and the past experience of Indians in regard to the constitution of nominated bodies has been already referred to above. Occasionally an Indian may be chosen to represent native interests, but as a rule Europeans only will be selected for this purpose.

It is often argued that so long as Indians and officials together can outvote unofficial Europeans, Indian interests are fully protected and that Indians should not, therefore, object to any increase in the number of unofficial Europeans which does not give the latter an absolute majority. If this principle is sound, why should not European representation be left as it is and the number of Indian representatives substantially increased? 'I was informed by Mr. Sastri,' says Sir Samuel Wilson, 'that the Indian community would view with dismay any reconstitution of the Council which would lead to the official plus the Indians being in a minority.' The Indian community expressed their views regarding the Commission's proposals for the reconstitution of the Kenya Council in no uncertain terms in the representation which they forwarded to him, but his statement may create some misapprehension with regard to Mr. Sastri's own position. It is necessary, therefore, to say that on account of close association with Mr. Sastri the first undersigned is in a position to state confidently that he is not in favour of the change proposed by the Commission in the constitution of the Kenya Legislative Council. He is opposed in the present circumstances to the abandonment of the official majority.

IMPERIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

The issues on which His Majesty's Government are called upon to pronounce are of grave and far-reaching importance. That they are of the highest moment to Africa will not be doubted for a moment. A struggle is going on there between two sets of opposing prin-

ciples, the policy of South Africa and the policy of the League of Nations as embodied in the mandate for Tanganyika. Is East Africa to develop into another Dominion of South Africa, governed by the doctrine of white ascendancy and intensifying the clash of race and colour, or is its evolution to follow higher standards, strengthening the future of an Empire which can be held together only by bonds of racial goodwill and co-operation? The decision of the British Government will furnish the answer to this crucial question.

The Imperial significance of the problem is no less grave. The interest of India in the proper settlement of the issues that are hanging in the balance is as deep and passionate as it is obvious. Whatever differences of opinion may divide Indian political parties on questions of internal politics, they all speak with one voice on subjects affecting Indians overseas. Those who generally support Government hold the same views in this matter as the advanced politicians. Indians and Europeans have fought shoulder to shoulder on this subject in the Legislative Assembly. The Emigration Committee of the Assembly has proved the solidarity of all races and communities on this issue by arriving at unanimous decisions regarding the recommendations of the Closer Union Commission. The Indian States are as keenly interested in the maintenance of the honour and self-respect of Indians in the British Empire as British India. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, is understood to have said at the last session of the Chamber that 'the treatment of India's children abroad concerned us as much as our British Indian friends.' The Government of India have throughout identified themselves with Indians on this question and have by this action of theirs maintained a friendly link between themselves and the people.

Indians think and feel as one man where the position of Indians in the British Empire is concerned. The status of Indians abroad is an integral part of the constitutional problem which is exercising the mind of the whole country. The political situation in India is grave enough to demand the highest statesmanship on the part of Britain. The success of the efforts of the Imperial authorities to convince India of their good-will will be seriously marred by any decision which implies the recognition of inequality between Indians and Europeans and lays down two different standards of citizenship for them. His Majesty's Government have before them a great opportunity of reconciling racial differences. Indians earnestly hope that they will grasp it firmly for such a step will promote the best interests of the Empire and is at the same time a necessary part of the policy of world's peace which His Majesty's Government are labouring to initiate.

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ.

By R. G. PRADHAN, M.L.C.

Price Rs. Four. net.

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The Condition of Indian Agriculture

By MR. S. RAMACHANDRA AIYER,

Inventor of the Ramachandra Water-lift.

ALL the agricultural men and animals of India are unemployed for five months in the year. Even in the Coimbatore Government Farm, where cattle are used for perennial well-irrigation, cattle get only 7 months' continuous work in the year. (*Vide Report of the Royal Commission*).

Out of 257 millions of acres of arable land, 218 millions are dry lands. They are cultivated with poor ill-nutritious crops such as Cumbu, Varagu, Samai etc., for a few months only. These lands hardly provide work for the cattle for a couple of months in a year. The gross outturn from an acre of dry land is about Rupees 30 according to Sir Harold Mann. 28 millions of acres alone are irrigated by all the rivers of India and that on an average for a 6 months' crop only. Agricultural cattle do not find work for more than two months in the year. The gross outturn from a wet land grown with paddy does not exceed Rs. 100 worth of crop per acre per year. The scope for increasing canal irrigation to at least a few more millions of acres is limited and is very costly. Thus all the cattle engaged in the cultivation of 246 millions of acres of dry and wet lands and several millions of garden lands under abandoned wells are unemployed and ill-fed for more than 8 months in the year. Agricultural labourers at least find occupation for 6 or 7 months in the year. This is the real and the only cause of poverty in India.

If all the agricultural cattle of India are fully employed all the year round in useful production and agricultural occupation, and if they are fed better at a cheaper cost than at present, and if they are also made more efficient with the aid of simple machinery shown below, India will be one of the richest countries of the world. All our labourers will find plenty of occupation and plenty of rich nutritious food all the year round. All our middle-class men will stay

in their villages. There will be no absentee landlordism. There will be no over-crowding in towns and strife for jobs under Government. Our villages will then alone be really reconstructed.

At present, 10½ millions of acres of land are under well-irrigation. Well-irrigation is found unprofitable. This form of cultivation is being abandoned. (*Vide Report of the Royal Agricultural Commission*).

Well-irrigation is the only form of intensive cultivation for all our dry lands. Even with a limited water in the wells for a small patch of ground only, they provide perennial occupation for cultivators and produce rich nutritious crops such as wheat, sugar-cane, maize, plantain, coconuts, pulses, vegetables, fruits, limes, grapes, citrons, etc. In well-irrigation, cattle find 7 to 8 months' occupation. Rich green fodder could be produced for all the bullocks, milch and dry cows all the year round. The average gross outturn from a garden land is about Rs. 500 per acre per year. Though certain crops like plantains, sugar-cane, grapes, betel-leaves, etc., produce crops worth Rs. 1,000 to 2,000 per acre, they occupy the land for 18 months. Hence the average of Rs. 500 per acre per year.

If out of the 225 millions of acres of lands, 50 millions at least are brought under perennial garden cultivation of paying nutritious crops, India can support 3 times the population. There will be no need for emigrating a single agricultural labourer from India. All the Irrigation and Famine Commissions have recommended well-irrigation as the best means of solving the poverty problems of India.

It is therefore the paramount duty of the State to see to the revival of this 10½ millions of acres of garden lands by making the same a paying one to the cultivators who are now in a deplorable condition. The abnormal exportation of pulses,

oil-seeds and oil-cakes have increased the feeding cost of bullocks and cows, threefold and fourfold. But the capacity of bullocks to work and cows to milk still remain the same. Blind exportation of oil-cakes and bones has increased the cost of manuring garden lands that produced crops worth Rs. 500 per acre per year which should be heavily manured unlike dry and wet lands that produce poor crops. So the cost of maintaining bullocks, cows and the cost of manuring the fields are increasing rapidly, while the milk from cows and crops from the land are in diminishing returns. Hence well-irrigation is being given up. The cost of feeding a good cow is more than Rs. 30 a month. The average available milk per month is not worth more than Rs. 35 a month. The margin is very little for a man to look after the cow and to incur other expenses of interest on the capital, accommodation, etc. Hence the cause of milk famines both in towns and in villages. Oil-cakes are not available even in villages. (Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture). This is an indication of the growing poverty of India. Increasing famine for pulses and milk, the only nutritious food for the masses and the rapid abandonment of well-irrigation as admitted in the Report of the Royal Commission are the real proofs of the decaying condition of the Indian Nation.

Mere retention of the oil-seed, oil-cakes, pulses and bones in India will at once produce a magical effect on cheap and enormous milk production, milk consumption by all classes of people and the rapid revival and extensions of well-irrigation, the most intensive form of cultivation. There will be less of child mortality, less of malnutrition amongst the masses. There will be general prosperity all round.

India cannot continue to be a poor nation of dry land cultivators for six months and then idlers for the other six months. With a simple, cheap and efficient water lift by a single animal humane-

ly worked instead of two bullocks and with the cost of feeding that single animal also reduced with our own pulses and oil-cakes and the cost of manuring the lands also reduced by preventing the export of oil-cakes and bones, the cost of cultivation will come to Rs. 100 per acre instead of Rs. 400 per acre per year as at present. The value of the crops produced will also become cheaper, and hence any educated man will easily get back to his village and work as a farmer. The Royal Commissioners say that agriculture could not be improved when all our educated middle class men are absent from the villages. To introduce better machinery and better methods of cultivation successfully, the supervision, management, skill and even the actual handling of these machinery are necessary by our educated middle class men. Unless cultivation is made paying, educated men will not get back to their villages. The retention of all the refuses of our crops, such as husk, bran, oil-cakes, pulses, bones, etc., in the villages themselves and the introduction of simple animal power water-lifts and other machinery shown below will alone make farming a paying one and tempt our educated men to get back to villages and thus reconstruct them.

Half the sugar crop area of the world is in India, and one half of this area in the United Provinces under well irrigation are the rich Gangetic alluvial plains. Yet we are importing sugar from outside even for the consumption of the upper and middle classes. The poor masses of India rarely taste sugar or jaggery. Hence they are addicted to drink liquors which are only fermented saccharine juices of plants. With cheap facilities for well-irrigation, cheap manures, and with simple improved machines for crushing sugar-canes, the United Provinces alone will supply sugar for the whole population of India and even export to other countries at a cheap cost.

In India, there are about 250 millions of labourers and 150 millions of bullocks, milch and dry cattle

unemployed and ill-fed for more than six months in the year. There are also thousands of scientifically educated middle-class and upper class men struggling for existence. I am not therefore wrong or unfair when I claim the crops for the welfare of India. India is a country of self-sufficing farming. (*Vide* Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture). With extended well-irrigation alone, India can take to commercial farming to help other countries. The only difficulty of retaining our crops for a few months only in villages is the want of simple cheap animal power machines by the cultivators for hulling, shelling, milling, ginning, spinning etc., soon after harvest. For example, cultivators now carry their cotton, oil-cakes, paddy etc. in their carts with a number of bullocks and men a number of days, 20, 30 and even 40 miles for hulling, shelling, milling, ginning, etc. If they are helped with simple animal power machines to be worked in their own villages, what a great boon will it be for the cultivators? His men and animals will be usefully employed, the refuses of his crops will be had for nothing for the benefit of his men, cattle and lands. All the oils, sugar and cotton lint it would all be exported if all our unemployed educated science men could not convert them into manifold industrial products such as colours, paints, varnishes, hair oils, soaps, biscuits, etc. and supplying them to our own markets now flooded with foreign goods made out of our raw products. That India with a capacity to export 350 crores worth of crops in a very crude state and with 230 millions of acres of undeveloped agricultural land, should remain poor and the whole nation to be unemployed and ill-fed for more than six months in the year, is not fair to the intelligence, skill and sagacity of the Indian educated men.

Therefore the solution is

(1) Careful and discriminate marketing of our crops is essential.

(2) To prevent the exportation of the refuses of our vital crops such as husk, bran, oil, cakes, pulses, bones etc.

(3) To invent and introduce simple and humane animal power water-lifts to the millions and millions of poor small holding cultivators with a very limited supply of water from deep wells enough for small patches only.

(4) To introduce simple animal power machines for all our village industries of hulling, shelling, milling, ginning, spinning, etc., of all our 350 crores worth of crops in the very villages.

(5) To introduce a net-work of co-operative societies for loans, for buying and selling crops and for manufacturing manures and implements locally.

(6) Free Thaccavi loans for well constructions.

(7) To teach cheap methods of well construction, Dr. Voelker has said 35 years ago "That no great agricultural improvement is possible in India beyond securing cheap facilities for water and manure." Water means only well-irrigation for all our dry lands, manure means the refuses of all our crops applied directly or indirectly as cattle food.

The scientific principles involved in the inventions of water-lifts and the power mills mentioned above are as follows:—

A man walks 3 miles an hour, but with a bicycle goes 12 miles an hour for the same ultimate expenditure of energy. A man is not able to carry another man on his shoulder but with a rickshaw carries two men a few miles.

A steam locomotive is no better than a country cart had it not been for the use of the rail road, unit for unit.

With the application of the above friction-saving contrivances, animals are helped to draw water from wells and for other village industries.

It has been found by experts that animals with such contrivances are enabled to do $\frac{1}{2}$ H.P. work of an engine while they are only $\frac{1}{4}$ H.P. of an engine as at present. Hundreds of such inventions alone can solve all our economic troubles.



MAHATMA GANDHI'S IDEAS. By C. F. Andrews.
Grant Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.

It has been said that Mahatma Gandhi's influence is on the wane. But only the other day he was invested with dictatorial powers by the Working Committee of the Congress. Indeed he is likely to be the central figure in the great agitation with which the country is threatened. We are not here concerned with the propriety or otherwise of his contemplated programme of civil disobedience but every one knows that Mahatma Gandhi is a man of his word and that he means what he says. It is therefore imperative that Englishmen should try to understand the inwardness of the movement, which Mahatma Gandhi is to lead. In the book before us, Mr. Andrews expounds Mr. Gandhi's ideas on different topics with abundant knowledge, and his exposition is fortified with copious extracts from the writings of the Mahatma. Sure enough, Mr. Andrews' portrait of Gandhi and his analysis of ideas behind the Non-co-operation movement must be an eye-opener to many an Englishman who is merely content to pooh-pooh his threats. For whether one agrees with Gandhi or not, he can hardly be ignored, and Mr. Andrews has done a splendid service in writing a book of this kind just at this moment when it is most imperative that Englishmen should understand the ideas which inspire the leader of the Non-co-operation movement in India.

HISTORY OF THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI.
By R. Gopalan, M.A., Sub-Librarian, Connemara Public Library, Madras. Edited by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. Rs. 5.

This handy manual is an account of the Pallavas, so far as can be built up from the materials at our disposal now. The University Professor of Indian History who has edited the book and supplemented it with an elaborate introduction and several useful notes, lays stress upon the theory that the Pallavas were filiated to, and probably sprang from, the Satavahanas. Certainly they were indigenous to the country. He makes a successful and fairly cogent attempt to show that the Kalabhra invasion of the Tamil country which destroyed the settled order of the latter as portrayed in the Sangham Literature was a continuation of the struggle that dislodged them from their original home and replaced them by the Pallavas. The Kalabhras were not the Karnatakas as hitherto supposed by scholars, but merely the *Kalvar* or *Kalavar* who originally lived in the country round Tirupati. Another point stressed in the Introduction and elaborated in the book is that the Chola interregnum associated with the name of Karikala in the generations immediately preceding the Pallava King, Kumara Vishnu II, is impossible of justification on the basis of any rational scheme of chronology.

MALABAR AND THE PORTUGUESE. By K. M. Panikkar—with a foreword by Sir Richard Temple. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

This study of the history of the Portuguese in Malabar is formally confined only to a fraction of the part they played in the East, but takes in a general outline their policy and religious fanaticism and the causes of their failure. It is based on an examination of relevant papers in the archives of Portugal and of the India Office, which contain a large mass of unpublished and even unsifted material; and what is even more important, it makes use of the unpublished original material available in Malayalam, chiefly the chronicles preserved by temples and by royal families. Mr. Panikkar is not inclined to estimate highly Portuguese contributions to India's culture or development.

But certainly the author is quite correct in maintaining that Vasco da Gama's achievement in reaching Calicut was not great as a feat of exploration or even of nautical adventure. The Indian and Moslem opponents of the Venetians and the Moors soon learnt, that with proper handling and efficient gunnery, the Portuguese naval power could be crushed; and even Albuquerque with all his practical ability and large vision, could not succeed in establishing a Portuguese hegemony over Malabar, and had to look beyond it to Goa where he found a base from which he could command the Arabian Sea. After seventy years of conflict, the Portuguese had to confess their inability to control the Zamorin.

Mr. Panikkar strikes a new and refreshing note when he points out that the superiority of Portuguese naval armament was not long effective; the vessels of the *Marakkars* were soon equipped with equally efficient, though less heavy, armament, and he shows that it was not right to continue to call them 'privates'. The decay of Portuguese power in Malabar has left as its relics only the family names of a few

Eurasians, the ruins of a fine fortress, a few topazes and a bishopric at Cochin; nor need these make any one pause and grieve over this feature.

The evils of Portuguese policy are evident to all serious students of history. The influence exerted by the Portuguese on the trade of Malabar on the cultivation of the cocoanut and on the material status of the people is described clearly by the author who also mentions their spread of the Latin and Portuguese tongues and their pioneer efforts at understanding India. We are cautioned against accepting the exaggerated praises of their own achievements made by Portuguese writers like Camoens, Barros, etc.

VEERASHAIVA PHILOSOPHY OF THE SHAIVA-AGAMAS. By S. D. Parvate, Hubli—published by W. B. Bileangadi, Hubli. Re. 1.

This is described as an humble attempt to understand the Shaivagamic philosophy in its Veerashaivic aspect and is based on a lecture on the Veerashaiva religion delivered at the Universal Religious Conference held in Madras in 1923. The Shaiva-Dharma is presented in the Agamas in seven stages: The Agamas are the essence of the teachings of the Vedas themselves and the Lingayats believe them to be coeval with, and complementary to, the Vedas themselves. The influence of the Brahmanic literature was so great that the Agamic literature was lost until Basawa preached and spread their doctrine. The first part explains the essence of the Agamas and the second part deals with SHAKTI-VISISTADVAITA, being a religion which teaches the Samarasya or unity of nature and identity of essence of the Linga (Shiva) and Anga (Jiva). The writer maintains that Veerashaivism is a Vedic religion which was only revived in the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th centuries.

INDIA UNDER WELLESLEY. By P. E. Roberts. George Bell & Sons, London.

This biography of Wellesley, in his career in India, is based on a study and examination of available records including a few volumes of MSS. which were not utilised by Martin, the editor of the Governor-General's DESPATCHES (5 volumes 1836). A *Selection* was made by Prof. S. J. Owen of Wellesley's Indian papers and published more than fifty years ago. R. R. Pearce's three-volume book on Wellesley's MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE (1746) is not very authoritative. Hutton's sketch of Wellesley in the RULERS OF INDIA series is useful as a very good and authoritative sketch. The present book has made use of the staple histories and biographies and of Hansard's papers, the volumes of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the Carnatic and Oudh papers published by order of the House of Commons and the records preserved in the British Museum. The main facts and phases of Wellesley's rule have been so often and so fully brought out by previous writers that very little is possible in the shape of addition or even re-interpretation. Besides a clear survey of the political condition of the land on his accession, the author has given a fairly full account of the controversy that raged between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control regarding the College of Fort William that he started, in the course of which the latter body had to assert its right to a full control in all matters pertaining to Government as distinguished from commerce and patronage. The chapter on Indian Trade brings out the anxiety displayed by Wellesley to allow a freer system of competition in shipping and a larger use of India-built tonnage by the Company. The criticism and defence of the Treaty of Bassein are fuller than in the other books like Mill and contain Malcolm's comment on Castlereagh's opinion. The relations between the Governor-General, the Directors and the Board of Control are exhaustively detailed with a full

account of the grounds of complaint of the Directors against the Governor-General and of the extent to which Wellesley's work and policy were intended to be reversed and actually reversed by his immediate successors. We have at the end the usual epilogue of platitudes regarding the value of Wellesley's work and the grossly unfair public attitude towards him which persisted for a number of years and galled his temper. It is a little too much to say that "He (Wellesley), if any man ever did, knew the motive-springs of his own soul and fashioned his own purpose." This is admiration carried beyond the stretching point. The book on the whole is a very readable account put in brief compass of the activity of a person about whom so much of controversy has been raging; but it makes no claim to be either an exhaustive or a final account.

INDIA, Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., University of Calcutta.

Dr. Bhandarkar has edited the section INDIA in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences. In this volume, he has gathered together copious and authoritative information on a variety of topics dealing with the political, social and economic conditions of this country. Lord Ronaldshay and Dr. Sapru write on the Indian constitution, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar on the Army and Navy, Dr. Sarvadhikary on Emigration, Sir P. J. Hartog on the Universities, Mahatma Gandhi on the problem of the Untouchables, Prof. Findlay Shirras and Sir J. C. Coyaji on Finance and kindred subjects, Dr. H. H. Mann on Agriculture, Sir Lalubhai Samaldas on Industry and Commerce, Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee of the MODERN REVIEW and Mr. A. H. Watson of the STATESMAN on the origin and growth of Journalism in India. Thus we have in this collection an authoritative exposition of different aspects of India's political, social and economic conditions which must carry weight with the public. We commend the book as a valuable *vade mecum* on India.

ST. THOMAS, THE APOSTLE, IN INDIA. By Mr. F. A. D'Cruz, K. S. G. (Indian edition) Madras.

Mr. D'Cruz presented the public, first in 1922, with an investigation into the tradition of the martyrdom of St. Thomas in Southern India, of which his conclusion was that the available evidence, even if not sufficient to compel belief, argues strongly in favour of the tradition which has not yet been entirely demolished by any critic. The author examines the views of scholars like Bishop Medlycott, Dr. J. N. Farquhar, Father Dahmann, Dr. Mingana and others who have laboured in this field and concludes that the absence of contemporary historical evidence is not enough to condemn the truth of the tradition. The close connection of St. Thomas with Edessa, and his subsequent connection with India, the probable and traditional association of St. Thomas with King Gondophernes, and the likelihood of the martyrdom having occurred in South India are treated in some detail. The attempted identification of Calamina, the supposed place of martyrdom with a village in the neighbourhood of Madras takes, in our opinion, too much for granted. The author concludes that the field of the labours of St. Pantenus was India and not Arabia Felix and that the relics still preserved in an ancient reliquary in the San Thome Cathedral are most likely parts of the relics left when the Apostle's remains were taken to Edessa.

A CENTURY OF SERVICE 1828-1928. By U. N. Ball—published by the Centenary Committee of the Punjab Brahma Samaj, Lahore.

In this pamphlet, the writer attempts to make a survey of the contributions of the Brahma Samaj to the spiritual and moral progress of India in the first century of its life that has just been finished. The principles for which the Sadharan Brahma Samaj has been working are clearly enunciated and explained; and the work of Keshub Chandra Sen and his successors is estimated.

INDIAN PRINCES UNDER BRITISH PROTECTION. By P. L. Chudgar, Bar-at-law, Williams & Norgate, Limited, London.

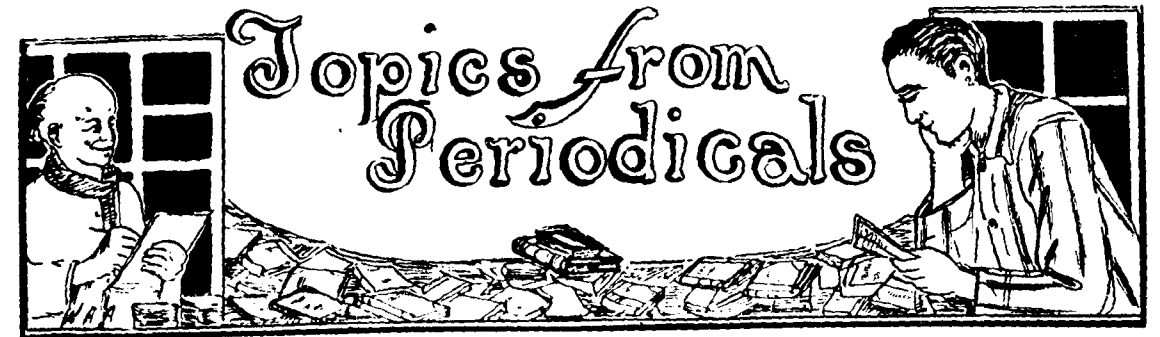
As pointed out in the preface of the Right Honourable Josiah Wedgwood, this book needed writing. For the last three years the Indian Princes have spent enormous sums in propaganda in Great Britain and America. Dr. Rushbrook Williams has used all his literary ability and skill in presenting the case of the Indian States to the British public, and Sir Leslie Scott and a host of legal luminaries were engaged at a considerable cost to expound the legal and constitutional aspects of the relations between the British Crown and the Indian Princes. In the whole of this agitation the advocates and propagandists of the Princes never recognised even the existence of the people of the States much less their rights and liberties. Till the deputation of the Indian States People's Conference arrived in England and presented their memorandum, the princes' propaganda was a continued success, but afterwards democratic England began to feel that acceptance of the princes' claim was the acceptance of unmitigated autocracy. Mr. Chudgar, a member of the deputation has very naturally brought out the present work to elucidate the present position of the people of the States in relation to their own rulers and in regard to bringing the States into constitutional relations with British India.

POEMS. By C. A. Krishnamurti, M.A., Lecturer, Madura College, Madura.

Mr. Krishnamurti presents in this volume a few poems which for freshness of out-look and decorous form leave nothing to be desired. The odes to the New Year and to Morning revivify one's experiences on the sands of the Madras beach. The sonnets contain many apt images, as—the pilgrim, besmirched with luminous dust from far and near.

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- TRAVELLER'S POCKET REFERENCE AND NOTE-BOOK. Anglo-Continental and International offices, London.
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- THE RELIGION OF BURMA. By Bhikkhu Ananda Metteya, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.
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- THREE FLOWERS. A Novel by G. W. Vidal, Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., London.
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- THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: THEN AND NOW. By S. Bhimasankara Row, B.A., Rajahmundry.
- MARRIAGE AND MORALS. By Bertrand Russell, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.
- WEALTH AND LIFE: A STUDY IN VALUES. By J. A. Hobson, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.
- MEMORIES OF MY LIFE. By Edward Westermarck. Translated by Anna Barwell, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.
- THE REAL RHYTHM IN ENGLISH POETRY. By Katherine M. Wilson, M.A., Ph.D., The University Press, Aberdeen.



THE CRISIS IN MORALS

Prof. Gilbert Murray, whose article on the above subject is appropriately given the place of honour in the New Year Number of HARPER'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE, finds no reason to despair of the morals of the rising generation. He rightly recognises the revolt of youth against old conventions, as something altogether healthy and by no means strange. So it was in his days also, and this rebellion of the young against the hide-bound regulations of the old will always continue in varying degrees from generation to generation. But there is no doubt that the change we are now passing through is beyond and above anything that had happened in the past. It is in a sense abnormal and exceptional and various causes have wrought this transformation in the thoughts and ideals of the rising generation.

In the first place, the Great War has had a shattering effect on custom and character. There is then the rapid and wide-spread emancipation of women and their entry into all fields of economic and intellectual work. This revolution must necessarily affect sexual morals. For the earning and independent woman can no more keep up the extreme sensibilities of the protected woman of the past who were for all practical purposes helpless and narrow-minded. And then there has been a general break-down of religious orthodoxy all over the world. Finally, the startling advances in the science of psychology shattering the old traditional moral language have rubbed the edge of our moral sensibilities, familiarising us with the

springs of human conduct, and supplying the causes, and may be excuses for moral depravity. Above all, birth control and the wide-spread familiarity with the idea of such control which we must now take as a fact have profoundly altered one side of the problem of sexual conduct. All these influences have had a dissolvent effect.

But there is no reason to despair of society. The immediate cause of social rebellion and the false causes will in the long run sink into oblivion, and we shall be faced with such of the features of the revolution as have an element of permanence. Among these must be included the new outlook on women and sexual conduct. Even in these as the present confusion clears away, "we shall find our current rules of sexual conduct, which were framed to suit one set of conditions, partly rewritten to suit another. They will be written, as they usually are, by women. They will probably be more sensible." "But," adds Prof. Gilbert, "I see no reason to suppose that they will be lower or more lax in their demands on human nature."

TRIUMPH OF REASON AND TRUTH

"The only way in which reason will triumph," says Professor H. J. Laski in the LITERARY GUIDE, "is by each man, whatever the clamour of the market-place, insisting upon the truth that is in him. He must remember that those who have refused to conform, even where it was dangerous to refuse, have been the landmarks in the history of civilisation. They have handed down undimmed the torch of our conscious life."

PURAN SINGH THE SIKH POET

It is a moving story that Mr. S. P. Sarma, B.A., B.L., tells of the life and writings of the Sikh Poet—Puran Singh—in the current issue of the TRIVENT. Puran Singh was born of humble parentage at Abbotabad in 1881. The son of a subordinate Government official he had the usual English education, first at Rawalpindi and later at Lahore. He lived the placid uneventful life of countless other students. But a tide came and he took at the flood. While not yet a graduate, he secured a scholarship to go to Japan and study Applied Chemistry there in the Imperial University of Tokyo. This was in 1900. Academic honours however were not for the young Sikh whose heart was full of poetry and whose soul was longing for God-realisation. The only benefit he derived from his Japanese tour is thus expressed in his own words:

I was in the Tokyo Imperial University studying Applied Chemistry for more than three years and learning a good deal of the industrial life of that country. I came in contact with the leading Japanese people and was a friend of many a family, where I found the love of flowers, of nature and of Buddha. I met men of silence, men of joy, poets and artists, and I always sought for the hidden riches of the soul wherever I went. Towards the close of my stay there, I gained the new joy of freedom from self and everything dropped from my hands. I turned a monk. Tears of joy rolled from my eyes. It seemed that I loved everyone and that everyone loved me.

This was an extra-ordinary turn in the life of an Indian student of Applied Chemistry in Japan. But that was not all. Soon Puran Singh came into contact with a Hindu Sanyasin who "touched him with Divine Fire" and made him a Sanyasin also. Before long, we are told, "the characteristic ideas of Hindu Renaissance to-day like Nation-making, awakening India to its ancient greatness and so on, filled the mind of the young initiate. The call of the Motherland became more and more urgent until at last it could no longer be left unheeded." Puran Singh left Japan and reached Calcutta—donning the yellow robes of the Hindu Sanyasin.

His parents learning of his return hastened to Calcutta, and brought him home—a monk in yellow robes. "But forgiveness was ready, and he soon went back to his fold and to the bosom of his family."

But the fire that was within him burned as bright as ever and he turned a poet—a poet in every way as virile as Tagore himself. His songs are all based on the Sikh scripture, the Granth-Sahib, and display the reaction of such a noble book on a sensitive, poetic and God-intoxicated soul. He has a rich imagination and a gift of noble expression. Puran Singh is to the Punjab what Tagore is to Bengal.

WHAT THE WORLD NEEDS?

Whom and what the world needs are discussed in a very interesting article in the first Number of the KHALSA REVIEW, published at Lahore. The writer of the article who styles himself "an Indian thinker," says that the world, at present, needs a host of men in every land with ideals and aspirations of not merely justice but love and harmlessness, actually living in their daily life. He continues:

The practical example of such men must through their earnestness and sincerity affect the mass around them towards the realisation of those ideals. They must show a supreme example of physical, moral and spiritual health and sanity in their lives and help their fellow-beings to attain to better health and cleanliness in their persons and surroundings and greater humanity in mutual behaviour. They must uplift the mass through social and sanitary work and abolishing outworn and degenerate institutions of isolation and selfishness, making the life of the village and city cleaner and more sanitary, and uprooting the mutual hates and jealousies, encouraging and improving agriculture and other simple industries for the needs of an honest and simple life free from exploitation of the poor by the rich and more cunning individuals in society. For, as it is, in the world, either moral or physical dirt prevails, especially the latter in this land of ours, and, as the ancient scriptures point out, we are in India under the sway of *Tamas*—darkness, inertia—which is characterised by the absence to a great extent of truthfulness, mutual good behaviour and cleanliness. *** As it is, darkness obscures our vision and lethargy makes us helpless and despairing, qualities which characterise *Tamas*. This is what we need, and if we aspire and make effort, our salvation and the salvation of humanity will come irresistibly.

REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

According to Mr. Chase, (who writes in THE POLITICAL SCIENCE (QUARTERLY,) the friends of the House of Lords have wished to change its composition and its foes its powers. The great reform of 1911, based on the much earlier proposals of James Mill left the composition of the House untouched but restricted its powers. All later proposals for reform have been made by the Conservative Party and have been concerned with changing its constitution in order to restore its powers. Lord Bryce's Commission agreed to widen the basis of membership beyond the hereditary peerage, but as to how the non-hereditary peerage was to be chosen, they were not agreed. They preferred a free conference of selected representatives of the two Houses as a desirable way of settling disputes. This would have really created a third Chamber which, when disagreement should arise, would become greater in power than the second and equal in power to the First." The Lords gained in esteem after the War; and the Asquithian Liberals and Labour members began to appreciate its virtues; and many of the members of the Lords, anxious to preserve capitalism and the economic privileges of the well-to-do, were anxious to make the House more powerful. The Coalition Ministry of Lloyd George made the first attempt at this sort of reform, but this did not come to tackle the question of providing for the decision of disputes. After 1922 the Conservatives began to suggest that a stronger House of Lords was necessary, and the Liberals and Labour declared that things were well as they were. Lord Cave's proposals gave the scheme as outlined by the Conservative Party in 1927; but nothing came out of it. The reform of the Lords did not play any part in the recent General Election programme; and it is not probable that the question will arise during the life of the present Parliament.

INDIA AND THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

Under the heading "India—the real test" the WORLD TO-MORROW of New York says that if the Labour Government dilly-dallies with the Indian question, refusing at the very least to set a definite time for Dominion Status promptly and ungrudgingly, it will not be worthy of its chance. The paper opines that the situation is extremely grave—grave for Britain, and grave for India, which is largely single in its desire for freedom, but by no means single in conviction as to method. Commenting on the leadership assumed by Gandhi, the paper says:—

If Gandhi can assert his moral leadership with enough potency to carry out a campaign of civil disobedience without wide-spread outbreaks of violence—a game at which Britain is vastly superior—not only is there a better chance for victory, but the world will have a gigantic demonstration of non-violent social change. The resolution to congratulate the Viceroy on his escape from bombing was carried in the National Congress by a vote of only 940 to 792, and while this is not necessarily, as the press has insisted on calling it, a test of sentiment on non-violence, it is of some value as evidence that the young, pro-violence wing is by no means inarticulate.

A conference of American pacifist leaders, aware of the significance of this crisis to world peace, recently cabled Gandhi to send "greetings and support to India and sympathy with her aspirations for justice," and urged a struggle "for desired ends without violence either aggressive or defensive."

"Yet while responsibility is heavy on Indian leaders, such as Gandhi and the Nehrus," adds the paper, "chiefly it rests on the door-step of 10, Downing Street. We hope the Labour Party will unflinchingly rise to the occasion."

JOURNAL OF MUSICAL ACADEMY

We are glad to receive the first Number of the JOURNAL OF THE MUSICAL ACADEMY of Madras. During the past few years, Indian music has been receiving greater attention from its admirers as well as critics, and has come to have a recognised place in the educational curriculum of the country. We are sure that this journal will help scholars in Indian music in the various parts of India in getting into touch with one another and will also be instrumental in bringing to the notice of other countries the beauty and grandeur of Indian music.

THE NEW JOURNALISM

Writing in the FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW on the revolution brought about in English journalism by the late Lord Northcliffe, Mr. B. Ifor Evans says:

The old newspapers were attached to a definite political party and could be reckoned upon to follow a consistent policy; the new papers were "independent," which meant that they followed no policy at all except at a moment of crisis or excitement. So they have remained, with the result that the popular press has ceased to have any considerable influence on the political opinions of the new democracy. The working man buys his newspaper to be amused. The men who changed English journalism at the end of the last century, brought with them mechanical efficiency and a successful method of attack on out-dated methods, but they have failed to give to this country a press that is informed upon the multiplicity of domestic and international matters that should interest the centre of an Empire and a country whose industrial existence depends on world conditions. The men of the new journalism thirty years ago were successful because they envisioned a new public and catered for its taste.

One wonders at times whether their successors to-day are still catering for that old public. They certainly show no signs that they realise how tired even the least instructed of their readers are of their columns of unending gossip.

At the moment the proprietors of the popular press have tried to hold the public, not by the quality of their news services but by bribes of insurance or by competition gifts or by something else which has no relationship to news. Such a policy is the confession of their own inefficiency as news purveyors. They may see, unless they study their audience, a new generation of adventurous journalists who realise that the public can now tolerate stronger food than they have been in the habit of giving, and they may find themselves belonging to the effete tradition that must in turn be destroyed.

THE OUTLOOK IN INDIA

Reviewing the political events in India, the EMPIRE REVIEW says in its editorial notes in the February Number that it is a mistake to regard the resolutions of the Lahore Congress as mere political effervescence. The journal is of opinion that the Congress is incomparably the strongest of political organisations in India, as it is the only body which has its provincial machinery, and local Secretaries in every important town of India.

It contains most of those individuals who constitute the real driving force behind Indian nationalism; it exhibits a determination and an enthusiasm which are in themselves formidable; finally, it has at its disposal the preponderating part of the Indian Press. It has shown that it can sweep the board at the elections. In contrast to the Congress, the Liberal Party counts among its adherents some of the coolest and most statesmanlike minds in India; but it is a large head on a very small body. It has never succeeded in arousing popular enthusiasm; it does not appeal to the average voter. Nevertheless, the stand which the Liberal Party has made against Independence is likely to bring it into greater prominence than it has enjoyed for several years past.

Commenting on the findings of the Conference of the Liberals who have accepted the idea of the Round Table Conference on the understanding that the Conference will only discuss the terms of Dominion constitution, the journal says:—

It can hardly be questioned that the Liberals would have refused to join the Congress Party in the cry for independence, even if there had been no declaration on the part of Lord Irwin. The mere publication of the Simon-MacDonald correspondence would have been sufficient to detach them. We are, therefore, very much in the position in which we were before the declaration, save that we have encouraged those sections of opinion who desired to work with us in India to take up the position that we have given a moral pledge to introduce Dominion Status by the agency of the Round-Table Conference.

RACE DETERIORATION

Under the above caption, Mr. Ales Hrdlicka, Curator, United States National Museum, contributes an article to the January Number of the THEOSOPHIST which has now changed its editorial head-quarters from Adyar (Madras) to Hollywood, California, U. S. A. Mr. Hrdlicka means by *deterioration of a race*, the degradation of its standards of mentality and effectiveness, generally attended also by the lowering of those of physique. *Destruction of a race* means the loss of identity through complete submergence into another race; or extinction through death. His observations are worth quoting:—

"Human groups may deteriorate either through internal causes—that is, factors originating in the group-organism itself—or through external agencies. The internal factors are all those that lastingly enfeeble or derange the sound heredity

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In an article in the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, Mr. W. L. Speight of Capetown discusses the positions of Indians in South Africa. He examines the disabilities under which they suffered and emphasises the improvement effected since the Round Table Conference of 1926-27. He comes to the conclusion that while an Indian problem of a sort still exists, Indians on the whole form a minor section of South Africa's population. Mr. Speight pays a tribute to the notable success of Mr. Sastri in South Africa and opines that the altered feeling since the Round Table Conference ended a painful controversy and opened the way to better understanding.

Mr. Speight contends that Indians in South Africa are far more comfortable than their fellows in India. The writer further states that housing, sanitation, wages, organisation of tradesmen and traders, and licences, are the main conditions in which the need of improvement is urgent. The article draws attention to the danger of a misunderstanding, regarding the definition of Western standards, which fill so vital a place in the Round Table Agreement. Pointing out the fact that the failure of Indians to reach Western standards renders them liable to be sent out of the country, Mr. Speight says, there are various definitions of the term, which have been attempted, but have been unsatisfactory.

Insisting on the injustice of expecting the lowest class of Indian to live up to the ideals and habits of the best type of European, the writer says Indians live very much in the same style as certain classes of Europeans. He admits differences exist in cities like Durban where there are definite Indian areas, but points out that as many Europeans sink to the Indian level as Indians live up in the European way, to the incomes they earn. He concludes that if sanitary and other laws be enforced without racial discrimination, the difficulties in South Africa will readily disappear.

of the group. In animals the most common of such causes are prolonged in-breeding with inferior stock, the weeding out of the best, the preservation and breeding of the less fit, affection of progeny through prevalent infections, and idleness. Much the same agencies, with similar results, must act in man. As to the external unfavourable factors in man, they comprise disease, war, untoward lasting changes in climate, over-work, poisons. They too, act similarly in organic beings in general and in the human kind, but in man they are supplemented by all such mental effects as favour depression and demoralization."

LIBERALS AND YOUTH

The other day it was reported in the papers that the young men of Bombay chose to behave irreverently to the Liberal leaders on the platform. That is nothing strange, seeing how English Liberals have fared at the hands of English youths. The SATURDAY REVIEW has a leading article on Conservatism and Youth in which the writer says:—

"A party which neglects the younger generation to-day will find itself in turn neglected to-morrow, and unless Conservatism can range beneath its banners, a fair proportion of those who are now reaching manhood and womanhood, its fate will not be in doubt. It is because youth has deserted the Liberal Party that the latter, in spite of the distinction of its leaders, carries so little weight in the country at the present time. It was because the Church of England deliberately discouraged enthusiasm in the earlier part of the eighteenth century that when the religious revival occurred, it took the form of Dissent. In short, if the Conservative Party wishes to secure the support of the rising generation, it must meet the latter half way, and that can only be done by the formation of an organization, and by the formulation of a policy, calculated to appeal to those without whose active co-operation the future of political Conservatism will be black indeed."

INDIA'S FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS

"Every one who knows anything of public finance knows how extravagant this Government is and how heavy is the load of debts that is crushing the nation," writes Mr. Gandhi in the pages of *YOUNG INDIA*, commenting on the resolution of the Congress repudiating India's debts. He continues:—

"Every one knows also what concessions have been given to foreigners in utter disregard of the national interest. These cannot demand, dare not expect recognition from Independent India under the much abused name of vested interests. All vested interests are not entitled to protection. The keeper of a gambling den or of a brothel has no vested interests. Nor has a corporation that gambles away the fortunes of a nation and reduces it to impotence. The Congress at Gaya therefore passed a comprehensive resolution repudiating certain debts. The last, whilst re-affirming the Gaya resolution, laid down that obligations or concessions pronounced to be unjust and unjustifiable by any independent tribunal shall not be recognised by the Independence Government to come. No exception can, in my opinion, be possibly taken against such a reasonable proposition. To shirk the issue is to invite disaster."

RACIAL MINORITIES IN EUROPE

The critics of the Treaty of Versailles and of the other peace treaties frequently call attention to the injustices committed in the drawing of new territorial boundaries. By these injustices, it is alleged, racial minorities are handed over to the domination of ruthless majorities and "the tranquillity of Europe is endangered for the future" says Mr. Dexter Perkins, in the January Number of *WORLD UNITY* of New York. The writer is of opinion that the various peoples in Europe are so intermingled that no ideal solution of the problem of nationality is possible. There never has been and never can be territorial settlement, asserts the writer, that will please the

strongly nationalistic elements in all of the European States. It is useless to base one's view of the Europe of the future upon the complete realization of every national aspiration. Mr. Perkins gives an account of the steps the League of Nations has taken towards a satisfactory solution of the problem. He concludes:—

"The problem of racial minorities in Europe is not insoluble. Switzerland affords an interesting example of the way in which, under liberal institutions, different racial groups can co-operate in a single state. The minorities treaties lay down principles of racial tolerance on which a more peaceful Europe can conceivably be built. They provide for their own enforcement by machinery which can conceivably be developed. In this as in some other aspects of League activity constructive minds will look rather to the possibilities of wise development, than to the record of the last ten years alone. With the development of an international public opinion to support it, the League ought to have wide possibilities of usefulness in the protection of minorities."

THE VIRTUES OF OLD AGE

"The best time in a man's life is between seventy and eighty. Young and middle-aged folk think that we elder people have passed the age when we can enjoy the good things of life. They are wrong. The older we get the more fun we find in watching the world go round," writes Mr. Kellogg of Pact fame in the *WOMEN'S WORLD*.

"In my own case, I feel better now than I ever did. Idleness doesn't suit me, and, having now retired from active Government work, I fill up my time with work at my law office in St. Paul's and with golf. Golf is the best game for busy men."

"One of my friends who is ten or twelve years older than I tells me, however, that, being only 75, I have not yet reached the best decade. He says one only begins to live when one is well over the eighties. I look forward with considerable pleasure to that ideal age."

THE BACKGROUND OF OUR POLITICS

A writer in *THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER* in a recent issue finds the motive power of contemporary history in 'the interaction of Europe and Asia on each other'. He says:—

"The failure of both the European and Asiatic civilisations is due to the one-sidedness of their conscious endeavour. If they both sit together and frankly discuss their mutual problems, they are sure to reach principles which, comprehending the whole nature of man, will furnish the key to a full and complete civilisation harmonising racial, credal, economic and industrial interests. Whatever makes for this co-operation between the two Continents—America, Australia and Africa are but their outgrowths—makes for this harmonising of human life, and whatever hinders such co-operation hinders this beneficent objective."

And again,

"At the present time, to a large majority of Indians, the interaction between West and East is antipathetic. Every White man in India appears to them to be an exploiter, in one field or another, political, economic, religious. The possibility of there being some White men at least who are here sincerely and disinterestedly to help Indians, does not readily occur to many of us. The good faith of even a man like C. F. Andrews has sometimes been questioned. This is a most unfortunate state of affairs. It is the greatest barrier to the co-operation between East and West on which rests the whole hope of the future."

DOMINION STATUS FOR INDIA

"From the days of Warren Hastings and Sir Thomas Munro to the days of Lord Irwin, it has been the desire of every European worth his salt, and who has eaten India's salt, to help her to reach her goal, that goal being the Status of—the Super Dominion of the Empire", says Sir Daniel Hamilton in his presidential address to the Behar and Orissa Provincial Co-operative Confer-

ence. The address is printed as a paper in the March Number of the *YOUNG MEN OF INDIA*. What is Dominion Status? It is the Status of a dominion in which the people have reached the status of men—men who stand strong and united. "But India is not united," says Sir Daniel, "and many of her people have not yet reached the status of men"! Sir Daniel Hamilton goes on enumerating numerous other obstacles (of course characteristic of the bureaucrats) which stand in the way of India's attaining Dominion Status:—

What hinders? Many things hinder. Hindu and Moslem hinder; for, while Hindu and Moslem stand facing each other with no love between them, the British soldier must stand between.

Caste and no caste hinder; for while hand will not touch hand, India will never march hand in hand, or stand shoulder to shoulder, under the flag of freedom. India awaits the birth of a new caste, sprung not from the head or the feet of Brahm, but from his heart. I have read somewhere that India's greatest statesman, Gokhale, had on his writing table a paper-weight bearing the inscription "God is love." This is the caste which India and the world awaits—a caste embracing all men of good-will, Hindu, Moslem, Christian, touchable and untouchable, a caste of brotherhood marching hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder to India's goal, under the co-operative flag. And of that caste we are the forerunners.

The money power hinders—a power perhaps more subtle than caste or creed, and more deadly in its effects. I do not know, any more than you do, what Sir John Simon or the Round Table Conference may recommend in the way of a constitution; but this I know, that no constitution will work without money, or while the existing monetary conditions remain. For, India is suffering from a deadly disease—pernicious financial anæmia—which is sapping the life of the masses, and paralysing Government and people alike; and, until this deadly disease is expelled from the blood of India, no constitution of paper and ink will be of any avail.

A few copies of January and February numbers of the INDIAN REVIEW are available. Those who wish to subscribe to the REVIEW can enroll themselves for a year from January by remitting Rs. Five (12 sh. Foreign) while stray copies can be had at 8 as. each or 1 sh.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Booksellers, George Town, Madras.

THE BRITISH LIBERAL PARTY

The return to the two-party system is the prime condition of the restoration of sanity and stability to British politics, observes Prof. Hearnshaw in the last Number of the NINETEENTH CENTURY. Happily, the disappearance of the microscopic and dwindling Liberal Party does not mean the disappearance of the great principles for which it used to stand—the principles of individual liberty, civil equality, economic freedom, religious emancipation.

The function of the expiring Liberal Party is to liberalise both its opponents: it has already begun to do so. In particular, its immediate task is to wean the Conservatives from their fatal proclivity towards Protection, and to deliver Labour from its Socialistic obsession. The final disappearance of the Liberal Party will probably signalise the final triumph of the principles of Liberalism. The party will perish because its work is accomplished; it will die in a phoenix-like transformation.

When the end will come it is impossible to predict. But events move rapidly to-day, and probably the extinction of the Liberal Party, as such, will take place, he says, at the next General Election:

All that is necessary to effect that extinction is the emergence of some tremendous issue which will force the electorate to cease to play the game of triangular duels, and compel it to give a plain Yes or No to some great question presented to it by Destiny. Whether that question will relate to finance, or to India, or to Russia, or to an impending war cannot be predicted. But it is impossible to doubt that a day of judgment is at hand which will sharply divide the people of this country into two sections which, whatever be their names, will correspond to the two parties that from the seventeenth century have controlled the business of the British Empire.

EXTRAVAGANCE

The standard of living in modern times has been raised far higher than the average level of our necessity. Where the temptation of high living, normally confined to a negligible small section of the community, becomes wide-spread, says Sir Rabindranath Tagore, in the course of an article in the MODERN REVIEW, its ever-growing burden is sure to prove fatal to civilisation.

"This excess, if it is for creative purposes, is a gain, and the expenditure is made true by the profit. But when it is for display and unproductive self-enjoyment, then it

is an absolute loss which can be suffered with impunity only within certain bounds. In human society, in normal circumstances, there are a number of causes that make for wastage, yet it does not cost us too much to ignore them. But to-day the blight that has fallen on our social life and its resources is disastrous, because it is not restricted to limited regions. It is an epidemic of voracity that has infected the total area of civilisation."

The consequence of such material and moral drain, continues the poet, is more evident when one studies the conditions manifested in the fatness of the cities and the physical and mental anaemia of the villages, almost everywhere in the world.

"Cities have become inevitably important. They represent energy and materials concentrated for the satisfaction of that exaggerated appetite, which is the characteristic symptom of modern civilization. Such an abnormal devouring process cannot be carried on, unless certain parts of the social body conspire and organize to feed upon the whole. This is suicidal. The capital needed for the commerce of life accumulates in villages; the city draws upon that for its various functions of civilization. So long as these are productive and creative, it is no loss. But when a disproportionate part goes to supply the fuel to the fire of an extravagant self-indulgence, precious materials of life are reduced to ash heaps. It is a brilliant process of dissolution, because by its erratic excesses the food is consumed not for feeding life but for pampering a flame of passion."

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

THE ART REVIVAL IN INDIA. By K. Ramakotiswara Rao. ["Triveni," Nov. and Dec. 1929.]

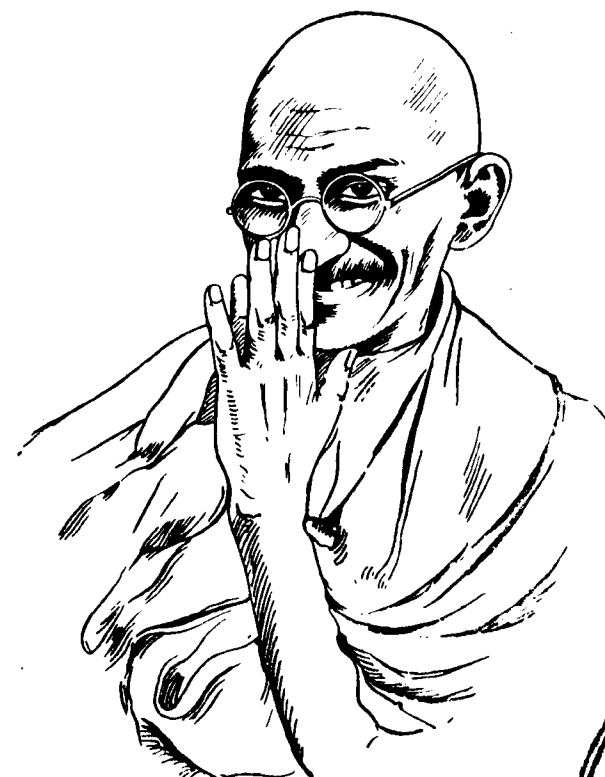
THE MISSION OF THE KHALSA. By Sir Jogendra Singh. ["The Khalsa Review," Jan. 1930.]

WITH GANDHI AT SABARMATI. By Kirby Page. ["The World To-morrow," Feb. 1930.]

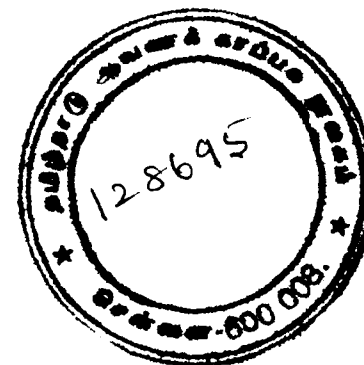
TRUE SOURCES OF MARATHA HISTORY. By Sir Jadunath Sirkar, C.I.E. ["The Modern Review," March 1930.]

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO RELIGION. By S. G. Pandit. ["World Unity," Feb. 1930.]

NATIONALISM IN INDIA. By Suraj Prasad. ["The Indraprastha," Jan. 1930.]



MAHATMA GANDHI





GANDHIJI WITH A WHITE CLOTH OVER HIS FACE AND HEAD, GOING BARE-FOOTED TO DELHAN FROM MATAR

By the courtesy of the "Hindu" Madras

Questions of Importance

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CONGRESS & CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The Congress Working Committee, after considerable deliberations on the 15th February, has issued a statement to the Press giving the text of their resolution. The resolution runs:

In the opinion of the Working Committee, Civil Disobedience should be initiated by those who believe in non-violence for the purpose of achieving Purna Swarajya as an article of faith, and as the Congress contains in its organisation not merely such men and women, but also those who accept non-violence as a policy essential in the existing circumstances in the country, the Working Committee welcomes the proposal of Mahatma Gandhi and authorises him and those working with him, who believe in non-violence as an article of faith to the extent above indicated, to start Civil Disobedience as and when they desire and in the manner and to the extent they decide.

The Working Committee trusts that when the campaign is actually in action, all Congressmen and others will extend to the civil resisters full co-operation in every way possible, and that they will observe and preserve complete non-violence notwithstanding any provocation offered.

The Working Committee further hopes that in the event of a mass movement taking place, all those who are rendering voluntary co-operation to the Government, such as lawyers and those who are receiving the so-called benefits from it, such as students, will withdraw their co-operation, and renounce the benefits as the case may be, and throw themselves into the final struggle for freedom.

The Working Committee trusts that in the event of the leaders being arrested and imprisoned, those who are left behind and have the spirit of sacrifice and service in them will carry on the Congress organisation and guide the movement to the best of their ability.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S MOVE

The next step is Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy which is published in another page.

Following Mr. Gandhi's letter, Mr. Vallabhai Patel has been arrested for disobedience of magisterial orders and sentenced.

Mr. Gandhi, according to the plan already announced, started from his Ashram, with 79 volunteers on the morning of the 12th, and proceeded in the direction of the Sea Coast, halting at different villages on the way. As we write, considerable enthusiasm prevails in Guzerat, Bombay and Calcutta, where volunteers are being enrolled.

ALL-PARTIES' COMMITTEE

An informal Conference of leaders was held at Delhi in the last week of February to effect a settlement of the communal problem. The Conference was representative of all parties except the Congress. Sir A. P. Patro was voted to the Chair. Col. Gidney and a few other Europeans were among those present.

The Muslim leaders, who were present, evinced great anxiety to settle the communal differences.

Sir A. P. Patro in opening the Conference emphasised the imperative need for unity and the necessity for solving the problem of minorities. An agreement on the question of minorities was necessary to impress on the British Government the fitness of India for a Dominion constitution.

Mr. Mahomed Ali drew pointed attention to the questions of cow-killing and music before mosques, and emphasised that mutual toleration and an attitude of give-and-take was the only surest remedy for the evil. No amount of statutory safeguards would prove equally useful.

Col. Gidney explained the Anglo-Indian point of view and urged the need for settling the question of minorities.

A Committee of twenty-nine leaders with Sir A. P. Patro as Chairman was appointed to consider and submit a Report on the best means of arriving at an agreement among all parties on a Dominion constitution for India.

SIR ATUL ON INDIA & DISARMAMENT

The following speech was made by Sir Atul Chatterjee, High Commissioner for India, at the London Naval Conference, on the opening day:—

I rise to express my respectful and profound appreciation of the cordial welcome with which we



SIR ATUL CHATTERJEE

have been honoured in the gracious speech of his Majesty the King-Emperor. It is, indeed, a matter of the deepest gratification to his Majesty's Indian subjects that he has so completely recovered his health and strength as to honour this assembly with his auspicious presence. In the name of the Indian Government and of the Indian people, I desire to associate myself with the fervent hope that our deliberations may result in the fullest realization of the peaceful aspirations which, I am sure, animate all our minds, but which, without the concrete agreements that we are striving to attain, will not effect a true advance in civilization.

India is a peace-loving country. Our spiritual heritage has planted in the bosom of every Indian an ardent and unswerving conviction that peace and good will transcend the bounds of mere material interest. Our needs of the present day prompt us to devote all our available resources towards moral and economic advancement. India's

anxiety to see peace perpetuated on a basis of reduction and limitation of armaments is as intense as that of any other country. I am confident, therefore, that India's contribution to the welfare of the world will not be unworthy of her ancient civilization.

We shall presently come to consider the hard facts of defensive preparations, and our minds will be pre-occupied with the details of armaments and the material interests that are at stake. We cannot hope to accomplish our task unless we resolutely follow the path of single-minded and sincere co-operation, guided by that spirit of accommodation which is the precious outcome of mutual forbearance and genuine understanding. The notable progress which has already been made towards the establishment of world-peace will inspire us in our undertaking, and we should not hesitate to place due reliance on the moral and spiritual tradition which alone can ensure the development and proper working of the machinery of peace.

Our efforts will be crowned with success, if, at the conclusion of this Conference, we are able to claim that we have reached a further stage towards the realization of the high ideal of the common good of humanity. It is the future of world-civilization which is the issue in this gathering, and my country will do all that lies in its power to forward the great cause.

GANDHI'S DECLARATION

Mr. Gandhi's March commenced on the morning of the 12th. As arranged, he, with 79 volunteers, left the Ashram punctually at 6-30, their destination being the village of Dandi on the sea coast near Jalalpur where Mr. Gandhi intends to break the law regarding the manufacture of salt. Prior to his departure, Mr. Gandhi declared:

"Our case is strong, our means are the purest, and God is with us. There is no defeat for Satyagrahis till they give up the truth. I pray for the success of the battle which begins to-morrow."

THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES

The annual session of the Princes' Chamber met in New Delhi on February 26th. This year's session was very largely attended, no less than 59 Princes and Chiefs being present. For the first time since the inauguration of the Chamber, the States of Hyderabad and Mysore were represented by their principal State officials.

The Viceroy, in opening the Conference, referred at length to the Butler Report, whose consideration has been deferred pending the Report of the Simon Commission; to the Round Table Conference, welcoming the support of the Princes; and to the policy that guides the British Government in the matter of intervention in the affairs of individual States, assuring that intervention will be resorted to only in cases, where in the interests of the Princes of the Princes' subjects, of India and of the Empire as a whole, no other course seems possible.

After formal resolutions recording devotion to the Throne and condemnation of the Viceregal train outrage, the Chancellor gave an exhaustive review of the work performed by the Chamber of Princes during the past year, in the course of which, referring to the Butler Report, he maintained that they could not refrain from remarking that the work of the Committee was neither as comprehensive nor as clear-cut as the importance of the task required."

His Highness also referred to the establishment of a permanent Secretariat for the Chancellor with a separate staff and a separate organization, and also of a Standing Committee of Ministers, an innovation which he thought would add much to the efficient and expeditious disposal of important business.

After the Maharajah of Patiala's resolution welcoming the Viceroy's announcement had been passed unanimously, the House resumed the discussion on the Butler Report.

The Maharajah of Kashmir said they had become painfully conscious that what was called political practice whittled away rights which believed to be safe-guarded by treaties.

The Nawab of Bhopal remarked that the States could not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with any new Government.

H. E. the Viceroy wound up the debate expressing his satisfaction at the frank discussion and assuring his hearers that they would have ample opportunity to discuss the Butler Report before any decisions were made thereon.

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF GONDAL

In the course of the congratulatory address read at Upleta Durbar, Shree Natwarsinhji of Ganod paid a compliment to the Gondal Maharaja's achievements in the domain of literature and to his strenuous labours for the last ten years as the general Editor of the "Gujarati Dictionary" containing over 1,50,000 words prepared at a cost of Rs. 5 lakhs in collaboration with a number of literary men.

MARRIAGE LAW IN BHAVANAGAR

The Bhavanagar State Marriage Act will come into operation on April 1, 1930.

This Act penalises the marriage of a boy below the age of 18 and that of a girl below the age of 14. The Act provides against undue disparity in the ages of the bride and bridegroom by stipulating that a man above the age of 45 cannot marry a woman who is less than half his age.

NIZAM'S GIFTS TO THE CHAMBER

A lump sum donation of Rs. 2 lakhs has been made by His Exalted Highness the Nizam to the Chamber of Princes. Rs. 1 lakh is intended for the preparation of the case regarding the economic and fiscal relations of Indian States with British India, and Rs. 1 lakh for meeting the contingent and travelling expenses of the delegates for the coming Round Table Conference in London.

Indians Outside India

INDIANS IN TRANSVAAL

The following cablegram has been received by the Secretary of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Bombay, from the Transvaal Indian Congress:—

"The South African Parliament has, on the motion of Dr. Malan, appointed a Select Committee to make an inquiry and recommend proposals for legislation to effectively operate and close up the loop-holes in the gold Township law and the laws of 1885 and 1919 and remove the fears of the European community from the position arising out of the recent judgments favourable to Indians. The Select Committee was welcomed by the anti-Asiatics in and outside the Parliament.

The outlook is very gloomy. Millions of pounds of Indian interests are threatened and the very existence of the Transvaal Indian Community is at stake. The effective operation of the laws referred means the extinction of the community. In short the crisis is worse than the Areas Reservation Bill.

The Congress appealed to Dr. Malan to adjourn the sittings of the Committee till the Agent to the Indian Government arrived and also to the Viceroy that Messrs. Sastry and Bajpai be sent out to assist the community to defend itself in the present case. Dr. Malan refused adjournment of the sittings.

Failing the best and ablest assistance from India, the position will be irretrievably lost, and the Capetown Agreement will be a dead-letter.

We earnestly appeal to your association to use every endeavour to send Messrs. Sastri and Bajpai and move the Government of India effectively for urgent action to adjourn the sittings of the Committee, pending the arrival of assistance from India."

INDIANS IN BRITISH MALAYA

There are 6,80,000 Indians in British Malaya. Seventy per cent. of them, says the Agent of the Government of India in Malaya, in his report for the year 1928, are earning their livelihood by hard labour in rubber estates, mines, etc. while the rest are engaged in industrial concerns and learned professions. "The year under review witnessed rather a heavy fall in the number of emigrants to Malaya, but this fact hardly surprises us," observes the HINDU, "when we visualise the sad plight to which the Indian labourers are reduced by service in an altogether different climate and new environment which necessitate clothing, nourishment and other comforts on a higher scale than that to which they are accustomed in their own country." While the cost of living is high, the facilities afforded for the education of their children are quite poor. The schools are conducted, says our contemporary, either by inefficient or part-time teachers with no pretensions to sound equipment. That the Indians working there are treated with scant courtesy, if not purposeful disregard, is evident from the fact that even such of them as are engaged in learned professions are still denied political and municipal franchise.

INDIANS IN FIJI

In the House of Commons, Major Graham Pole inquired whether the objection of Indians in Fiji to the division of the Legislative Council electorate on racial lines would be met.

Dr. Drummond Shiels replied that Lord Passfield had received a Despatch from the Governor of Fiji on February 17th, enclosing the report of the Conference on the franchise question. The situation was being considered in the light of the Despatch, but Lord Passfield was not yet in a position to make a statement.

Industrial and Commercial Section

MENACE OF FOREIGN COMPETITION

A very strong case for protection to the textile industry was made out by Mr. H. P. Mody in his speech at the annual meeting of the Millowners' Association, Bombay, in the course of which he said that the industry was seriously menaced by foreign competition which was inflicting terrible losses on those who managed the Industry and diminishing the revenues of the Government. Unless protected, Mr. Mody said, the industry would soon go to the wall.

Answering the charge that the present state of the industry was due to grave inefficiency in management, Mr. Mody put forth a suggestion to all carping critics to read the reports of the Tariff Board and the Fawcett Committee which showed that there was nothing radically wrong with the management.

The Chairman then referred to the wrecking tactics of the Red Flag Union which "uses the cloak of trade unionism as a mask for revolution", and said that the millowners were making determined efforts to put Capital and Labour on a happier footing.

INDIAN FINANCES

Speaking at the third annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce at Delhi, His Excellency the Viceroy affirmed that the financial position of India was sound.

"No one can deny," he said, "that India has large foreign liabilities, but such liabilities are no evidence of weakness in the financial position of a country in the early stages of its development."

Mr. G. D. Birla, President of the Federation, in his speech, painted a gloomy picture of the economic future of India. He referred to India's large and growing foreign liabilities and concluded that one of the country's urgent needs is the maintenance of a large excess of exports over imports.

He also urged full protection to India's Agriculture and Industries.

EDUCATION FOR COMMERCE

"The origin of wealth is work." This was the basis of the message given to the Headmasters' Conference recently by Mr. Francis W. Goodenough, of the Gas Light and Coke Company.

Mr. Goodenough made it clear that by Education for commerce, he did not mean the teaching of shorthand, type-writing, accountancy secretarial work, office methods, and so on. These, he asserted, were no more "commerce" than scoring in the pavilion or rolling the pitch or arranging matches was cricket. He continued:

"Commerce is the great game, the joyous adventure, the fight, the risk, the service to the community, that calls for leadership, organisation, judgment, skill, energy, and devotion to principle and to duty. It is not book-keeping, but bond-keeping; not just making money, but making friends of your customers, making work for an ever-increasing number of employees, making for yourself an honourable name as well as a living; matching your skill and nerve, and judgment against another's while playing the game like a sportsman."



Mr. M. Ct. M. CHIDAMBARAM CHETTYAR

(son of the late Sir M. Ct. Muthiah Chettyar) who was elected a Director of The Indian Bank Ltd., Madras. By the way, Mr. Chidambaram is the youngest member on the Directorate.

Agricultural Section

AGRICULTURE IN THE FREE STATE

Two important Commissions of Inquiry have been appointed by the Free State Government. The first, which will consist of Mr. J. McElligott, Professor J. B. Whelehan, and Dr. J. H. Hincheliff, who comprise the Standing Tariff Commission, will investigate the application of the Grain Growers' Association regarding the admixture of 15 per cent. of home-grown grain with imported maize. It will report on the effect which legislation, in accord with the association's demand, would be likely to have upon tillage in the Free State.

The second Commission will investigate the desirability and possibility of "derating" in respect of agricultural land and buildings, and industrial and freight hereditaments in the Free State. It will consider the probable consequence in relation to employment, taxation, and the cost of living, and the question whether relief to compensate for lowered rates should be furnished by grants from the Exchequer, or by transference of local services to the Central Government.

AN ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru proposed the following resolution at the special meeting of the U. P. Congress Committee held on February 26 :

The economic programme for the nation should lay down that the principal industries of the country are owned and controlled by the State, and the land is owned as far as possible by the peasant who works on it. In particular, the programme should include the following proposals :—

(1) Land system should be changed so as to remove all intermediaries between the cultivator and the State and for the creation of small holdings which are usually enough for one family to work in. There should be no right of alienation.

(2) There should be reduction of land revenue.

(3) There should be annulment of agricultural indebtedness, partial compensation being paid.

(4) Formation of producers and consumers' co-operatives.

(5) The principal industries are to be owned and controlled by the State.

(6) The principal means of transportation and distribution are to be owned and controlled by the State.

(7) Minimum income for all workers, no taxation of any kind if the income is below this minimum.

(8) No indirect taxation and, as far as possible, abolition of salt tax.

(9) Direct taxation on steeply graduated scale. The principle, income-tax, should be applied to income from land.

(10) Inheritance taxes are also to be steeply graduated.

AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION

The Indian cultivator, a man of small means, stands naturally in need of credit, and the co-operative institutions in India—which now number over 100,000 with a working capital of Rs. 110 crores—are performing a valuable service. The problem, however, with which the co-operative movement is faced, is to secure skilled and constant supervision over the finances of the societies. The danger is less of dishonesty and embezzlement, though this also occurs in India as in England, than of laxity and consequent misuse of credit. What the ryot does not readily grasp is the essential duty of punctuality in repayment, so far as his crops and other income allow, and, until this novel idea has become firmly settled in his head, a trained advisor, with knowledge alike of co-operative principles, of banking and of the language and habits of the peasant, should be frequently beside him to discourage extravagance and to instill the lessons of prudence. The absence of such trained men, and the devolution of all guidance on an unstable group of elected villagers in a Union, is, in our opinion, one of the leading causes of the troubles of the co-operative organisation in this country.

Medical

BRITISH & INDIAN MEDICAL COUNCILS

Dr. Kaku M. Hiranandani, Registered Medical Practitioner, and Member of the General Medical Council of England, writes :—

The British Medical Council has been referred to as a highly well-organised governing body as compared to the Indian Medical Councils, which are supposed to follow its rulings and bye-laws. There is no doubt need of a General Medical Council, or Supreme Medical Council or some such other organisation for India which shall direct the proper working of the various Branch Medical Councils. The present Indian Medical Councils, the Bombay Medical Council in this instance, have not followed the decision of the British Medical Council on the most important subject, namely, the Status of British Medical qualifications, as compared to the Indian Medical qualifications. The British Medical Council in its real name is called the General Medical Council of Education and Registration up to the present time. It may henceforth be called the British Medical Council, but that remains to be seen, as Ireland has a separate Council of its own established from last year. The British Medical Council is entirely different from the British Medical Association, which is an association formed by the Medical Practitioners. I quote the instance to which the Bombay Medical Council could not assign the real value of different qualifications that are registrable in the British and Indian Medical Registers. The Governor-in-Council directed to refer to the Bombay Medical Council; the Bombay Medical Council directed to refer to the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Bombay, who, in reply to inquiry, informed that no such information was available from there. If the Bombay Medical Council on the subject could not pronounce their judgment, who else could? The matter was referred to the General Medical Council in London, and their decision sent to the various authorities. But still there is no change in the

alteration. The Government of India was also referred, and different Medical Councils and higher authorities, but without any definite clearness on the subject or without any reply. How is it then that the British Medical Council has a supreme control? Any Governing Council or Governing Body, that exercises control over Medical Ethics and Registration, should be perfectly justified in assigning the relative values of different Medical qualifications that are registrable in the British and Indian Medical Registers. The power so dedicated is really not thus held up, when not being able to value the different qualifications. There should be no fervour or foster for not assigning the relative values of different Medical qualifications, which are purely British English qualifications. The Government circular in particular defines the status of certain higher Indian qualifications. The Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay writes to say now after years of correspondence, that the qualification in particular is not specifically stated in the Government circular. Now who is to advise the Government on medical matters? Such definitions must come from those who hold high official positions or from the governing Councils.

REJUVENATION OPERATION IN BOMBAY

The first Rejuvenation operation in India was performed in Bombay by Dr. Serge Voronoff on an young Indian lawyer aged 34, who through illness became physically and mentally weak in recent years. The operation was witnessed by 200 members of the medical profession. During the operation, the patient was perfectly comfortable and cheerful and even chatted with the surgeons. Two operation tables, one for the patient and another for a monkey, were placed. After giving general chloroform to the monkey, which was a male Chimpanzee specially brought by the doctor from Paris, a gland was exposed and graft was taken from it and was transferred to the man, who in the meanwhile was prepared by local anæsthetic.

TWO TELEPHONE INVENTIONS

Two remarkable inventions were demonstrated at a meeting of the Telephone Pioneers' Society by Mr. Sergius Grace of Bell Telephone Laboratories. The first appliance is for linking up automatic and hand-worked exchanges and enables a subscriber to the dial number (without speaking). The exchange hears the number enunciated in a perfect voice. An Irish girl has been specially selected to phonograph the records for the new mechanism. Her voice is known as a "voice with a smile."

The second invention enables a person to store within himself electrically a message which he can subsequently deliver by placing a finger to another person's ear.

KINCHINJUNGA EXPEDITION

A scientific expedition, led by Professor Dyhrenfurth of Germany, has departed by the steamship *Ganges* for Bombay, for an attempt to climb Kinchinjunga, 28,150 feet, the second highest peak in the world. The party includes Herr Erwin Schneider, a famous Tyrolean and Asiatic mountaineer, Signor Enrico Gaspari, an Italian Alpinist, and Mr. F. S. Smythe, an Englishman. Preparations for the expedition have been made over a period of 20 years. Previous attempts to scale Kinchinjunga were made in 1905, when the party met with disaster, and in 1929, when the climbers were compelled to return at an altitude of 24,600 feet.

A NEW COMET

The Hamburg Observatory celebrated Christmas by announcing the discovery of a new comet. The actual discoverer is Herr Wilk. The Comet was first seen on December 20 and photographed on December 21. It is of the eighth magnitude and can be seen with a small telescope. Its tail is about one degree in length. On December 24, it was just west of the star Gamma Lyræ, and on December 27, was due two degrees south-south-west of Beta Cygni.

SILVER FOR PURIFYING WATER

A new process for the sterilization of water has been developed in Germany, reports SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN. The new procedure is based on the germ-destroying action of minute amounts of very finely divided catalytically active metals. Fine silver proved most effective for this. It was blown upon definite supports so as to produce the largest possible surface. By means of the uniformly blown-out condition, the relation between the volume and the surface which best combined the chemical and catalytic effects was obtained.

On account of this two-fold action, the process received the name "Katadyn". In this finely divided state, traces of silver dissolve in the water more rapidly than does ordinary silver. The requisite vessels for this process consist of filtration devices provided with an active silver surface. It was possible by this process to kill 21 million germs per cubic centimeter of water in 48 hours, and when only one million bacteria were contained per cubic centimeter of water, the sterilization was effected in only a few hours. Further advantages of the process are that, once it has been set in operation, it requires no more attention and it is independent of temperatures.

RE-STARTING A FROG'S HEART

The DAILY NEWS Calcutta Correspondent reports another of Professor Jagadis C. Bose's marvellous discoveries of plant life. A drug, extracted from a plant, growing in the Himalayas, has been shown to have extraordinary medicinal properties.

A frog, whose heart had been stopped by the action of poison, was injected with the drug obtained from the plant. The heart responded to the injection, and the frog was restored to normal life.

CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND GERMANY

At the instance of the India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, Munich, Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Professor of Economics, Calcutta University, has been invited by the Bavarian Ministry of Education to lecture on Economic and Social Problems of Modern India, for one year, in the Technische Hochschule, Munich. The object in appointing Prof. Sarkar is to promote cultural relations between Germany and India.

It is intended to establish an India Institute in Munich, the avowed object of which would be to cultivate cultural relations between these two countries.

SHAW AND THE FILM CENSOR

Mr. Bernard Shaw on February 17 made a vigorous denunciation of the action of the film censor in banning "The Night Patrol," a film depicting life on the Thames Embankment.

"There is no end to the craziness of this censorship business," he declared. "I can only ask Mr. Edward Shortt (the film censor) publicly what he supposes he is paid for, and what difference it would make to public morals if his office were abolished.

"To console myself for his rebuff—Mr. Shaw was referring to Mr. Shortt's reply to his protest—"I went to the pictures in the evening. There I was taken to France and shown an undressing scene, followed by an exhibition of two men swallowing drink after drink until I could stand it no longer, and fled from the theatre in disgust.

"When I find an official who is entrusted with the arbitrary control of the picture theatre allowing unlimited liberty to pornography, and absolutely refusing to allow honest and decent social welfare films to be exhibited, then I appeal to public opinion to sweep that official and his powers and his department to the dustbin.

"That is all I have to say."

BOOKS RECEIVED

RAILWAY STUDIES IN NEO-MODERN PALMISTRY. By P. S. Neel. A. B. N.'s Cheirosophical Publishing House, Purasawalkam. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras). Price Rs. 2.

THE VISION OF KWANNON SAMA. By B. L. Broughton, M.A. Luzac & Co., London. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras). Rs. 3-12.

WITHOUT PREJUDICE. Being a collection of essays in Prose and Verse. By S. G. Dunn. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co.) Rs. 2.

MONOGRAPH ON COMMON SALT. Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Calcutta. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras). Price Rs. 2.

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF RABINDRANATH. By Sochin Sen. Asher & Co., Calcutta. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co.) Rs. 2-8.

THE GITA IDEA OF GOD. By Gitanand Brahmachari. B. G. Paul & Co., Madras. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras). Price Rs. 5.

WORD GAMES AND WORD PUZZLES. With their answers by A. C. Stevenson Ashmore. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

PROFITABLE INDUSTRIES. By An Industrial Expert, Industry Book Depot, Calcutta.

DEMOCRACY—ITS DEFECTS AND ADVANTAGES. By Delisle Burns. Allen & Unwin, London.

IF WISHES WERE HORSES. By H. W. Fowler, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.

THE BRAHMIN. By V. S. Ramanatha Sastri and Dhurta Swamin. Dhurta & Sons, Madras.

BALADITYA. A Historical Romance of Ancient India. By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, I. C. S. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

KESHAB AS SEEN BY HIS OPPONENTS. By G. C. Banerji. Jubilee of the Navavidhan, Calcutta.

MAX-MULLER ON RAMAKRISHNA AND KESHAB. By U. K. Gupta. The Indian Press, Allahabad.

RAMAKRISHNA HOME

The Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Sri Ramakrishna Mission Students' Home was celebrated last month with great eclat at the premises of the Home in Mylapore. The past and present students of the Home, and the staff and authorities of the institution spared no pains to make it a grand success.

His Excellency Sir George Frederick Stanley laid the foundation-stone of the Jubilee Memorial Workshop.

The Home, as is well known, is a model institution of its kind in India—fulfilling the needs of the poor in their quest for knowledge. The principal feature of the Home is the stress laid upon religious and vocational training; and it is no small achievement in these days of communal discord to have collected youths of different communities under a common discipline of culture and toleration, inspired by a genuine spirit of devotion to religion and duty. The home has been deservedly sustained by the bounty of the public, but it is impossible on an occasion like this to refrain from expressing our admiration of the energy, zeal and devotion to its cause which has inspired Mr. C. Ramaswami Aiyengar who has ever been the life and soul of this excellent institution. We congratulate "Ramu" as he is affectionately called by his friends, on the success that has attended his efforts, and wish him and the institution many more years of usefulness and service to the cause of real education.

FREE EDUCATION FOR POOR GIRLS

The Government of Madras are taking steps to amend the Elementary Education Act so that exemptions may be given to poor girls from the payment of school fees. The amendments are as follows:—The following shall be inserted as Rule 18 under Section 41 (2) of the said rules: No fees shall be levied from girls whose parents or guardians are so poor that the grant of this concession is necessary

The following shall be inserted as Rule 2-B under Section 42 (2) of the said rules: District Educational Councils are also authorised to pay Managers of Elementary Schools under private management, on the recommendation of the inspection officers, in addition to the grants otherwise admissible under the rules, compensation due to them for the grant of exemption from payment of fees to poor girls with reference to Rule 18 of the Rules framed under Section 41 (2).

A SCHOOLBOY'S MEDITATIONS

"A Schoolboy about to enter the world," in the course of "Meditations," contributed to the current EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK, writes:—

"It seems to me now that the higher we get in school, the fewer careers are open to us. On leaving the elementary schools, we might have made builders, plumbers, undertakers, or poets. Now with our burden of Greek and Latin and Algebra, the horizon is considerably narrowed.

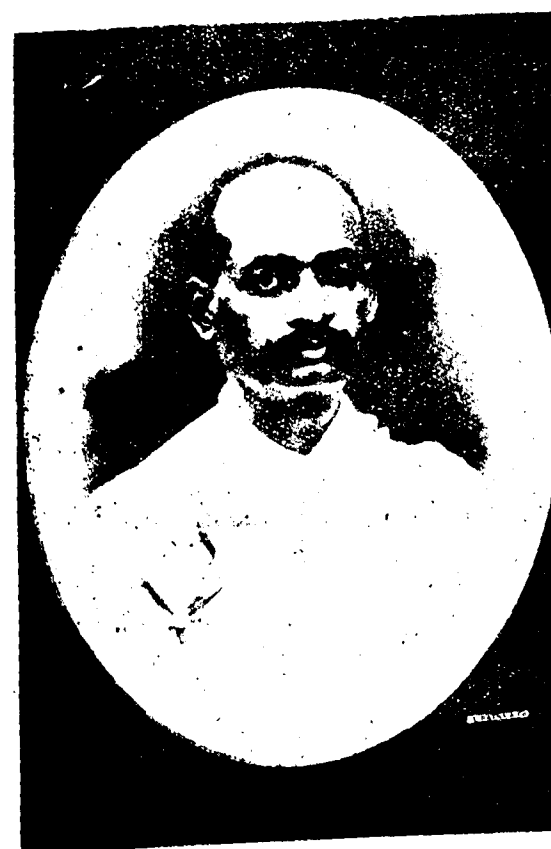
"Our schooling stops. Suddenly we find that we are expected to make a contribution to the breakfast table. We wait. We may see a place empty. We try to slip in. Whichever number our dart hits may be ours for life, for in England, a boy getting a job at 16 may be found at the same address at 60."

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

The University of the Punjab and the Annamalai University have recognised the Intermediate and B. A. Degree Examinations of the Andhra University as equivalent to their corresponding examinations. The University of Lucknow has recognised the B. A. Degree Examinations of the Andhra University as equivalent to its B. A. Degree Examination. Under the Lucknow University Act, students who have passed the Intermediate Examination of an Indian University incorporated by any Law in force for the time being, are eligible for admission to a course of study for a degree in that University.

ARREST OF SARDAR PATEL

Sardar Vallabhai Patel, the right-hand man of Mahatma Gandhi, was arrested at Ahmedabad on the 7th morning and sentenced to 3 months'



SARDAR VALLABHAI PATEL

simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 for disobeying the Magistrate's Order, prohibiting him to deliver a speech.

The imprisonment of Mr. Patel will be a serious blow to Mr. Gandhi's Satyagraha campaign, of which Mr. Patel is known to have worked out all the details. This is particularly so when it is realised that Mr. Patel has great personal influence in Jalalpur area which adjoins Bardoli, the scene of his recent peasant agitation.

As soon as he was arrested, the Sardar took leave of the people with these words:

"I hope that you will hail with rejoicings the honour that has fallen to my lot of being the first to go to jail on the eve of this campaign, and that Gujarat will fulfil what the Congress and Gandhiji have expected of it. Let not Gujarat forget that the time has now arrived for repaying what Gandhiji has done for it by his sustained and strenuous penance of fifteen years on the banks of the Sabarmati. If Government have a particle of sense in them, they will not lay their hands on a saintly person like him.

"It is our duty to obey his command so long as he is left free. But when he also is arrested, you will do what I have told you in my Broach speech.

"Our victory depends entirely on our capacity for suffering and sacrifice. The progress of our work will be commensurate with the speed with which we sever all connection with this Government.

"It is my prayer that God may make Gujarat capable of that achievement."

Pundit Malaviya, speaking in the Assembly, instanced the arrest of Mr. Patel for ascertaining the policy of the Government in respect of the forthcoming campaign of civil disobedience, remarking that as many as 50,000 men, or even 100,000, were prepared to follow Mr. Gandhi, it was necessary that the Central Government should not allow the Provincial Governments to deal independently with the matter.

Sir James Crerar commended the resolution of the Magistrate who issued the orders for Mr. Patel's arrest and the promptitude with which he took action. Concerning Government's policy, he referred to the Viceroy's address to the House—that while pursuing the path of conciliation, the Government would effectively maintain law and order.

The motion for adjournment was defeated by 53 votes against 30, the Central Muslim Party voting with the Government.

THE LATE ADMIRAL TIRPITZ

Admiral Von Tirpitz, whose death was reported the other day, was in a sense the creator of the



THE LATE ADMIRAL TIRPITZ

German Navy. By his Navy Bill of 1897, he laid the foundations for the building up of the fleet according to a programme which covered a number of years and was extended and accelerated from time to time. By his skill in Parliament and in propaganda work outside, Tirpitz was able to carry through this great development of Germany's naval power without any very serious opposition.

Immediately after the outbreak of the War, Tirpitz urged prompt and energetic action by the German fleet and asked the Kaiser on July 29, 1914, to give him the strategic direction of the navy. His request, however, was refused, and his further attempts to have the fleet brought into action were without avail. His prediction that the pressure of an almost unmolested and intact British fleet on the neutrals would become increasingly catastrophic for Germany was borne out by events.

Tirpitz claimed that he would have gone into the U-boat warfare earlier and more relentlessly, but his adversaries charge him with having neglected to provide an adequate force of submarines.

After the revolution, Tirpitz was one of the scapegoats. He was blamed for fostering the naval policy that led to the War and for having helped to prolong it. He, therefore, lived in Switzerland till calm was restored. In May, 1924, he was elected to the Reichstag by the Nationalists, but the attempt of his party to form a Cabinet under his leadership was defeated by the opposition of the Centre and the Democrats.

SIR MONTAGUE BUTLER

Sir Montague Butler left London on March 14 en route for Bombay to return to Nagpur for his



H. E. SIR MONTAGUE BUTLER

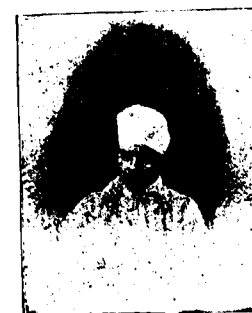
second term of five years as Governor of the Central Provinces. Sir Montague Butler's re-appointment for the full term is unique in the history of any of the major Indian Provinces.

THE VOTE OF CENSURE

By fifty votes against thirty-nine, the Indian Legislative Assembly rejected a vote of censure proposed by Mr. N. C. Kelkar to make a token cut of one rupee in the demand for the Viceroy's Executive Council, in order to protest against its irresponsibility to the Legislature.

Sir James Crerar said that the Government adhered to the 1917 Declaration, in letter and spirit, and would maintain law and order in the furtherance of that policy.

Pundit Malaviya, the leader of the Opposition, and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, leader of the Independents, protested against any suggestion of repression.



PUNDIT MALAVIYA

Pundit Malaviya warned that such an attitude on the part of the Government would convert the Dominion Status wallahs into Independence wallahs. He promised to induce Mr. Gandhi to stay his hand and not start the Satyagraha campaign if Dominion Status was granted immediately.

Mr. Jinnah warned the Government that repression would be the greatest blunder it could commit.

THE COUNCIL OF STATE

The resolution of Sir Sankaran Nair welcoming Lord Irwin's announcement of October 31 regarding Dominion Status was adopted without a dissentient voice on February 19.

The amendment of Mr. Narayan Prasad Asthana that the Indian public opinion will only be satisfied, if Dominion Status is granted

forthwith with proper safe-guards, was lost, as also the amendment of Mr. Suhrawardy that such Muslims only should be invited to the Round Table Conference as supported the Delhi Muslim Conference Resolutions.

Sir M. Habibullah welcomed the resolution on behalf of the Government. He said the epoch-making announcement of the Viceroy constituted a recognition of India's right to assist His Majesty's Government in determining the system of government under which she should live hereafter. Secondly, it enunciated the truth that no system of the Government of India would be complete which failed to provide for co-operation, in matters of common interest, between the political units known as British India and the Indian States. India's gratitude to the Viceroy and to the Secretary of State—without whose united efforts the approval of His Majesty's Government to the statement of the policy over which they rejoiced, could never have been secured—was therefore, profound.

THE GOVERNMENT'S DEFEAT

In the House of Commons, the Government was defeated by 282 votes to 274 on a Conservative amendment to the Coal Bill opposing the levy on output in order to facilitate the export of coal.

The Government's defeat was greeted with a storm of cheering from the Opposition, the Conservatives frantically waving order papers and shouting "Resign".

Replying to Mr. Baldwin, Mr. MacDonald said that he did not regard the amendment as an essential change and asked the Committee to proceed with the Bill.

Mr. MacDonald added that Mr. Baldwin would have an opportunity, two days hence, to move a vote of censure. He would be very glad to accommodate Mr. Baldwin, should he make his vote of censure general. Then the Government would accept the decision.

MOTORING

It would appear that there are hidden dangers in motoring. Nature in her impartiality does not seem to allow the motorist the pleasure of indulging in his hobby for nothing. According to a note in the *BRITISH MEDICAL JOURNAL*, the latest addition to the diseases like tennis elbow, housemaid's knee, or writer's cramp is "motorist's heel." This, we are told, results from a long drive which has necessitated "frequent manipulation of the clutch or accelerator", with the result that the driver suddenly discovers that "he is unable to put the heel to the ground owing to the pain." Perhaps this explains, says a writer in *THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN*, why some motorists (but only the more ill-mannered) neglect to pull up after a brush with a pedestrian. But the better behaved will, of course, still stop to have a word with the aggrieved man on foot, announcing gravely, as they hobble forth from the car, "You know, my dear boy, this hurts me far more than it hurts you."

"RANJI"

"Londoner" writes in the *EVENING STANDARD*:—

To-day, "Ranji" is almost as keen on fishing as he is on cricket, and cricketers who remember his supple wrist will not need to be told that he has developed into one of the best fly-fishers in the world.

Anglers in England and Scotland may complain with justice of a poor season, but "Ranji" has had a wonderful year at Ballynabinech, his favourite haunt in Ireland.

It must not be thought, however, that the Jam Sahib has lost his love for cricket. He still takes the keenest interest in every aspect of the game, and he follows the career of his brilliant nephew "Duleep" with a very critical eye and many a word of advice.

Perhaps his greatest attraction is that, in addition to being perhaps the most perfect technician that the game has ever produced, he can discuss all its problems with an intelligence that is rare in first-class cricketers. He would be a real asset on the English Selection Committee.

I gather that there is little fear of "Duleep" being spoilt by success. "Ranji" is a severe critic who is satisfied by only the very highest standard. He discounts many of his nephew's strokes, because of the very serious decline which he thinks English bowling has suffered since the War.

SPORT AS BODY POWER

"Let those who genuinely like sports, and feel the better for playing games and taking strenuous exercise, do so—but don't talk hot air about the 'impossibility of anybody being healthy' who does not follow this over-popular craze! For that is frankly rubbish," writes Margery Lawrence in the *SUNDAY EXPRESS*.

"The violent exercise that goes by the name of 'sport' does not suit some people at all.

"Each of us has only a limited amount of force—electricity, energy, call it what you will—on which to drive the machine of mind and body. The 'brainy' or 'artistic' type of person, as a rule, tends to divert most of that force towards his mentality, while the sports-lover instinctively uses it as body-power.

"It is an undoubted fact that, as a rule, the sporting crowd, with a few notable exceptions, are a great deal less intelligent than the non-sporting. And if, therefore, a 'brain' type is forced to try and divert some of his cherished energy towards a goal that interests him not at all, he is merely wasting his energy uselessly, since no amount of training will ever make him as good a performer in the world of sport as he is in his own line.

"Why waste time trying to do it? Why use a razor to cut fire-wood?"

THE LATE MR. A. K. PAI

The death of Dewan Bahadur A. K. Pai is a great loss to the civic life of Bombay. Mr. Pai who was about 60 had been suffering for many



MR. A. K. PAI

years from diabetes, and was under the treatment of his brother, Dr. Pai. Recently, he had an attack of pneumonia which led to heart failure of which he died.

Mr. Pai was a head clerk in the Health Department of the Bombay Municipality, and after retirement, became a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation some eight years ago. He was elected Chairman of the Standing Committee for the year 1926-27, and of the Schools Committee in the latter year. It was at his instance that the Boy Scout movement was introduced in the Municipal schools. He became the First District Commissioner of the Municipal Scouts, and was mostly responsible for bringing the Municipal Scouts to the high level of efficiency at which we now find them. He retired from the District Commissionership only last month.

He was an enthusiastic social worker, having been connected with many social institutions. He began his social work, while he was in Municipal service, as a follower and disciple of the late Sir Narayen Chandavarkar. He took a keen interest in the Hindu Ambulance Corps and was connected with it for many years. He was interested in the beggar problem of the city of Bombay and was one of the honorary secretaries of the Helpless Beggars' Relief Committee started by the late Sir Narayen Chandavarkar. He held liberal views and was an inveterate enemy of caste distinctions and untouchability.

ASSEMBLY GALLERIES

The deadlock in connection with the Assembly galleries was solved on 20th February when Mr. Patel announced the acceptance "on behalf of the House" of the arrangements suggested in a letter written to him by Lord Irwin. Mr. Patel directed that the galleries be re-opened to the public on and from 24th.

The proposals of the Government of India dealt first with the question of securing protection in the inner precincts of the Assembly, postponing the question of the outer precincts for further examinations, all orders at present to the police being framed with the approval of the President.

The Government of India proposed to depute to the service of the Assembly a senior police officer, responsible to the President, for regulating all matters relating to the protection of the Assembly within inner precincts. The Viceroy indicated the powers of the deputed officer to act without the consent of the President.

The Government would be prepared to co-operate in the early establishment of a staff of suitable quality to secure the requisite protection, and until such staff was recruited, Government would depute such police as may be required, who could be distinguished by the wearing of a special armlet at the discretion of the President.

Diary of the Month

Feb. 18. The French Cabinet resigns.

Feb. 19. The A. I. C. C. adopts Civil Disobedience programme.

Feb. 20. Mr. Satin Sen is released on bail.

Feb. 21. Mr. Macdonald resigns from I. L. P.

Feb. 22. Amir Nadir Shah is reported to be ill.

Feb. 23. M. Chaunteps forms French Cabinet.

Feb. 24. Mr. Nariman is elected President of the Bombay Congress Committee.

Feb. 25. 10th Session of the Chamber of Princes commences.

Feb. 26. Assembly votes all the Ry. Budget demands.

Feb. 27. Maharajah of Patiala is re-elected Chancellor of Princes' Chamber.

Feb. 28. Sir George Schuster presents the Budget in the Assembly.

Mar. 1. Ahmed Mirza, ex-Shah of Persia, is dead.

Mar. 2. H. E. the Governor of Madras gives his assent to Madras Brothels' Bill.

Mar. 3. Mr. Gandhi sends his ultimatum through Mr. Reginald Reynolds to the Viceroy.

Mar. 4. Report of the Experts' Committee of the Naval Conference is published.

Mar. 5. Parliamentary Liberal Party expresses confidence in Mr. Lloyd George.

Mar. 6. H. M. the King receives Sir Montague Butler in audience.

Mar. 7. French Chamber passes a vote of confidence in the new (Tardieu) Ministry.

Mar. 8. Admiral Von Tirpitz is dead.

Mar. 9. Mr. Vallabhai Patel is arrested and convicted for disobeying the District Magistrate's order, prohibiting him from delivering a speech.

Mar. 10. Assembly rejects the Army demand.

Mar. 11. Assembly rejects Adjournment motion *re.* imprisonment of V. Patel.

Mar. 12. Mr. Gandhi begins his Civil Disobedience March.



MAHATMA GANDHI
(A latest portrait.)

Mar. 13. Labour Govt. sustains a defeat over the Conservative amendment to the Coal Bill.

Mar. 14. Mr. Sen Gupta is arrested and taken in S. S. "Sridana" to Rangoon for trial.

Mar. 15. The Conservative Vote of censure in the Commons is defeated by 308 votes to 235.

—A Jatha of 100 Sikhs from Patiala reaches New Delhi and are served with notice.

Mar. 16. Mr. K. Natarajan ceases to be Editor of the INDIAN DAILY MAIL, and Mr. F. W. Wilson, late of the PIONEER, succeeds him.

Mar. 17. Mr. Sen Gupta reaches Rangoon.

—Primo De Rivera, Ex-Director of Spain, is dead.

BUILDING BETTER BRAINS

How Mental Training Is Enabling Thousands Of Men
And Women To Increase Their Efficiency
And BRAIN Power.

THOUSANDS of men and women in every Profession, Business, and Trade are increasing their Efficiency, and consequently their Earning Power, as a result of scientifically training their minds by means of Pelmanism.



Sir J. Foster Fraser.

Pelmanism builds better brains. It banishes Timidity Self-Doubt, and what is known as the "Inferiority Complex." It drives the dark clouds of Depression away from your horizon, leaving the mental atmosphere in which you "live, move, and have your being" clear vital, and undisturbed. It eliminates harmful, morbid, and "defeatist" thoughts. It provides a remedy for that "forgetting habit"—that distressing habit of forgetting appointments, names, dates, telephone numbers, prices, and "the right argument at the right moment," which so often causes people to miss opportunities of advancement which possibly never recur.

On the positive side Pelmanism increases your mental energy. It strengthens your Will-Power. It gives you Courage, Initiative, Forcefulness, Determination, and Self-Confidence. It gives you a memory—you and other people—can depend upon. It causes you to take an optimistic outlook on life. It makes your mind keen, alert, resourceful, and self-reliant. In short, it develops just those mental qualities which lead to success in life.

As Sir John Foster Fraser writes: "Pelmanism quickens Perception; it stimulates the Imagination; it develops Concentration. It will not make the dunderhead into a statesman, but it will and does provide a plan whereby we can make the best of our qualities."

Remarkable Results.

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A CIVIL SERVANT (I. C. S.) writes:—"I have gained self-confidence and energy. I am disposing of my daily duties more easily and smoothly."

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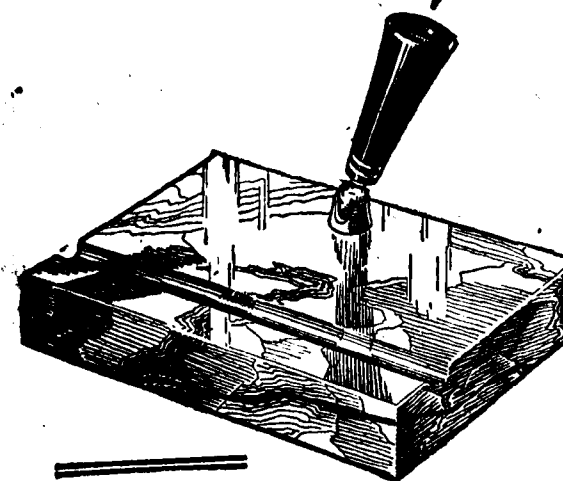
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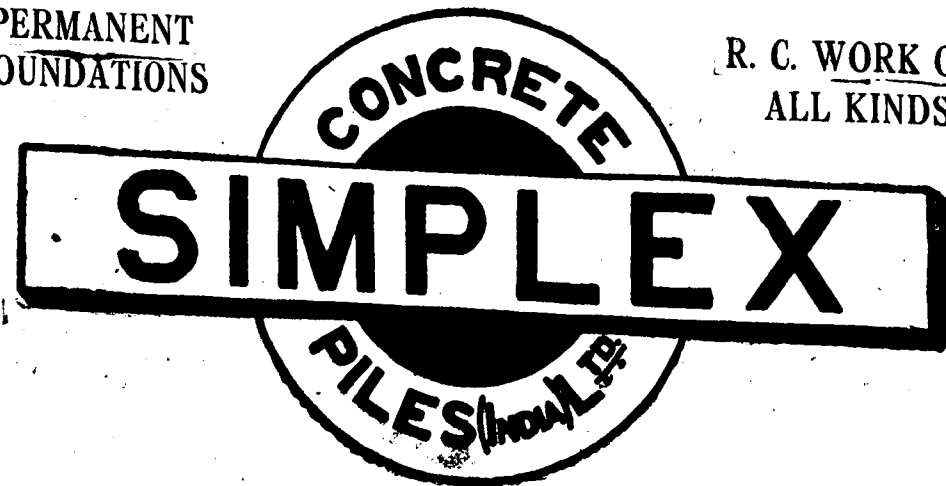
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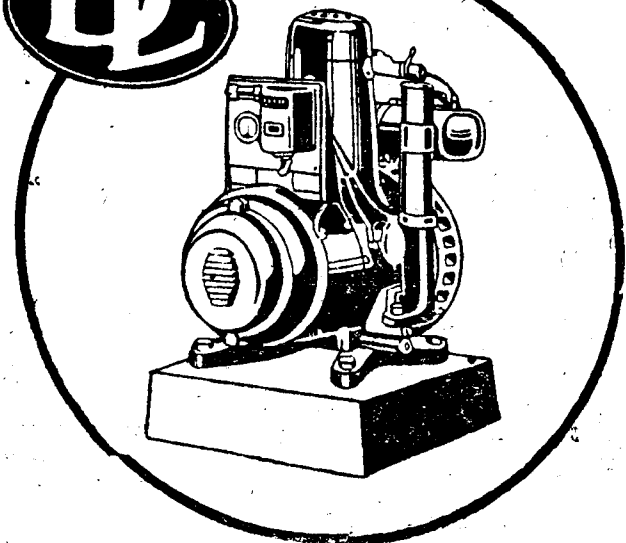
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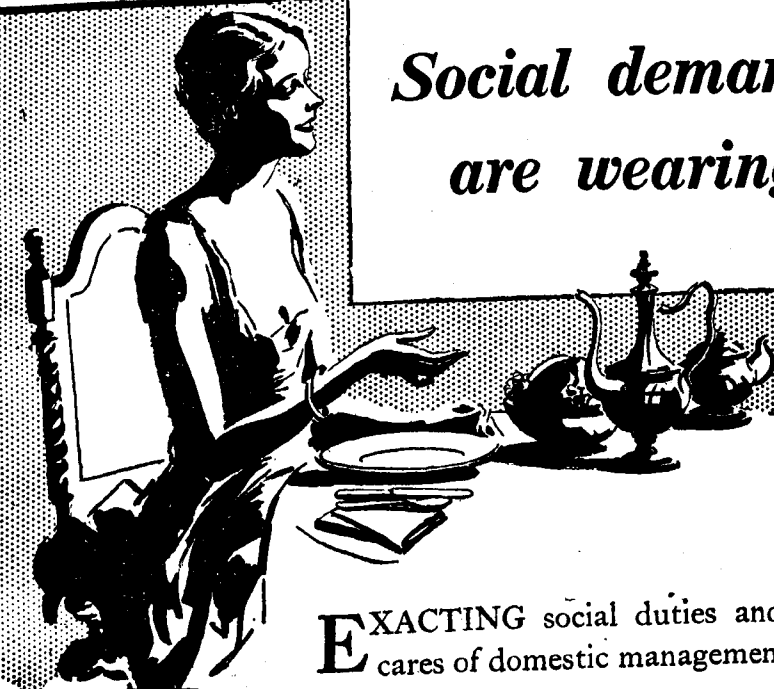
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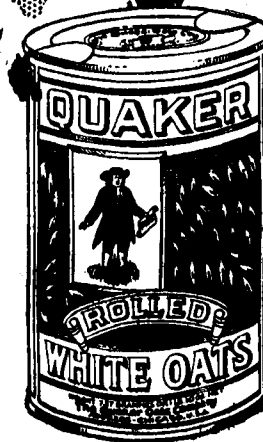
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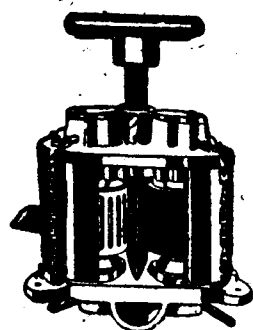
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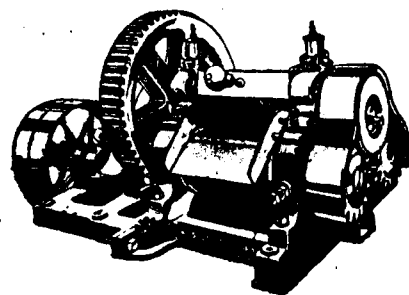
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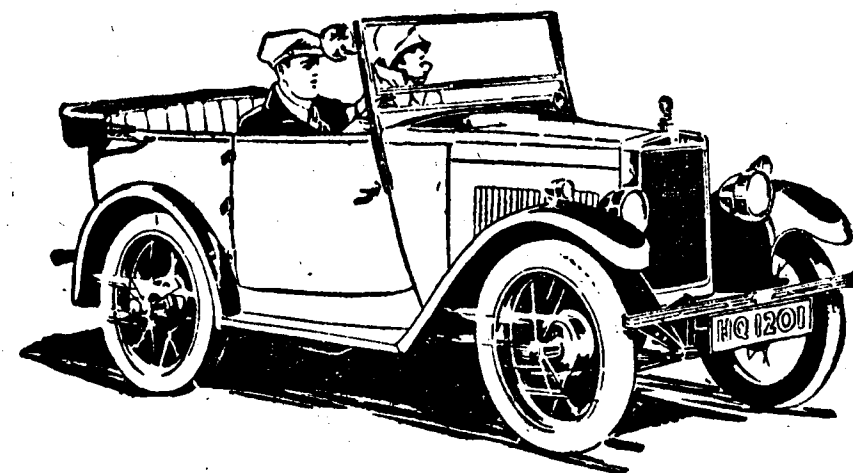
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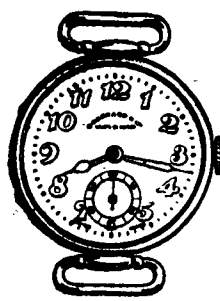
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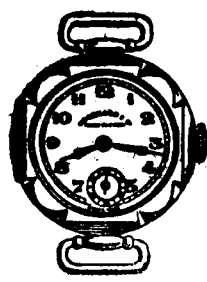
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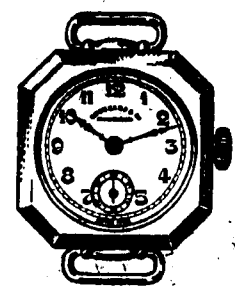
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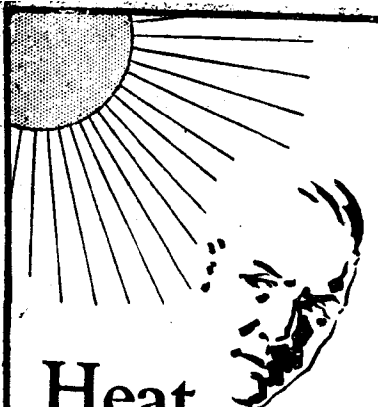
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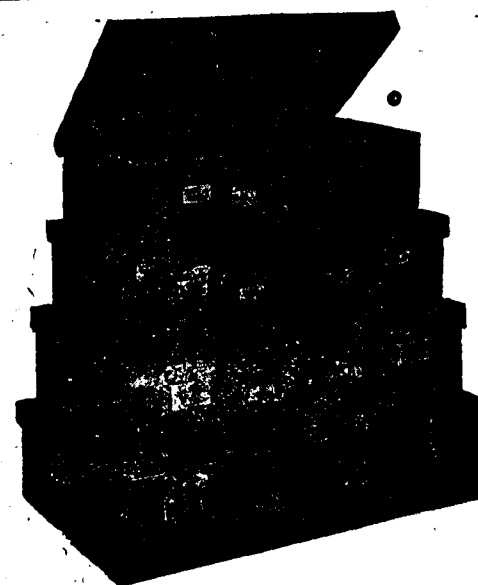
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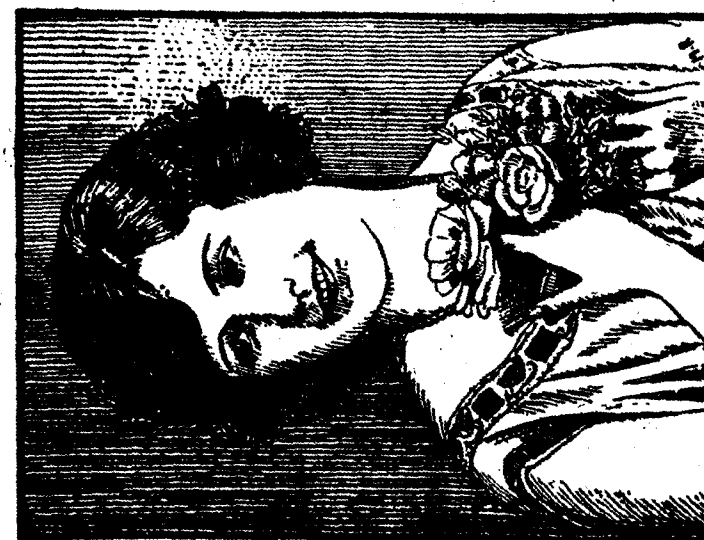
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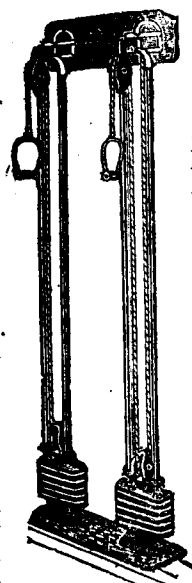
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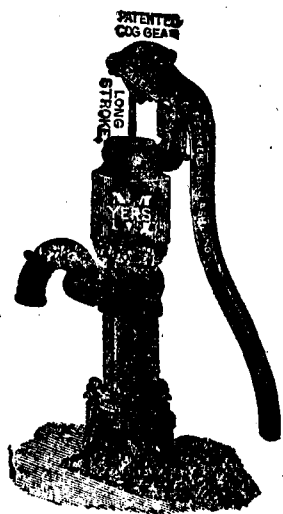
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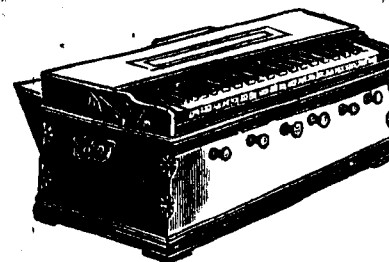
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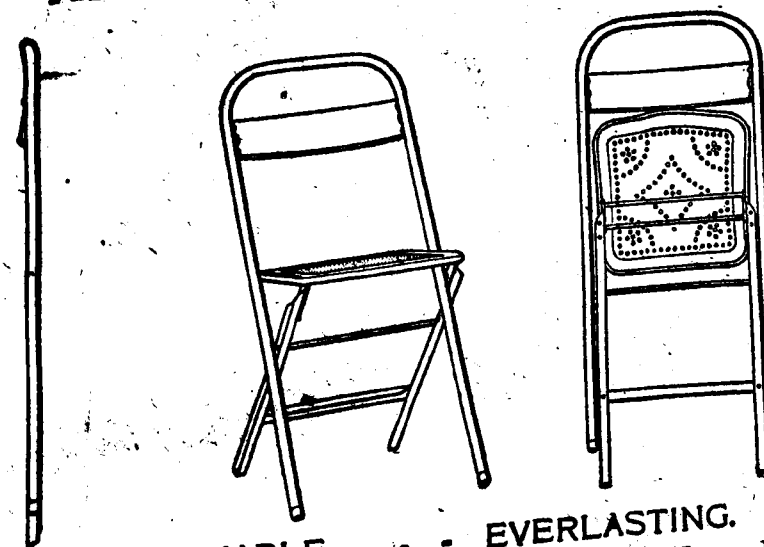
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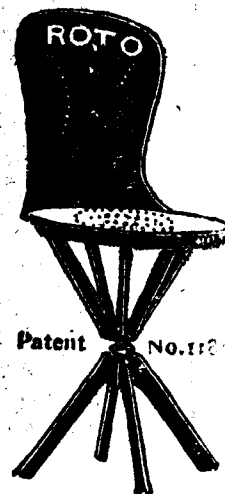
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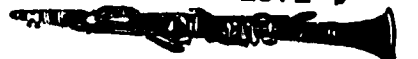
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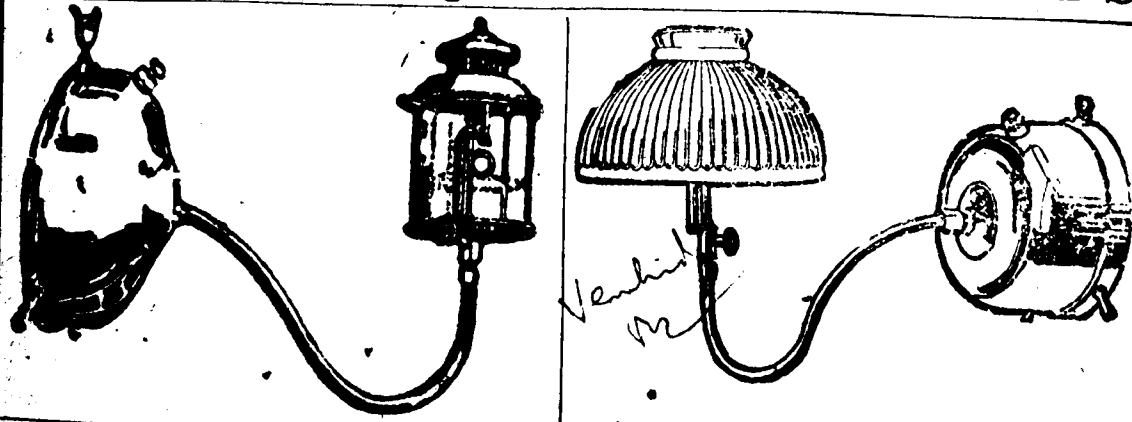
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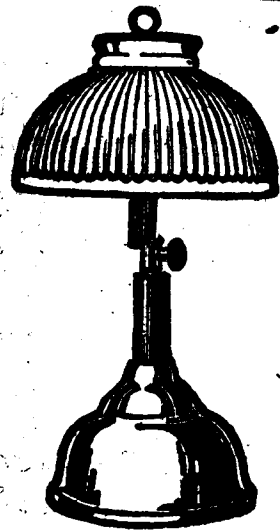
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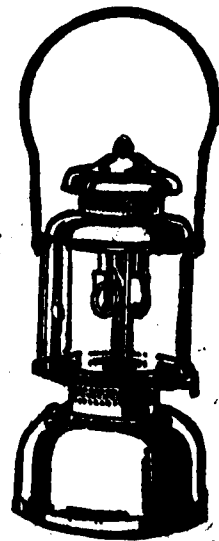
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